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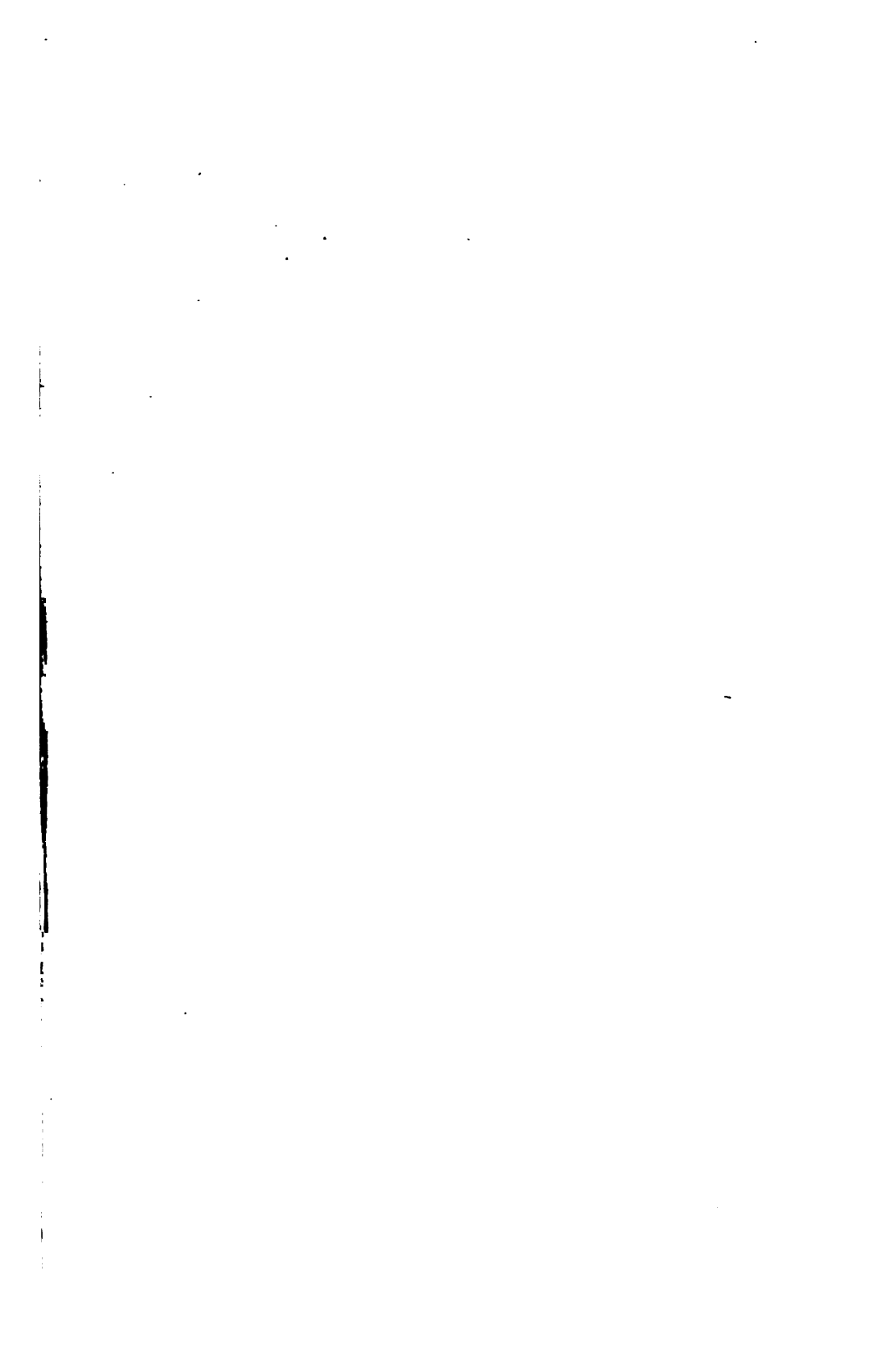
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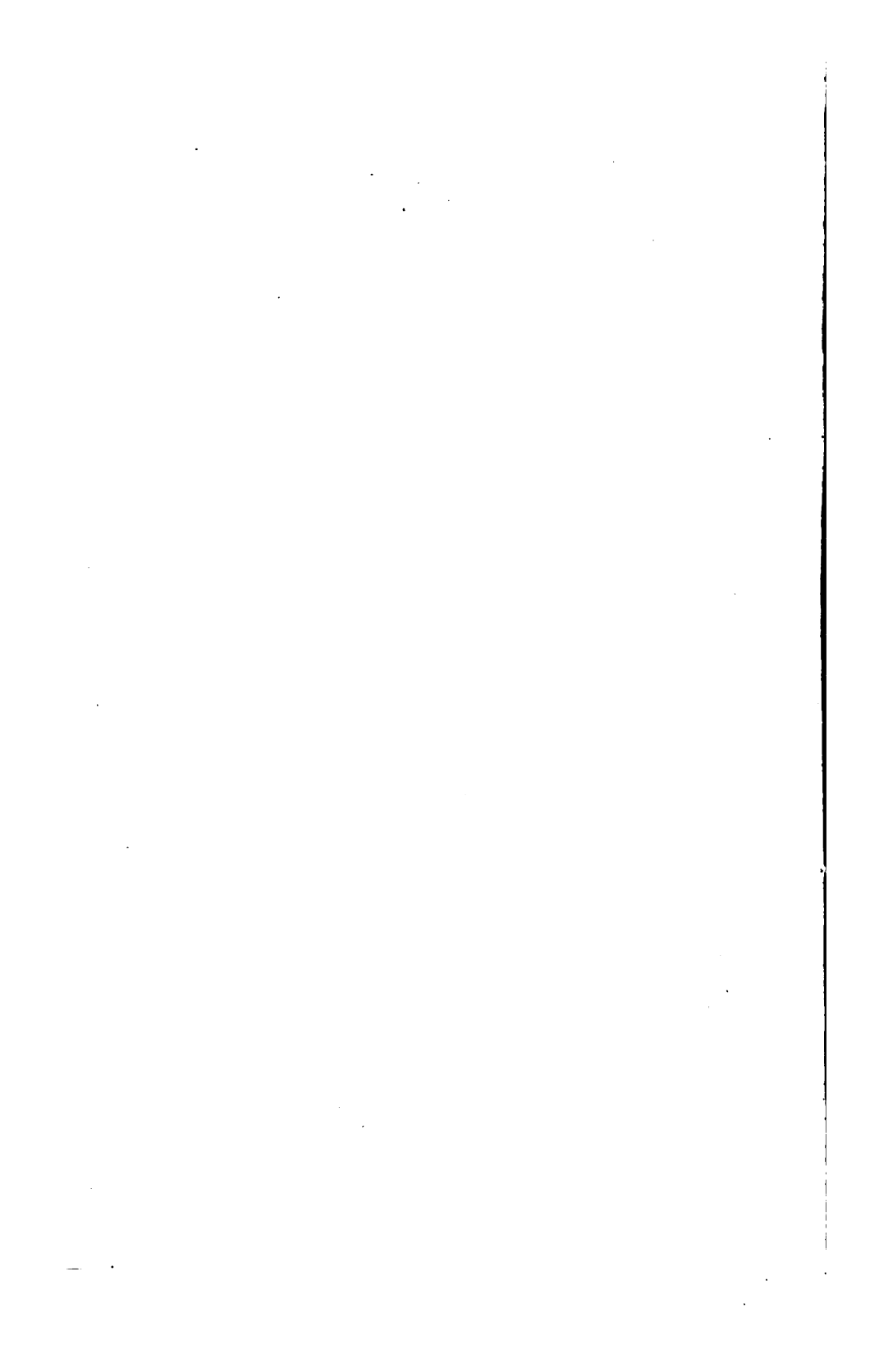
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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1834.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Richard Watson, late Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.* By Thomas Jackson. London. 1834.

THE subject of these Memoirs certainly appears to have been a very extraordinary man. We can scarcely wonder that the Wesleyans should be proud of him. With a very feeble frame of body, and a very irregular intellectual training, he undoubtedly achieved wonders within a very short span of life; for he died at the age of fifty-two, worn down by the combined operation of constitutional malady and of incessant toil. The following is a brief sketch of his biography, collected from the volume now before us: of which volume we have only to say, that it is written in a perspicuous and tolerably unambitious style; but that, withal, it is most tremendously diffuse, and stuffed out with enormous extracts from the Missionary Reports, drawn up by the deceased in the course of his labours as Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. This, however, is a peculiarity which will, probably, do nothing to impede the circulation of the work among the members of Mr. Watson's own communion. While his memory is yet fresh, they will hardly be weary of perusing the words of their distinguished and venerated minister. The time may, possibly, come, when a somewhat briefer narrative may satisfy the curiosity of the religious public.

Richard Watson was born on the 22d of February, 1781, at Barton-upon-Humber, in Lincolnshire. His father was a saddler, and, moreover, a Dissenter. He was, also, a freeman of the city of Lincoln; and, (as Mr. Jackson informs us, with some naïveté), "thinking that the Parish Register might be of some advantage to his son, in future life, the child was baptized at St. Peter's Church at Barton." His infancy was extremely delicate. He was subject to fits of alarming drowsiness; in one of which

he was found fast asleep in the street, upon the threshold of a neighbouring house. He had, nevertheless, energy sufficient to repeat the letters of the alphabet in so emphatic a manner, as to rouse the spirit of prophecy in the dame who taught him, and to extort from her the exclamation, " Bless thee! thou wilt be a great man!" And he was a *great man* accordingly; on no less authority than that of the celebrated Robert Hall, who, when he heard Watson preach, at Leicester, on the Atonement, was so deeply impressed with his sermon, that, for some time after, he could think of nothing else. He even delivered the substance of it to his own congregation; and urged his people to seize the first opportunity of hearing that "*great man*" from whose lips it originally fell.

His progress towards greatness, which was very eccentric, is carefully marked out by his biographer. It appears that, during childhood, he put forth other manifest indications of his future eminence. The quickness of his parts was such, that his parents were induced to consent that he should learn Latin. Moreover, when he was about six years old, he had devoured some seventeen or eighteen volumes of the Universal History. Some years afterwards, he was distinguished by the superior propriety of his reading; so that it became a common remark among his school-fellows—" Dick Watson will make a capital parson, he is so good a reader!" While he was at school, he had a narrow escape from being tempted into the profession of arms. But he was destined, says Mr. Jackson, to the acquisition of a fame which " sword and musket never can confer." His passion for literature once betrayed him into a very odd, and not very commendable expedient, for its gratification. He concealed the iron bar which fastened the shutters of his father's shop. When night came, Richard was vehement in his sympathy with the rest of the family, for the loss of this necessary safeguard. He further represented to them, that it would be madness to leave the property exposed to depredation; and insisted on remaining in the shop all night, while the family retired to rest. And by this contrivance he secured an opportunity of perusing some favourite work, which had irresistibly fixed his attention. At fourteen years of age, he was apprenticed to a joiner, but continued to reside in his father's house. His appearance, at this period, was very remarkable. He was no less than six feet two inches high! His hair was lank, and of a deep black. His demeanour was uncouth: and though he had the stature of a giant, his countenance was still that of a mere boy. His manners and his habits, too, were those of a very mischievous boy: for, he indulged himself in constant and merciless ridicule against a poor,

but very zealous Methodist shoemaker, who had once beaten him for indecorous behaviour in chapel; and, further, it was his principal delight to stand on one side of the canal, with graceless companions like himself, and to pelt the Methodist congregation, on their way to and from the chapel, on the other side. Mr. Jackson, however, is laudably anxious to assure us, that Richard was prompted to this sort of persecution, not by "a direct and *systematic* hostility to religion," but rather by a childish propensity for sport. He adds, however, that, in Richard's own opinion, he must have become one of the most wicked of his companions, had he not been "arrested by an unseen hand, and made a remarkable instance of the freeness and power of Divine Grace."

The history of his deliverance and conversion is curious enough. He accidentally got acquainted with an intelligent watch-maker, who assisted him in his mathematical studies, to which he was then considerably addicted. The wife of the artist was a talkative and pugnacious Calvinist; and she almost worried Richard to death with the mysteries of the five points. At length his patience was exhausted. He was resolved to be no longer a helpless and passive hearer. And, accordingly, he went to attend a Wesleyan preacher, purely with the view of arming himself for the quinquarticular conflict, against the loquacious female theologian. But "the word," says Mr. Jackson, "came with power to the young man's heart, and he was deeply convinced of sin." He went to the chapel as a sort of polemical catechumen. He returned a serious and broken hearted penitent. He rushed out,—not to seek his companions in brutal mischief, nor to put the She-Calvinist to silence,—but to meditate, and pray, and to commune with his own heart. The result of all this, Mr. Jackson tells us, was, that "his midnight was turned into the light of day; that guilty fear, in his breast, gave place to filial love; and that the Holy Ghost bore a *distinct and indubitable witness* with his spirit, that he was a child of God;" and that "not many days had elapsed after he was convinced of sin, before he was made a *happy partaker of the pardoning grace of God*." Such was the impetuosity of his newly awakened conviction, that "at two different times, when running to the chapel, in his eagerness to join his Christian friends in divine worship, he fell and broke his arm."*

He began "calling sinners to repentance" before he had quite completed his fifteenth year! The occasion was the decease of his grandmother; on which solemn event he delivered an

* Are we to understand that a fractured limb was the consequence of each fall?

address at the evening prayer-meeting in the chapel: and this, his biographer informs us, was, "*the commencement of his public ministry.*" On the 23d February, 1796, the day after he was fifteen years of age, he preached his first sermon, at a village called Boothby, a few miles from Lincoln." Some time after this, his master, with singular disinterestedness, cancelled his indentures; and Richard became a local preacher, and prosecuted his labours in various circuits: and the general remark among those who heard him, was, that "he preached like one who had been many years in the work." On one occasion, indeed, his presence of mind forsook him. He was proceeding in his discourse with much "fluency and enlargement," when, suddenly, he lost all recollection of his subject, and was compelled to bring the sermon to an abrupt conclusion. All this while, his understanding was left without any regular discipline.

"Like the greater part of his brethren," says Mr. Jackson, "he had been thrust into the ministry without much of that scholastic training which is so desirable and advantageous. It is painful," he adds, "to see a mind of the first order left to luxuriate without any of the salutary restraints and directions which a just discipline and experience would supply. To this day, it is a serious defect in the system of Wesleyan Methodism, that it makes no adequate provision for the education of its ministers. A few of them, by the force of their own talents and application, have arisen to considerable eminence as scholars and preachers. But the usefulness of the greater part of them has been retarded, through life, by the want of a sound literary and theological training."

But whatever might be the defects of his education, there was no deficiency of zeal or vigilance. He had his eye upon every prevalent aberration from the faith: and, stripling as he was, he stepped forth against the attempt of Mr. Winchester to revive the theory of Origen, who contended that hell itself is altogether purgatorial; that not only impious men, but the apostate spirits themselves, should be saved, after they should be sufficiently purified in the fire; and that mercy would finally be extended to every lapsed intelligence without exception. A sermon preached by Richard against this doctrine, at Barrow, commanded great attention at the time, and led to a correspondence with the preacher, of which, however, no traces are now remaining. When he was only nineteen years of age, his spirit was stirred within him by a pamphlet circulated by a clergyman of Derby, with the somewhat contemptuous title of "*An Address to the People called Methodists.*" If the substance of this production be here justly represented, it was weak and injudicious enough. But even had the author been a Goliath of theology, the youthful

champion would probably have gone forth to hurl defiance at the godless giant! It was on this occasion that he first put forth "his maiden publication," entitled, *An Apology for the Methodists*, by Richard Watson, Preacher of the Gospel. Whether the Philistine fell before him, we do not find recorded. In the midst of his engagements he found leisure for unbounded but very desultory reading. Among other books, he stumbled upon Watts's treatise on the glorified humanity of Christ. We are told that his faith was not shaken by the adventure; but that he was betrayed by it into habits of incautious and controversial talk, which exposed him to a suspicion of heresy. The knowledge of this imputation burst upon him in a manner which overwhelmed him with consternation. "When he went to one of the villages to preach, the house where he had been cordially entertained was closed against him. He was refused permission to address the congregation. He was denied even a night's lodging, where he had often been received as an *Angel of God!*" This outrageous eruption of orthodoxy against one who had never been publicly accused or tried, was too much for the spirit of the almost beardless preacher. And he did, what many a bearded man might have been tempted to do, under similar provocation; he instantly withdrew from his work as an itinerant preacher.

The commentary of Mr. Jackson upon this affair, is, that Richard Watson, "by this act, was disobedient to the *Divine Call*, which he *unquestionably* had received, and, like another Jonah, *fled from the presence of the Lord!*" To us, who know nothing of any call to the ministry except that which receives the episcopal sanction, and which maintains the ministerial succession, all this sounds exceedingly odd and strange. But, as our object is not controversy, we shall content ourselves with saying, that, whether the call, in this instance, were divine or not, it is clear that the call of Richard Watson's elder brethren in the ministry must have had as good a title as his own to that character; and that, if he felt himself aggrieved, he might have appealed to their authority, and demanded investigation of the charge against him. At this time, however, his historian confesses, he knew and cared little about the principles of church government. He nevertheless felt, when he had time for reflection, that if, at first, *he did well to be angry*, he did very ill to yield so hastily to the impulse. On his retirement from the ministry, he entered on some line of secular business. Nothing, however, seemed to go well with him, except that he married very much to his satisfaction. The upbraidings of his conscience were incessant. His inaptitude for mere worldly occupation was incurable. He could find no rest, under the suspension of his customary spiritual labours; and, at last, found refuge from his miseries in

the *Methodist New Connexion*; a society which differed, in certain peculiarities of constitution, from the original body, but held precisely the same theological doctrines: and as they embarrassed him by no puzzling questions touching matters of discipline, he transferred himself to their communion without any misgiving or perplexity.

His association with these people was, in one respect, extremely fortunate. His duties, with them, were sufficiently easy to allow him leisure for the cultivation and enrichment of his mind. At last, however, he became dissatisfied with the system of his new friends; tendered his resignation to the authorities of the circuit; returned as a private member to the old Wesleyan connection; and in 1812 was re-admitted as an itinerant preacher, being then about thirty-one years of age.

It is from this period that the character of Richard Watson becomes chiefly important. And it is precisely at this point, too, that it becomes impossible to represent, succinctly, the course of his life and occupations, by any artifice of condensation or abridgment. From henceforward, his biography is neither more nor less than the history of his removals from circuit to circuit, after the manner of the Wesleyans,—of his incessant labours of body and mind, in the exercise of his ministry,—of his constantly advancing influence over the community with which he was connected,—of the perpetually expanding space which he occupied in the eye of what is sometimes called the *religious world*,—and, more especially, of his vast and often splendid exertions in the missionary cause. These are the materials out of which the remainder of the volume is principally composed. We have already hinted that economy of space or patience, has by no means entered into the calculations of the biographer, in the execution of his task. He seems to have written and compiled with an unbounded reliance on the insatiable appetite of a certain very numerous class of his readers; and we have no reason to suppose that he has overrated their capacities of digestion. For ourselves, we must be content to avow,—at the hazard of being stigmatised as a degenerate and puny race,—that we could have been well satisfied if the entertainment provided for us had been upon a much less heroic scale.

Richard Watson died on the 8th of January, 1833, partly exhausted by unmitigated toil, partly torn to pieces by bodily suffering. In one respect he resembled Robert Hall. His corporeal frame was, for many years of his life, “an apparatus of torture.” In a former number we recorded the result of the *post mortem* examination of Hall’s remains. We have now an opportunity of doing the same thing with reference to Richard Watson.

The subjoined description of the appearances was furnished by James Hunter, Esq.

"On making an examination after death, the gall-bladder and adjoining portion of the liver were found adhering to the neighbouring viscera. The gall-duct was completely obliterated, a case of very rare occurrence. The gall-bladder was much altered in structure, and contained, instead of bile, a clear fluid like water. The changes in the liver, gall-bladder, and ducts, were evidently of long standing; and were sufficient to account for the distressing symptoms under which Mr. Watson had been labouring for years."

It is possible that some of our readers may be disposed to turn away from these anatomical expositions. For our own part, we are in the habit of regarding them as inexpressibly important. Every thing is important, which illustrates the predominance of the spiritual over the carnal and material nature. Every thing is important, which affords an impressive commentary on the exclamation, *O death where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?* We apprehend that nothing can bring home more forcibly to our hearts the sovereignty of faith, and hope, and love, than intellectual and moral wonders achieved in the midst of a protracted martyrdom. Stoicism, we know, has done much to exalt the power of mind above that of sense; whether it be the stoicism of an Attic school, or the stoicism of a North American wilderness. Ambition, too, and Pride, and Egotism in all its various types and disguises, have likewise done much to show that the *dust and ashes* are but the poor and beggarly elements of our nature. But the grand triumph is, when the spirit can stretch onward, not *seeking great things for itself* in this world; but impelled only by the celestial motive of *glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth, and good-will towards men*; and this, too, while the flesh is not merely lusting against the spirit, but fighting against it, and striving, as it were, to lacerate the wings of the spirit, in the madness of its anguish. This is the spectacle which was exhibited to the world, in perfection, upon the Cross. And this is the victory of the *mind which was in Christ Jesus*, which has since, in humbler measure and proportion, been exhibited to the world by many of Christ's faithful servants. And deeply should we have reason to despise ourselves, if we denied this praise to such men as Robert Hall and Richard Watson. We may lament that they should have lived as aliens from what we cannot but regard as the Apostolic Church of Christ. But shame upon us, if we were to question, that they died, as every disciple of Christ must wish to die,—as conquerors, and more than conquerors, through His might, over the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Shall we be pardoned, here, for a moment's digression? It has

recently been our chance to peruse the Life of the great Frederic of Prussia, by Lord Dover. At the close of that narrative we have before us the death of an infidel philosopher: and a more astounding contrast between the weakness and the strength of man's unsanctified nature, never, we verily believe, was exhibited to mankind. Frederic, it is true, in a certain sense, was victorious over infirmity and pain. His last years were beset by an almost intolerable complication of maladies. And yet, the severest bodily suffering seldom extorted from him an expression of impatience; and never was allowed to furnish an excuse for the interruption of his duties as a king. And so far, all is noble and admirable. In the midst, however, of all this magnanimous firmness, the power of self-will was rampant. There was, indeed, the inflexible strength of purpose,—the commanding force of intellect,—in short, the spirit which prompts man to exclaim, *Dextra mihi Deus!* But where was the heroism of resignation? Where was the unconquerable might of meekness? Where was the glorious manifestation of strength made perfect in weakness? Why, the very man whose mind had stood erect in the midst of a deluge of calamity—the man whose genius had dissipated to the winds the onset of nearly all the combined strength of Europe—the man, too, who could defy the worst extremities of physical anguish,—that very man was unable to overcome—what?—his passion for *polenta* and eel-pie? Yes—the indomitable Frederic—the invincible captain,—the over-ruling military genius of the age,—while tottering on the verge of the sepulchre, was a slave to sensualities which, in the common estimation of mankind, degrade our nature below that of the brutes. It was vain for his physicians to remonstrate. He drove them from his presence, if their interpretation of his symptoms was at variance with his own royal caprices. And so he continued, to the last, to gorge himself with his favourite poisons—(sometimes even to vomiting and convulsions)—and to inflame his stomach, and to corrupt his blood, and to light up for himself the fires of a most sordid martyrdom. It is true—he endured all, without complaint and without flinching; such was the supremacy and the might of a stubborn philosophy. But surely, angels might weep, and demons might laugh, to witness such a triumph;—to behold a man who, in the very jaws of death, could defy torment with the courage of a hero; and, at the same time, indulge his palate like one whose only *God was his belly!*

And now let us turn to the contemplation of the life and death of them, who serve their God and their Saviour, in the midst of weakness, and fear, and much trembling; with the thorn in their flesh, but with the love of God shed abroad upon their hearts. We have here the same superiority over pain—the same victory

of mind over matter—but all this dignified and hallowed by communion of the soul with Him, who is the only source of strength, and holiness, and purity. We recommend the comparison to the worshippers of Reason, and the despisers of Faith.

Such being our notions of Richard Watson as an individual, it will hardly be imagined that we address ourselves to the consideration of his life and opinions, with the slightest shadow of unkind or uncharitable feeling hovering over us, to darken our judgment. When we reflect on what he was, and what he accomplished, we cannot, indeed, suppress an emotion of sadness and regret, that such a man should have remained, to the end of his days, in separation from the Church, out of whose bosom his own communion originally came forth. But we cannot get rid of a strong conviction, that, had his theological training for the ministry been more profound and more complete, we should have numbered him among us. We can scarcely conceive it possible that a man, gifted, as he appears to have been, with mental capacities of a high order, could have deliberately surveyed the history of the primitive Catholic Church, without trembling at the thoughts of a defection from that branch of it, which has been, for so many ages, planted in this land. He *must*—surely he *must*—then have perceived the danger, to say the very least, of rushing into the sacred ministry, merely under the impulse of certain personal feelings and convictions. Surely he *must* have perceived that, (to adopt the view of Hooker), Episcopacy is either a divine institution; or else that it had the subsequent sanction of the Divine approbation. He must have seen the rashness of rending asunder the chain of succession, which was bound to the Apostolic chair, and has been continued onward, from age to age, through a long unbroken line of consecrated men. He must have discerned that the Bishops of Christ's Church, have formed, as it were, a series of *Lampadéphori*, who have delivered from hand to hand—(unworthy as those hands may sometimes have been)—the sacred torch of ecclesiastical authority, from one generation to another. That our God is not the God of confusion, but of order, was well known to him and his brethren; and, to no man that ever lived, was it better known, than to the founder of his sect. For where, in all Christendom, shall we find a communion,—we might say, indeed, a *hierarchy*,—more carefully and elaborately organized, than the Wesleyan Connection? If, then, from his youth up, Richard Watson had been familiar with the monuments of the Church, and the writings of her earliest and purest Fathers,—it is scarcely possible that he could have endured the thought of breaking that *order*, which has been handed down to us from the days of her infancy to the present hour. But, unhappily, his

mental discipline was most irregular and desultory. When he obeyed the *Divine call*, (as he doubtless imagined it,) he was a mere boy. He "*knew, and cared, nothing*" about Church authority and discipline. His brain was a chaos of crude and miscellaneous reading. His heart, the seat of pure and zealous, but wild and disorderly, impulses. And when, in after life, he looked into the Fathers, he was deeply and irrevocably committed to the cause which had been dear to him from childhood. His prepossessions were all formed. His principles had become fixed, and solid, and incapable of re-moulding. And thus, we doubt not, it has been, with many other devoted and estimable men. They have hastened, in early life, into the ministry, we question not, from very pure and conscientious motives; but, most generally, with consciences extremely ill-informed; and, in many instances, with consciences not informed at all, upon the great questions of Church authority and discipline. At the outset of their course, they had known nothing, or next to nothing, of the history of the Church, or of her claims upon their obedience. The possibility that separation from her should be sinful, had never occurred, for an instant, to their thought. And when such men are once engaged in the labours of their sacred vocation, it is in vain to ply them with an appeal to Christian antiquity. They have either no leisure for the investigation; or they have no patience for it; or else, their faculties have acquired, almost imperceptibly, the power of making both Scripture and antiquity correspond to the "form and pressure" of their own peculiar habits and opinions. We, surely, may be allowed to deplore that this should be so, without exposing ourselves to the charge of illiberal and uncharitable rigour. At all events, we suppose the Wesleyans will hardly feel much exasperation against us, when we say, that we wish nothing worse for such men as Richard Watson, than that they should be faithful members and ministers of the Church of England. We are quite sure that their zeal, and their talents, and their acquirements, would find, in our communion, at least as ample a sphere of usefulness, as can be found any where in the regions of Nonconformity. And we trust that we may add, without offence, the expression of our own firm belief, that their exertions would then be in much more strict conformity, than they now are, with the primitive and apostolic ordinances of the Christian Church.

It would be a very needless work for us to plunge into a minute examination of the peculiarities of the Wesleyan doctrinal theology. The intelligent portion of the public are already familiar with them. It is sufficient for us to state that they are all reflected, with full orb, from the mind of Richard Watson. For instance, he contended earnestly for the full, distinct, infallible, testimony

of the Spirit of God, with the spirits of all true believers. He maintained that—

“ We must, first, be persuaded of God’s pardoning love to us, *personally*, before we can, in the Scriptural sense, love God ; and that such a persuasion is, therefore, a pre-requisite to what is properly termed Christian holiness ; that the theory which requires men to ascertain the fact of their personal acceptance with God, from the actual conformity of their temper and conduct to the precepts of the Gospel, is directly calculated to produce a *spirit of bondage unto fear*, rather than that filial disposition which characterized the Christians of the Apostolic age, and which is, indeed, a believer’s strength.”—(p. 373).

And in another place he recommends a correspondent to “ rest not a moment, without the *felt presence* of God.”—(p. 258.) He conceived that a true believer might be, and indeed must be, under an entire conviction of his being personally *accepted in the beloved*. And yet, in spite of all this, it would seem that the doctrine of *indefectible grace* forms no part of the Wesleyan creed. For Watson’s biographer mentions it as

“ A sad fact, that several persons (at Leeds), who were under religious impressions at the time of their secession (from the Connection), yielding to the soul-destroying influence of clamour and party-spirit, *lost their gracious convictions*, and abandoned altogether the profession of religion.”—(p. 476).

To the whole of the Calvinistic system, indeed, Richard Watson was conscientiously and firmly opposed. He regarded it as presumptuous—

“ To limit the divine mercy in the redemption of mankind, upon philosophic grounds, and in the teeth of the most express declarations of Scripture ; he held that the peculiarities of the Calvinistic theory impose very serious restraints on Christian ministers in the discharge of their official duties ; and that the moral tendency of its tenets was far from salutary.”

His notion on this subject received a remarkable confirmation from a quarter in which any thing like concession was least to be expected. He once saw Rowland Hill at a large meeting of dissenting ministers ; who, supposing Watson to belong to the Independent Denomination, said to him, “ What shall we do, Sir, to prevent the spread of Antinomianism, which is making such dreadful havoc of many of our country churches. Don’t you think, Sir, that there really is something in our Calvinistic doctrines which is calculated to produce these terrible evils ?” Watson was considerably embarrassed by a question like this from the aged Apostle of Calvinism ; but, nevertheless, he assented to the suggestion. Upon which Rowland exclaimed, with his own peculiar emphasis of manner, “ I spent my younger days

in fighting the Arminian Devil ; but I will spend the rest of my life in fighting the Devil Antinomianism." And even so old Rowland did ! For, from that moment, the gorgon countenance of the Calvinistic theology was a good deal veiled in his public ministrations. The snakes, at least, were hidden, and nothing but the softer features disclosed ; so that the petrifying influence of the doctrine, it may be presumed, was somewhat mitigated, if not wholly intercepted. But, to return to Watson. He was greatly delighted and satisfied with a Tract on God's Decrees, by Thomas Pierce, a learned Episcopal Divine, who flourished during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. This performance did much to strengthen him in the persuasion, that the Almighty may, by an act of mere sovereignty, elect nations and bodies of people to the enjoyment of church privileges on earth ; while his decrees touching their eternal condition will have respect to individual character. From all this it seems that Richard Watson, like all his Wesleyan brethren, regarded the Calvinistic scheme as unsound and unscriptural. And yet we confess that we find it extremely difficult to distinguish between the Wesleyan doctrine of a *distinct and indubitable* internal witness, which tells the believer of his certain acceptance, and the Calvinistic doctrine of a perfect assurance of salvation. For if a man has once received from the Spirit a positive and irrevocable assurance that he is a child of God, one hardly sees how he can stop short of the conclusion that his calling and election is already made sure, and that his name is *indelibly* written in the book of life. But, however this may be, Watson was undoubtedly right in protesting against the introduction of philosophy and metaphysics into these discussions. From the ground of philosophy and metaphysics, however, nothing will ever prevail upon the argumentative Calvinist to retire. For he must know very well that it is the only ground which does not sink under his feet. He knows, too, that this is the ground from which mere human logic will never be able to drive him. As Waterland himself confesses, there is no *discernible* flaw in the predestinarian *reasoning*. The only way of answering it is, to appeal to human nature ; or rather to appeal to the *whole tenor* of the scriptures of God. St. Louis recommended all good and unlearned Catholics not to argue with heretics, but to draw their sword, and to drive it into the bowels of the misbelievers, *as far as it would go*. Even so say we. Never argue metaphysically with a Fatalist of any class or description. But draw forth the sword of the Spirit, even the word of God ; and thrust, not a part of the weapon, but the whole of it, up to the very hilt, into the heart of your antagonist's logic.

There is another of the Wesleyan doctrines which has always

confounded sober-minded men, but which was nevertheless embraced in its fullest extent by Richard Watson; namely, the doctrine of Christian perfection, or entire sanctification. It is usually believed that our sanctification is never complete, on this side the grave. But Wesley and Fletcher thought otherwise. And, in accordance with them, Watson contended that it is "the common privilege of believers to be saved from all sin in the present life, and to be sanctified to God, in body, soul, and spirit, till they enter upon the heavenly state."—(p. 470.) In his *Theological Dictionary* he says, "Sanctification in this world must be complete. The whole nature must be sanctified. All sin must be utterly abolished; or the soul can never be admitted into the glorious presence of God." We must honestly confess that we have not, at this moment, present to our recollection, the precise line of argument by which the followers of Wesley are in the habit of defending this very hazardous position; and we have no leisure to review the discussion. But there are some fearful considerations which must inevitably rush into every mind the instant the doctrine is propounded. In the first place, it is difficult to understand what can be meant by *complete sanctification*, unless it implies a process which brings the human soul into a state of conformity with the will of God, as perfect as that which was exemplified in the person of our blessed Saviour himself. And, that any human soul has ever attained to such perfect conformity, is a proposition which sounds to us like profaneness and impiety. In the second place, even on the supposition that such perfection is attainable by man, the number who actually attain it must be most awfully small indeed. And if none but those who attain it, shall ever be admitted into the presence of God, all but a very trifling remnant of the human race, must be doomed to destruction from his presence for ever! Thirdly, the believer is conscious of having reached this consummation of holiness and purity, before the hour of death,—or he is not. If he is conscious of it, he is in possession of the fullest and most finished assurance of salvation that can be communicated to the soul of man; or, in other words, the Calvinistic doctrine of assurance, in its utmost extremity of presumption, is an article of the Wesleyan creed. If he is not conscious of it, he must leave this world with one of two prospects before him; namely, either that the penal futurity which awaits him is purgatorial, and that its fires must be endured until they shall have effected the entire abolition of the body of sin,—(a doctrine which, as we have seen, the Wesleyans utterly abjure);—or else he must expire with a fearful looking for of judgment, that threatens him with never-ending tribulation and anguish. And

in that case, the brightness of hope can scarcely ever visit the chamber of the dying penitent; a covering of sackcloth will be spread over his heaven, and the shadow of eternal death will come down upon his soul.

It is remarkable that neither Watson, nor even Wesley himself, ever ventured to affirm, that this super-human perfection of holiness had been attained by themselves. And it may safely be presumed that they never could have produced any one human being, of whom they could confidently say that he was *thus* prepared to meet the face of God. The language of Watson, as the hour of dissolution approached, breathes of nothing but humility. "I have never," he said, "been so powerfully impressed with a sense of my own *worthlessness*, as during this illness." And again, "I am a poor vile worm. But then, the worm is permitted to crawl out of the earth into the garden of the Lord." Expressions like these may possibly be, somehow or other, explained away, by resolute believers in the doctrine of perfection. And truly the doctrine will, practically, be harmless enough, if its *spirit* is so far forgotten by the believer, in the course of his thoughts, and words, and deeds, that it requires a circuitous process of explanation to reconcile his language and his demeanour with the *letter* of the doctrine. The probability is, that the theory of *entire sanctification* is, after all, a *theory* only; and, virtually, little more than the exaggeration of this undoubted truth, namely, that no Christian is to aim below perfection; no Christian is to work with a model before him inferior to the highest spiritual excellence. No man is warranted to say,—the body of sin can never be utterly abolished in this world; and, therefore, it is madness to attempt it. He is to strive and reach after the things that are before, with as much animation as if his success were to be complete. This is the spirit in which men strive after worldly masteries; and this, too, is the spirit in which they ought to strive for an imperishable crown. Common sense tells us this; and, what is more to the purpose, the Bible tells us the same thing. And it is not very difficult to imagine, how this plain intelligible principle may be magnified and distended, when seen through the medium of a somewhat enthusiastic piety; till the believer comes to imagine that he may, in the most direct and literal sense of the words, be at last presented personally spotless before the presence of God.

We abstain from all further consideration of the peculiar doctrines of the Wesleyan school. We likewise forbear to enter into any large discussion of the merits or demerits of the *Life of Wesley* by Mr. Southey, or of Richard Watson's publication in reply to it. We refrain from this topic purposely and advisedly.

Methodism is now before us. It is interesting to us as a system which, at this moment, is in active and extended operation. The character and view of its founder are, of course, very interesting topics for the philosophic and religious historian. But we have to do with this system, in its present shape, and as it is actually influencing, either for good or evil, the spiritual condition of the existing generation. We, therefore, partake but slightly of the agitation and stir of a controversy, which relates entirely to the source and origin of the scheme. To us, at the present day, it matters comparatively little, whether the motives of John Wesley were free from every earthly taint or mixture; or whether any baser elements dropped in, as unawares, to give a more powerful heat and impulse to his work. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to one remark. It has been alleged by Mr. Southey, that Wesley was, in part, prompted by Ambition to his extraordinary course of labour. Now, whether this surmise be just, or whether it be not, it does appear to us that Watson's way of dealing with it, indicates but a very imperfect knowledge of human nature. "It is mere trifling," he says, "to speak of *ambition*, in the case of Mr. Wesley, in any but the best sense. *Wealth*, it is acknowledged, was not his object. The only *honour* he met with was to be reproached and persecuted. And the *power*, of which we have heard so much, was the power to manage the affairs of a poor and despised people."—(p. 322.) Now we apprehend that no dispassionate person that ever looked into Mr. Southey's volumes, has ever risen from the perusal with the impression, that the system of Methodism had its *rise* in ambition, or the lust of power. He would rather conclude that it sprang, humanly speaking, from a spirit of fervent piety, combined with a most extraordinary strength of will. He would indeed find that, in the judgment of the historian, the vast and expanding influence of Wesley brought its own peculiar temptations with it; that a tone of command stole, gradually and imperceptibly, over the demeanour of the great reformer; and that the satisfaction of ruling the movements of a mighty and complicated engine, mingled itself, more or less, with the excitements of religious zeal. Let us here repeat, that we abstain from pronouncing any judgment on the correctness of this theory. But, even if this theory were made out beyond all contradiction, we can see nothing in it which ought fatally to impair the claims of this wonderful man to the reverence and admiration of his own followers. Even if it were absolutely certain that he became somewhat enamoured of his own astonishing supremacy, most assuredly no strange thing would have happened unto him. Wesley, after all, was but a human being. It will, therefore, scarcely be contended, that he was altogether exempt from human infirmities. Why, then, should he have been exempt

from the danger of that last infirmity of noble and ardent minds,—the love of influence and sway? That he despised wealth is perfectly notorious; for wealth was an object far too contemptible and low to impel a spirit like his. But when we are told that the *honour* of being reproached and persecuted could have no charms, we are, in effect, told to throw away the history of our species. For nothing, we believe, is better known to all who have carefully studied that history, than the fact, that there have been minds which this species of honour has sometimes affected with a sort of strange intoxication. Again, the power of Wesley, we are reminded, was the power to manage the affairs of a poor and despised people. But then, it must also be remembered, that this poor and despised people were, in a manner, his own creation,—that he saw their numbers expanding at his word, day by day, and almost hour by hour,—that the heart of the whole multitude, for the most part, bowed down before him, as the heart of one man—and that this is a spectacle which an enterprizing nature is seldom able to look upon without a certain elation of heart and countenance. Once more, however, let us not be misunderstood. We are not standing forward to accuse Wesley of ambition, or love of power; but, simply, to correct the somewhat defective philosophy of his Vindicator. For any thing that we are much disposed to advance to the contrary, Wesley may have been endowed with the purity and elevation of a seraph. All that we contend for is, that these abstract speculations of his defender, about honour and ambition, can do but little to better his claim to that towering excellence.

It would be unjust to withhold an honourable mention of Richard Watson's *vindication* of something still more important than the character of John Wesley. In 1818, he stood forth as a champion of the orthodox faith against that very amiable and learned, but *rather* wrong-headed man, Dr. Adam Clarke. In his Commentary on the Scriptures, Adam had maintained that the title of the Son of God belongs to Jesus Christ, solely with reference to his human birth of the Virgin Mary. He contended, it is true, most strenuously for the *true and proper divinity of Christ*. But the doctrine of his Eternal Sonship he considered as one of those doctrines which cannot stand the test of rational investigation, and therefore *cannot* be true. Upon this, Richard Watson stepped forth to do battle for the truth, although he was by many years junior to his venerable antagonist. Some extracts from his performance are given by his biographer; and these are extremely creditable both to his temper and his understanding. The controversy, however, lies in a nut-shell. The only question is, *how is it written?* And if it is written, in effect, that Christ is the Everlasting Son of the Father, there is an end

of the matter. If a man is prepared to set up his Reason against the testimony of the Scriptures,—especially with regard to matters which the Angels bend down to look into,—he is likewise prepared to turn heresiarch, upon the first serious difficulty which meets him in the Bible. Besides, what relief is gained for *Reason*, by the application of the title of *Son* to Jesus Christ, merely as the offspring of a human mother, miraculously conceived? The Reason of an Arian, or a Socinian, indeed, may experience prodigious relief from such an interpretation of Scripture; for the Socinian denies the pre-existence of Christ, and the Arian contends that he was only a created being. But what burden does it lift off from the Reason or the Conscience of an orthodox Trinitarian,—of an advocate for the co-essential and co-eternal Divinity of the WORD? If his Reason does not stumble at the orthodox interpretation of the first verses of St. John's Gospel, we cannot very well understand what other interruption it has to fear. If the Saviour whom we worship, *was with God, and was God*, from all eternity, of what importance, comparatively, can it be to us, by what human phrase his mysterious relation to the Father is indicated? When once it is allowed, (as it was allowed by Adam Clarke,) that the Divinity of the WORD is a "true and proper divinity," and that of this Divinity the Father is the source and fountain, it must inevitably follow that the Divinity of the Word, though perfect, is nevertheless derivative. And why should not the word *Son* be used to point out to us the distinction between that ineffable derivation of essence, and the mere result of creative energy? It was contended by the admirers of Adam Clarke's doctrine, that it removed a difficulty from the doctrine of the Trinity. It removes no difficulty deserving of the name. It *can* remove none,—unless the rejection of the title, the Son of God, in the catholic acceptance of it, be held to convey a negation of the pre-existence of Christ,—or, at least, to imply that he was only an exalted creature. Unless it does this, it gets rid of nothing that can be deemed mysterious; and the whole controversy shrinks into a dispute about the fitness of a word.

The publication of Richard Watson on this subject established his reputation as a sound and able divine. It was greatly admired by Robert Hall, who cordially wished it a very extensive circulation. An extensive circulation it certainly had; and there is no doubt that it did much to settle the wavering faith of many of his people. Some, however, there were among them who were unable to imagine that the work was dictated by any thing but a spirit of envy. It was supposed that the author sickened at the well-earned honours of the revered commentator. And there

were several who pertinaciously retained, to the end of their lives, the impression that Adam Clarke and Richard Watson were rivals of each other! Nothing could be more unrighteous, or more base, than these imputations. The tone and manner of Watson's "Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ," was singularly temperate and respectful; and there is every reason for believing that his nature was utterly incapable of the hateful and ignominious motives, which were so unworthily ascribed to him. Adam Clarke himself appears to have been uninfected with these discreditable suspicions. For, although he vouchsafed not a syllable in reply to his antagonist, he afterwards joined most cordially in recommending Watson, as the fittest man that could be named to undertake the defence of Wesley's memory against the alleged misrepresentations of Mr. Southey.

We cannot quit this subject without soliciting the attention of the reader to the result of this brief controversy; namely, that the Conference resolved to admit into its body no man who denied the Divine and Eternal Sonship of Christ. Now here we have a very striking instance of the manner in which Creeds, and Articles, and Confessions of Faith, inevitably find their way into religious societies; and we urgently recommend it to the attention of those extremely liberal persons, who are in the habit of pouring upon such things all the phials of their indignation and contempt. In its infancy, a community may be comparatively free from these odious fetters of the conscience. But then there arises among them some turbulent, wrong-headed, or self-willed mortal, who is not content with the perfect liberty of his own conscience; but insists on disturbing the conscience of his brethren, by the publication of his own reasonings or reveries, upon matters which had never before been tossed into the arena of religious conflict. What then is to be done? Is the society to be made a sanctuary for the shelter of every imaginable heresy that can be engendered in the brain of man? And if this is not to be endured, how is the mischief to be prevented but by the establishment of a Test, which shall secure to the Scriptures, *which all acknowledge*, something like an uniformity of interpretation? This is the manner in which Creeds have been introduced into the Catholic Church of Christ. And this, too, is the manner in which all classes of men who are separated from her communion, must be content to ascertain the fidelity of their own members, and to preserve themselves from a miscellaneous *colluvies* of principles and opinions. These observations, it will be perceived, are not offered in the way of censure against the Wesleyans; but just the reverse. There can be no doubt, that, on this occasion, they adopted the only practicable method of keeping their own enclosure sacred from a dangerous perversion. But, with in-

stances like these before our eyes, it really does require some exercise of patience to listen calmly to the invectives, with which the Church is frequently assailed for her *bigoted* adherence to her own formularies and articles. Of one thing, however, we are profoundly convinced,—that there is not a Dissenting community in the realm that would not despise her, as heartily as many of them hate her, if she were to consent to the demolition of those barriers, which have been thrown around her by the zeal, the piety, and the learning of her Reformers.

But now let us come to the opinions and the feelings of Richard Watson, as exhibited in the present work, respecting certain other matters; matters in themselves, perhaps, of subordinate importance, when compared with the prime and fundamental verities of the Catholic Faith; but, nevertheless, of great moment at all times, and more especially interesting in these days of fierce sectarian agitation. We allude, of course, to his sentiments, and those of his communion, towards the National Religious Institutions of his empire. In the first place, then, it appears, that Watson, (and we may consider him as the representative of the most moderate and sound-hearted of his sect,) was, like the venerated founder of his society, habitually loyal; an enemy to those who are given to change; a decided adversary to all sweeping and precipitate reform. In the year 1806, he was engaged in the publication of a weekly paper, the prospectus of which is full of most excellent *Conservatism*. And then, with regard to the Church,—he always professed that he was no enemy to the Church! On the contrary, he seems to have had frequent and filial yearnings towards her. He had gone out from her, it is true, and had sought a distinct settlement for himself. But he protested that he carried with him no undutiful or hostile feelings towards his ancient mother. He only complained that she was, now and then, rather too apt to scold at those of her children, who had gone from her household; and that, in her ill-humour, she was a great deal too free in the use of the hard names, *Sectarian* and *Schismatic*. When he visited Oxford, there came over him a fit of devout reverence, almost amounting to enthusiasm.

“The ancient and venerable appearance of the public buildings, sacred to learning, and the personal examples of virtue and profound scholarship connected with them in his recollections, all tended to awaken in his heart the most pleasurable emotions. Here, many of those master-spirits were disciplined, by whose writings his own studies had been directed, and his mind trained to wisdom and piety. *He used even to admire the dresses of that learned body, and took a lively interest in the particulars of a college life.*” [Said we not well, that Richard Watson would have been, assuredly and cordially, ours, had his early training been

such as to bring him within the sphere of all these generous influences?]" "No man was better qualified than he to estimate the benefits of sound learning, particularly in connection with theology; and no man was ever more sincerely attached to the institutions of his country, especially those which bear upon its literature, religion, science, and legislation."

To be sure, there was one rather awkward circumstance which took place during his visit, and which might have tended to dissipate, for a time, these glorious musings. For while Mr. Jabez Bunting was preaching, the Proctor, (being on the prowl for stray undergraduates, who might be tempted to witness these irregular services,) walked, *with an air of authority*, into the chapel; took his stand in one of the aisles; deliberately surveyed the congregation; and, finding no schismatical academic present, left the preacher to finish his discourse without further interruption or molestation.—(p. 226.)

It does not, however, appear that this very *untoward occurrence* gave any thing like a serious shock to his sentiments of veneration for the university, which was dear to his heart, as the nursery of Wesley.—His notions on the subject of education are worthy of all acceptance:—

"With the infidel systems of education, which assume that human nature is pure, and, therefore, needs no discipline but that of instruction, literary, scientific, and moral, he held no compromise, but waged a most determined war. All education he considered as radically defective, unless it comprehended a distinct and explicit knowledge of the nature and method of Salvation through the sacrifice of Christ, as well as a competent acquaintance with Christian duty. The polities erected and adorned by ancient nations were built like Babylon, with clay hardened only in the sun, and which has long become a mass of ruin, undistinguished from its parent earth. They were without perpetuity, because they were without the elements of it. The fabric of their grandeur had tumbled down, because it was not combined with the imperishable principles of virtue; and their want of virtue resulted from their want of religion. Athens mourning along the galleries of our public museums, over the frail *Ægis* of her Minerva, admonishes us to put our trust within the shadow of the impenetrable shield of the truth of the living God."

His own religious loyalty, and that of the Conference, were nobly manifested in an address to the Methodist Societies in 1819:—

"Remember," he says, "you belong to a Religious Society which has, from the beginning, explicitly recognized as high and essential parts of Christian duty, *to fear God, and honour the King*; to submit to magistrates for conscience sake. You are surrounded with persons to whom these duties are objects of contempt and ridicule. Show your regard for them, because they are the doctrines of your Saviour. Abhor those publications in which they are assailed, along with every other doctrine of your holy religion; and judge of the spirit and objects of those, who

would deceive you into political parties and associations, by the wiles of their lives, and the infidel malignity of their words and writings." "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?"—p. 271—273.

His notions of *unity*, in religious matters, are very distinctly set forth in his speech at the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1830. In this address, he professes to consider, as among the most interesting effects of such meetings and associations, their tending to abolish the *sectarian* spirit. And here we must, of course, expect to find him speaking the language of all religious parties who have contrived to reconcile their conscience to a deliberate separation from the one Apostolic Church.

"It is very true," he says, "we might go on, as the various religious bodies went on formerly. *The Established Church might throw on us a look of haughty contempt, and we might return it with a scowl of defiance.* We and our Calvinistic brethren might wrathfully erect our quinquarticular controversy, and dip our pens in gall. And our excellent friends, the Baptists, might convert the waters of the Sanctuary into waters of bitterness and separation. All this might be done; and, perhaps, the common Father might, in pity, deal better with us than we were disposed to deal with one another."

And then, after enlarging on the milder and more comprehensive spirit which had softened off the lines of division between the various denominations of Christianity, he proceeds thus:—

"It has been a frequent and favourite metaphor, with many eminent writers and speakers on this subject, to compare the paternal union of the Churches to the union of the colours in the rainbow; and a very beautiful metaphor it is. It was not, till lately, that the Church has been entitled to this comparison. For, if formerly it was like one, it was so distinct in its hues of colour, and with edges so sharp and defined, that they seemed intended to cut each other through the whole span of the arch. For my part, I do not admire such a rainbow as this. Neither could I be much taken with a rainbow of one colour only. I am afraid we should begin to dispute as to what colour this should be. And, if we agreed as to that, we should not long rest satisfied with it. One party would wish to have it enlivened with a little more red; and another would have it sobered with a little more purple. For my part, I am contented with the rainbow of nature, with its distinct, but commingling hues, soft, beautiful, varied, one. And if we could see all the Churches of Christ worthy to be compared to such an appearance, we might, in the language of one of the writers of the Apocrypha, say, '*When thou seest the rainbow, bless Him that made it. Very glorious is it to behold; and the hands of the Almighty have bended it.*' And I have no desire that the union of the Churches should be more perfect than this, till we enter into the bright and colourless light of eternity, and see, eye to eye, and face to face."—p. 499.

As a further proof of his *Catholic* temper, his biographer apprizes us that Watson even went so far as to express his persuasion, that

"Among that part of the Clergy who are *not* usually denominated Evangelical, and the attendants upon their ministry, there is far more sincere piety than some warm religionists are disposed to admit; though somewhat of an ascetic (*ascetic?*) kind, and not so aggressive and missionary in its character as is desirable. In short, uncharitableness be regarded as a sin; and greatly admired that universal benevolence which Mr. Wesley inculcated and exemplified. One of the characters of genuine Methodism, he said, is, that it is abhorrent from the spirit of *Sectarianism*. It meets upon the common ground of loving the Lord Jesus in sincerity."—p. 647.

Now, it cannot be denied that all this sounds very soothing and delightful. It would be irresistibly pacific, if one could but forget two things: first, that there may, after all, be some serious danger lest all manner of unsound principles should stealthily creep in, beneath the ample folds of this mantle of Christian liberality: and secondly, that there still survives upon the earth, in many quarters, a strong persuasion, that a wilful departure from the practice and the constitution of primitive Christianity, involves—we must write it—the guilt of Schism: so that, even in these enlightened times, there are actually multitudes of honest, well-informed, and learned men, who—when they behold the apparition of many-coloured unity, above presented to us—are tempted to distrust this beautiful metaphor, and to exclaim, with a very different image in their thoughts,—

Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est machina muros;

Aut aliquis latet error.

And as we, ourselves,—bigots that we are!—are not free from such apprehensions, we hope that we, too, shall be pardoned for saying a word or two on the *beautiful metaphor* in question. The physical rainbow, then, as every one knows, is a phenomenon produced by the separation and untwisting of the various-coloured rays, of which the uniform and candid blaze of the solar light is composed. And we know that every colour exhibited in the *spectrum* is equally from heaven. But we are unable to discern any satisfactory resemblance between this appearance and the *ecclesiastical rainbow* which delights the imagination of Richard Watson. We cannot be at all sure that the light of God's will is capable of this sort of decomposition and analysis. At all events, we cannot be sure that God hath endowed the moral elements in which we live with any such analogous powers of *reflexion*, or *refraction*, as shall *faithfully* convey to the eye of the spirit the component rays of that glorious and perfect emanation. When, therefore, we look upon this varied collection of tints, we cannot be certain there may not be some optical delusion. We can feel no assurance that God hath here set his bow in the heavens, or that the hands of the Almighty

have bended it. We cannot confidently regard it as the token of peace, or a pledge that the fountains of the great deep shall be no more broken up, and that the deluge of religious confusion shall not rise again above the summits of our mountains.

Let us, however, quit the region of beautiful metaphors, and return to a sober prosaic view of Richard Watson's Methodism. It was, we are told,

"Of a purely Wesleyan character. He was no *theoretic Dissenter*. He cherished no feelings of hostility to the religious establishment of his country. An Established Church, recognizing the grand principles of Evangelical truth, and accompanied by a legal protection to all who prefer a different creed and mode of worship, he declared to be, in his view, the most likely means of promoting true religion and morality, and, by consequence, the national welfare. He was far, indeed, from thinking that the Church of England had done all that she ought to have done for the instruction and spiritual benefit of the people. But her formularies embody all the vital truths of Christianity. Her services keep the subject of religion continually before the public mind. Not a few of her Clergy have been, and still are, among the most useful and exemplary of the ministers of Christ: and her general influence is therefore great and salutary. In his writings he speaks of her as 'the mother of us all;' and he describes the *sanctified* and profound erudition embodied in the works of her Divines, as 'the light of Christendom.' It was not, indeed, either his wish or his hope, that the Church should sanction all the functionaries and machinery of Methodism; or that the Methodists should abandon any of the peculiarities of their discipline, which had been of such great utility in promoting the interests of religion: for this, he thought, would be beneficial to neither party, and would require from both such a sacrifice of principle as they ought not to make. But he was desirous that the Methodists should always stand in a friendly relation to the Church, aiming not at party purposes, but simply at the advancement of true religion. His admiration of the Liturgy was unbounded: and he greatly enjoyed the use of it in the Wesleyan chapels on the Sunday morning. Its beauties as a literary composition recommended it to his fine taste: but it was more strongly endeared to him by the spirit of pure and elevated devotion which it breathes. When he was confined to the house, he read it with his family, as a substitute for public worship: and he said to the writer of these pages, about a year before his death, that if he were a private individual, and there were no Methodist Congregation with whom he could meet in Divine worship, he should attend the religious services of the Established Church in preference to any others, because of the solemnity and order which are secured by the use of the Liturgy. To the public reading of so large a portion of the Holy Scriptures, in the services of the Church of England, he also referred as a peculiar excellence. These sentiments were not the result of prejudice and early habit, but of observation and deep thought." —pp. 660, 661.

With regard to the opening words of the above extract, we must confess that we feel ourselves in a hopeless state of puzzle-

ment! *Watson was no theoretic Dissenter.* Now, what can this mean? That he was a Dissenter in practice, is beyond all question. Are we then to understand that his practice and his theory were at variance with each other?—or do the words merely import that he did not consider Nonconformity as among the first duties of a good citizen or a good Christian? The *theory* of dissent, if we rightly understand it, is simply this: that every man may, consistently with the mind of Christ, chuse whether he will, or will not, obey the Bishop of his Diocese; whether he will worship in the Church or the Conventicle; whether he will adhere to a ministry episcopally ordained, or whether he will follow the spiritual guidance of any individual who takes from the civil magistrate a licence to preach, or whether he will sometimes do the one, and sometimes the other, as may best suit the convenience, or the fancy, of the moment. Whether this theory be right or wrong, we are not now considering. But that such actually is the theory of dissent, can hardly be a matter of dispute. And if any man acts and speaks, advisedly and deliberately, according to this theory, we are quite unable to divine what can be in his brain, when he tells us that, in spite of all this, he is no *theoretic* Dissenter.

The rest of the above manifesto—for such we are willing to consider it—is, so far as it goes, extremely important, and highly satisfactory. It not only disclaims hostility to the Church, as one of many denominations; but it expresses something like a filial attachment to her; and it acknowledges her influence to be great and salutary; and it professes a conviction that, *as a National Establishment*, the Church of England is a mighty instrument for the preservation of sound morality, and religion pure and undefiled; and consequently, that she is the best guardian of the national welfare. All this is undoubtedly excellent. It cannot, indeed, be fairly considered as amounting to any thing like a disclaimer of the *theory* of Dissent. But it does exhibit Dissent in its least forbidding form; as divested of its bristling defiance, and its malignant scowl: and for this, among other reasons, we cordially deplore that Richard Watson was not spared for a longer time. Were he still among us, he would hear a very different language from his own, among the furious utterances of discontent and nonconformity; he would hear something more than “curses not loud but deep.” The outcry would reach him from the open *gathering together of the froward*; and it would tell him that the Establishment, which still had a place in his heart, was utterly unworthy of one spark of his attachment,—that the Church of England has destroyed more souls than it has saved,—that what is called her union with the State is unnatural, pernicious, and abominable; that National Religious Establishments are without the sanction of God’s revealed will,—nay, in

direct opposition to the spirit of his Gospel. And, we must add, that the clamour would reach his ears, swelled by the voices of some who call themselves after the name of Wesley. And, from another quarter, he would be astounded with the tidings that the Christian Universities of our land,—the places which he venerated as the nurseries of profound and *sanctified* erudition—are menaced with an invasion, not only from every region of Nonconformity, but from every corner of *Doctrinal* dissent, or it may be, from every limbo of scepticism, and every depth of infidelity;—that the honour of academic degrees, and the administration of academic interests, is confidently demanded by men, who spurn aside every test whereby their religious profession, or no-profession, may be made known. Whether such things are just, or honest, or lovely, or of good report, we leave to the judgment of thoughtful, conscientious, and religious men. But, be this as it may, such are the things which Richard Watson would be doomed to hear, if he were now in the flesh. And we ask,—if he had any such regard for the Church of England, as his biographer ascribes to him, and as his writings testify,—with this outcry echoing around him, could he be silent? If he really loved the seminaries dedicated to sound learning and religious education—could he be silent? If he had any care of his own reputation for consistency—could he be silent? And we ask, too, of his devoted followers,—we ask of them who profess to honour his memory, and to revere his virtues, and to speak his words, and to think his thoughts,—can they be silent?

For our own part, we are well pleased that certain of the sons of Nonconformity have recently spoken out; and this so plainly, that all who value the Establishment, must now be in full possession of the mind of their adversaries,—unless, indeed, a judicial dulness hath stopped their ears, and a judicial infatuation descended upon their hearts. We say that we are well pleased at this. And we say it, *not* in a spirit of insolent challenge and defiance; but, simply, because we think it best that they *should* speak out; because we are anxious to get at the *true* state of the public mind; because we conceive, that, if there be a rancorous malignity fermenting, it will be far less dangerous that it should break forth into an angry eruption, than that it should be “mining all within, and infect unseen,” while a film of outward courtesy and moderation skins over “the ulcerous place.” We are sometimes assured, with respect to the vociferous remonstrants in question, that these be only the men of Belial; but that there be many others of the brotherhood far more moderate in speech, and “in act more graceful and humane;” men whose hearts are sounder, and whose words are not so stout. How this may be, we know not. But this we know,—that the men of Belial—(if such they be)—

have the voice of a Boanerges; and that their number, (even though it should eventually turn out to be comparatively small), is enough, in positive amount, to invest them, in the public eye, with the name and attributes of *Legion*. We should, therefore, be well satisfied that the men of moderation should speak out likewise. If it be true, that there is still among the numerous tribes and families of dissent, a large body of wise, and charitable, and sober-minded men, who have no hard thoughts, or sinister designs, against the National Establishment, and who rather deprecate than invoke the powers at work for its downfall—if this, in truth, be so,—why, then we could wish that they would even give the world the benefit of their wisdom, and their charity, and their sobriety of mind. And this they can do, only by assembling themselves together, and lifting up their voice, and manifesting their strength, until *the enemy and the avenger* shall be stripped of all pretence for boasting his concentration of power and unanimity of purpose. How else is the Church to know her friends from her enemies, in the multitude of them that stand looking upon her afar off? How, otherwise, is the Legislature to know, whether the petitions, which load its table, speak the general sense of the great fraternity of separation; or whether they merely represent and express the superior energy and zeal of a *destructive* faction? Above all—we call upon the Wesleyans to be open and free-spoken. If they are ready to join the *destructive* faction,—even let them say so. If, on the contrary, they think and feel, for the most part, with Richard Watson, and with men like him, again we cry—even let them come forward, and say so. If they are a divided body, as touching this question,—if they are halting between two opinions, so that their tongue cleaves to the roof of their mouth, and their right hand forgets its cunning, and cannot trace their signature to resolution, remonstrance, or petition, either way,—what will the public conclude, but that their occasional expressions of respect for the Church, are nothing more than the “faint praise” which, virtually, speaketh of condemnation; and that, at best, they are resolved upon a sort of armed neutrality?

We repeat,—that we say not these things in a spirit of challenge, or of petulance, or of ill humour, or of arrogance. We know that, in this glorious land of freedom, all men, and women, and children, have a full right to entertain their opinions, and their designs: and, on this most important question, our only wish is to ascertain what their designs and their opinions may be. And, for this reason it is, that we desire nothing so much, as that all sorts and conditions of men should *speak out*. The intemperate, and the turbulent, and the revolutionary, have already spoken out, with a vengeance. Let those of a different stamp follow their

example, and do likewise. And most urgently do we exhort the laity, who are in communion with the Establishment not to *keep still silence*, in the crisis of this fierce arbitrement. If they really have one spark of love and veneration for the Church of their fathers—if they would not see a vast machinery, which has been at work, through many a generation, for the best and holiest of purposes, broken up, and hewn in pieces, and cast into the fire,—if it would pity them to behold our Zion slinking into ruins, and to hear the savage yell, *down with her even to the ground*,—then, let them up and be doing, and quit themselves like men on her behalf. For let the laity consider,—if few or none but the clergy are heard to speak, in this hour of peril, what will the adversary say?—why, truly, that the *parsons* are in sore alarm, for their stalls, and their rectories, and their glebe, and their tenth sheaf, and their tenth haycock; and that, therefore, their remonstrances are nothing more than the cry of sordid hirelings, who, while they talk of our ancient and venerable Church, are thinking of nothing under heaven but her fat emoluments. This, most infallibly, will be the commentary of the *destructive* party, on the testimony of the clergy, if that testimony be not loudly and vigorously echoed by those who value and love their ministry. That the majority who honour the Church, and wish her preservation, is overwhelming, we have very little doubt. But what is the worth of a majority which speaketh not, and voteth not, when the question is put,—as it has been lately put; and put, at the instance of men who are ready to speak, and vote, and act, and to call forth all their faculties and resources in order to carry the question their own way? Something, indeed, has already been done to bring out the sentiments and the energies of the *Great Congregation*. But much more must still be done, and that promptly, or the cause will be in danger to be lost and betrayed, through very sluggishness. There must be no *muttering out of the dust*. There must be the shout, as it were of a mighty host. There must be a general *καλέσμός*, which may speak in the enemy's ear of confidence and of victory. They who are *quiet in the land*, may, perchance, think it enough to assist the cause with their prayers. And too instant in prayer such persons cannot be; and too high an estimate cannot be placed on this resource, in the season of peril and adversity,—provided always, that it be attended with a befitting course of visible exertion. But will Providence answer the prayers of them who, in times like these, are fervent only in their closets? Will God prosper the vows of men, whose hands are folded, while their eyes and their hearts are lifted up towards heaven?

Of course there are many who will listen with incredulous

hatred when we say it,—but we will say it nevertheless,—that our anxiety for the preservation of the Establishment is not prompted by an ambitious wish to see the *ecclesiastical rainbow* turned all to *purple* or to gold. We are speaking to the *hearts* of our people; and, while we do this, our thoughts are fixed on something far higher and better than the mere visible splendours of our hierarchy, and the imposing majesty of the towers and battlements of our Zion. We are pleading with this nation, in behalf of a system which may perhaps want reparation; but which, with all its alleged defects, has hitherto brought home the consolations and the hopes of religion to the cottages of the poor, with a promptness and effect, which no other system ever can accomplish. We are pleading against a destruction, which, if once achieved, would bring upon this land the *abomination which maketh desolate*, and would spread over our villages the curse of a spiritual destitution. Our words may be rejected by those who believe, or affect to believe, that all true churchmen are in bondage to illiberal prejudice, or mercenary craft. But, surely, our words cannot altogether fall to the ground. Surely, there must be faithful hearts yet left to echo them, and faithful hands to give them substance and effect.*

Neither are we conscious that our speech is dictated by any feeling akin to disrespect, or evil will, towards Dissenters,—merely as Dissenters. We cannot, it is true, persuade ourselves that schism has altogether ceased to be a sin. But then we well know how many circumstances there are, in our present condition of society, to palliate and dilute the guilt of schism. With many, dissent is a mere accident. With others, unfortunately, it almost is an absolute necessity. We know,—and we confess it with an aching heart,—that if every Dissenter in the realm were, at this moment, to profess his readiness to abandon the conventicle, and to return to the bosom of the Church, the Church would be in sore perplexity to provide an immediate reception for the sheep that had wandered from her fold. But we also know, that the Church, and the Dissenting connections together, have been hitherto found utterly unequal to the work of making adequate provision, conformably to their own respective systems, for the spiritual necessities of our swarming and surging population. And, with this melancholy fact before their eyes, why should the Dissenters accuse or suspect us of an offensive disregard for the rights of conscience, because we dread to see the Church shorn of her strength, and crippled in her means of usefulness?

* We are happy to perceive that, while we are writing, the spirit of the laity appears to be rousing itself.

Equally unjust would be the surmise, that we desire to stop the ears of the legislature against the grievances of those who are separated from the Church. If grievances there be, let them be instantly redressed. But surely we may be allowed to put forth our honest opinion as to what grievances are substantial, and what are not! The Dissenters ask for the benefit of a more effective registration. By all means, let them have it, if a practicable and beneficial scheme can be devised for that purpose. They, further, desire that their weddings may be celebrated, without the religious ministrations of the Church. Even so let it be, if any other plan can be constructed, for effectually preventing the intolerable mischief of clandestine marriage. But they likewise demand the use of our burial-places, in common with the clergy of the Establishment. And this claim the Church must conscientiously resist, for reasons which have been so often stated, that they need not be recited here. They insist, moreover, that the law of the land should leave the Churches and the Chapels of the Establishment without the slightest protection against dilapidation and decay. And this too is a demand which, if there be a vestige of justice left on earth, must be rejected—upon grounds which have been of late so incessantly reiterated, that it would only weary our readers to repeat them. And, lastly, they cry out, loudly and fiercely, for a dissolution of the union between the Church and State. And, in truth, if Church-rates are to be altogether abolished, they will, virtually, have achieved the main substance of their petition. For how can the State more effectually divorce itself from the Church, than by abandoning her places of worship to individual benevolence and disinterestedness? But there is still more than this involved in the project. There can be little doubt that the expulsion of the prelates from the legislature, and the consignment of the clergy to arbitrary and precarious support, both of them enter into this sweeping plan of separation. And, if so, all that we can say of it here, is this,—that we cannot imagine a more ruinous insult to the Church, than the ejection of her bishops from a position which they have occupied from the very beginning of our Constitution,—and that, as to the *voluntary system* for the maintenance of her ministers, it amounts to neither more nor less than a scheme of unprincipled spoliation; to say nothing of its miserable effects in the degradation of the clergy, and the consequent mutilation of their influence and usefulness.

One word more, and we have done. We have hitherto spoken of the Church, merely as a national establishment. But there is yet a higher view of the Church, to which we must now lift up our eyes. We must recall our thoughts to her claims upon her children, as a branch of the pure, Catholic, Apostolic Church

of Christ. Whether, as *an Establishment*, she will stand or fall, must depend on circumstances more various than human sagacity can fully search into. Whether she will stand or fall, as a portion of Christ's inheritance, must depend only on one thing,—whether or not she is prepared to be *faithful unto death*. Stand she cannot, if she forgets the words which the spirit once spake unto the churches. Fall she cannot, if she be worthy to hear it said unto her, *I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them that are evil; and hast tried them that say they are Apostles, and are not; and hast borne, and hast patience, and, for my name's sake, hast laboured, and hast not fainted*. Some few things, indeed, there may be against her. But if she suffer not the flame of her first love to expire—if she keep her lamp trimmed by the spirit of repentance and of godly fear,—her candlestick shall, surely, not be removed from its place. The Powers and Principalities of this world may, indeed, remove themselves from her light. The multitudes may go astray after *strange fires*, or may walk in darkness. But, even so, her lonely brightness shall still be seen in the land; and it shall gladden the countenances and the hearts of the few that may remain faithful unto her, in the season of her tribulation. The Church of England may, then, indeed, be no more. But the Church in England shall remain, to bear witness to the truth of God. It is true, that it becometh her not to rush into this furnace of temptation, or to do aught that may hasten the fiery trial of her faith. But still less doth it become her to *defile her garments*, or to endure that the spirit of Balaam should come among her people, to tempt them to unfaithfulness, and to cause them to do sacrifice unto the idols of the day. It is not thus that she can hope to disarm her adversaries. But it is thus that she may arm against herself *Him that trieth the hearts and reins, and who shall give unto her according to her works*. Let her not dream, then, of listening to the flatteries of them, who with fair and deceitful words would win from her the secret of her strength. Neither let her seek, by yielding, and by wavering, and by counsels of feebleness and of pliancy,—to gather around her a multitude, whose heart is not right with her heart. Rather let her *strengthen the things that do remain*. Let her, calmly and stedfastly, hold fast the foundations whereon she is built up. For thus may she best hope to hear the gracious words, *Behold, I will make them, which say they are Israelites, and are not, to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou hast kept the words of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth*.

ART. II.—1. *The Pulpit, &c. &c.*

2. *The Preacher, containing Sermons by eminent Divines.*—
London: Published for the proprietors, by T. Griffith.

3. *The British Pulpit; a Selection of accurately reported Sermons by the most talented Evangelical Divines of every Denomination.*

4. *The Minister, &c. &c.*

5. *The Scottish Pulpit, &c. &c.*

FROM the number of these publications, we suppose that they are found profitable. The names of five we have prefixed to this article; and it is very possible that there are several more, either in existence or in contemplation. Yet, although the sale may be lucrative to the proprietors, and the circulation may seem conducive to the spread of religious knowledge, we feel it our duty to denounce the whole system with a very decided expression of disgust and indignation.

For what is that system? It is a system either of shameless quackery, or of downright plunder. The sermons must be published either with or without the consent and knowledge of the writers. Let us begin with the latter branch of the alternative.

A man, Mr. Benson, for instance, eminent for learning, and remarkable for eloquence, preaches a discourse at the Temple, or elsewhere. Surely, as to the pecuniary value which it may possess, that discourse belongs to him, as being the offspring of his own mind, the result of his own study, and the fruit of his own thoughts. Surely it cannot belong to a stranger, who comes, not in the spirit of piety, to hear it and act upon it; but in the spirit of piratical traffic, to report and publish it. Yet what happens? In a week, it is put forth to the world, perhaps faithfully, perhaps inaccurately; it is committed to the press without the benefit of the author's revision, without the changes and corrections which further consideration might have suggested. Thus, not merely the intention of the preacher himself may be anticipated; but it is anticipated in a way, which on a multitude of grounds he conscientiously disapproves, and would anxiously deprecate. Nor is it easy to remedy the mischief by the appearance of the same production in an authorized shape, on account of the peculiar cheapness of the previous publication:—a cheapness which can be so well afforded where there is no copyright to be bought, and no labour to be repaid. It follows, therefore, that there *must* be a robbery of the purse, and there *may* be a robbery of the reputation. And to so monstrous an extent has

this scheme of plunder been pursued, that we have seen four or five consecutive sermons of the same clergymen printed in one or other of these precious receptacles of stolen goods. Their agents have rushed to seize and bear away all that should drop from the lips of a popular preacher; like sharks pursuing a vessel, and swallowing every unfortunate body that should chance to fall overboard. When similar attempts have been made in other cases, as in the case of medical or scientific lectures, if they could not be reached by legal penalties, they have been uniformly met by moral reprobation; but when men are guilty of these barefaced thefts, with *religious* professions dribbling meanwhile from their mouths, they sink even beneath the level of the lowest and dirtiest speculators in the bookselling and publishing trade. In some instances, enough has been gathered from the composition of one man to form an entire volume, and for *whose* benefit, let us ask, has such volume been separately published?

But there is the other branch of the alternative also to be regarded. These sermons may be—and we suspect, from the internal evidence, that many of them are—published with the express sanction and connivance of their authors. *Here*, then, there is no robbery; but the charlatanism is sickening. The title-page either runs as follows, “The Preacher, containing Sermons by the following *eminent* divines,” “The British Pulpit, a selection of *accurately reported* Sermons by the most *talented* (Pah!) Evangelical Divines of every denomination,” or is stuffed with rubbish of a similar description; and the impression conveyed to the public manifestly is, that the discourses are by men so distinguished in their profession, that reporters are sent to take down their valuable, or rather invaluable, paragraphs for the benefit of an admiring generation. If then a minister of the Gospel forwards his own sermon to the editor for publication, he smuggles it before the world under false pretences; or at least is not only *privy* to the miserable device, but is *instrumental* in puffing himself as “an *eminent* divine,” “a *talented* evangelical divine;” a diamond of the first water in the cabinet of “The Preacher” or “The Pulpit.” Let such a clergyman reflect seriously for one moment, what feelings would be excited, if he published a single discourse in his own name, with the title-page, “A sermon by that *eminent* divine, the Rev. —;” or, “A sermon by that *talented*, evangelical divine, the Rev. —.” Yet what is the difference, if it appears among others with his knowledge and consent in the pages of “The Preacher;” or, “The British Pulpit;” except that a shuffling subterfuge is thus added to an empiricism the most awful? Unless our schoolboy recollections deceive us, Cicero reproaches the philosophers of his day

with inconsistency, because they inscribed their names upon treatises written to recommend the "contempt of glory;" but is it not a far more lamentable inconsistency, if evangelical divines, with whom the utter worthlessness of human knowledge and human ability is a favourite theme, should be the clandestine means of announcing and trumpeting themselves as the most eminent and talented of their tribe? What can we think, to see, as we have seen, the "*affiche*" stuck over the principal entrance of an episcopal chapel, "The Preacher, No. —, containing sermons by the Lord Bishop of London," and, of all the birds in the air, by the very minister, or lecturer, whichever it may be, of that identical chapel; who thus manages to make the walls of the house of prayer in which he does the duty, a place for placarding and advertising his own sermons,—and *himself*!

But we may go a step further. Both the evils which we have mentioned are blended in these compilations. They are *half* robbery, and half quackery; for in the same number, possibly, of the same work, some are parties and some are victims to the system; and from this combination there arises the third evil, of palpable unfairness and injustice. Not merely the discourses of men, really distinguished and really meriting their distinction, are put side by side with the discourses of some pushing aspirant to a vulgar notoriety; but they are put side by side to their great and obvious disadvantage. Not merely the Bishop of London, or Mr. Benson, or Mr. Tyler, or Mr. Blunt, has the comfort of beholding himself exhibited in juxta position to some candidate for every lectureship that falls vacant; but the sermon of the one is disfigured by sundry omissions and misrepresentations; the sermon of the other is embellished by the author's careful emendations and the longest and most astounding words that have been just imported into the author's vocabulary.

Still, however, it may be said, that these are matters which affect only individuals; and that if the cause of piety is advanced by the circulation of striking sermons, there remains a preponderance on the side of good to which we should look, rather than to the mere bug-bears of personal inconvenience. Now, this is a ground upon which we are quite willing to try the question, putting away all considerations of individual interest or feeling, the grievance and the annoyance which may be experienced on the one hand, and the dishonest cupidity which is exhibited on the other.

Is most good, or most harm, likely to result to the *public*, from a series of periodical publications, made up partly of unauthorized reports of discourses delivered from the pulpit, and partly of voluntary contributions, sent after an ambitious elaboration by

the authors themselves, yet carrying with them the semblance of being mere reports of the compositions of eminent divines?

It is clear at the first blush that the very heterogeneity of such works offers a temptation to a species of imposition and trickery which is excessively to be deplored; and that, at least, the reports and the contributions ought always to be distinguished from each other by some broad mark or notice, which would leave no room for deception or mistake.

Something, too, it is equally plain, might be said about the indecorum of men, who form no part of the stated audience, coming into a church with the regular apparatus of reporting, and distracting the attention of a congregation during the period of divine service. So much, indeed, has this nuisance been felt, that the proprietors, we believe, of one, if not more, of these compilations, endeavoured for some time to fill their space without employing reporters, and by merely receiving the contributions of ministers of different sects. They have since, however, we understand, returned to the old system, because the supply of volunteers was found inadequate to their purposes:—but whether the deficiency was in the quantity, or in the quality of the matter, or in both, we cannot take upon ourselves to say.

Yet here perhaps it will be urged, “must not this system of watching preachers, and taking down their sermons in shorthand, without any previous intimation, have a tendency to improve, or certainly not deteriorate, the general character of pulpit ministrations; of the delivery as well as the composition, and the composition as well as the delivery? To this proposition we are inclined to say, “*negatur*.” Not to enlarge upon higher and more sacred motives, or upon the impulse of professional hopes, or upon the superintendence of an ecclesiastical superior, a healthy and vigorous state of public opinion, which can always make itself heard and respected, is at once the best check and the best stimulus, and it acts upon all clergymen with an equal and universal impression. But upon careless and inefficient ministers, the system of reporting has no influence whatever; for their very dullness or negligence is their shield; their very incapacity is a complete panoply of protection; and they are left to a sluggish repose, quite certain of being uninterrupted by a visitation from any agent of “*The Pulpit*,” or “*The Preacher*.” The interference, therefore, of these gentry, can only affect either the active and conscientious ministers, who neither require such an intrusion, nor are thankful for it; or the shewy declaimers, eager for celebrity and applause, whose efforts stand much more in need of being chastened and kept down, than of being blown into a fiercer

flame of excited extravagance by the bellows of monthly or weekly notoriety.

Upon active and conscientious clergymen, what, in fact, is the operation of this system? We can call it by no other name, for a regular system it has become. Their sermons, perhaps, have a local and temporary application, or are illustrated, at least, by temporary and local illusions; for such sermons are oftentimes the most useful that can be preached. They may deem it incumbent upon them to address to their constant hearers exhortations, or admonitions, or even reproofs, which have a special and emphatic bearing upon their particular exigencies or behaviour. But is it not a hard thing,—is it not a vexatious thing,—is it not a pernicious thing, that they can in no respect remain masters of the degree of publicity which is to be given to their own statements; and that the earnest appeals which are made in the endearing and confidential intercourse between a minister and his congregation should be blazoned forth in the window of a bookseller's shop, and scattered all abroad upon the wings of a three-penny periodical? Do the reports of legal trials, or political meetings, afford any precedent or apology for so gross an abuse of the freedom of the press?

Again: on many occasions a clergyman may very fairly and very advantageously avail himself of the labours of older divines. On many occasions it may be more instructive and more edifying to his congregation that he should enrich his discourses with the erudition and the eloquence of the great and good men who are now gone to their everlasting reward; or, where there is some important point which he is anxious to inculcate, he may be unwilling to injure it by his own words, if it already happens to have been admirably put in the words of another. Thus he may gain much experience and much profit by trying the effect of a style different from his own; his deficiencies may be supplied; his crude conceptions may be matured; and his auditory may derive strength and refreshment from drinking at fountains not open, perhaps, to common access, or at least lying far out of the path of common inquiry. Of course, if a clergyman has no better or more elevated object than to avoid trouble; if he consults merely his personal ease and not the spiritual wants and interests of his hearers, he stands without excuse before them and before God. Nor let it be imagined that we can think any man justifiable who makes a practice of stealing his sermons; or that we can look with eyes of complacency upon advertisements in the papers when they inform us, that a set of sermons is to be sold, either in manuscript or lithograph, warranted, like a Monmouth-street coat, to have been very little used, and to be almost as good as new; or

that we can hold any such announcement or any such transactions as calculated to benefit the Church in times like these. But a wholesale and unblushing transfer presents something widely different from an examination of preceding authors and an occasional introduction of their remarks, for the purpose of throwing a stronger light upon the matter under discussion. Nor will it be denied, that in this latter case it would often be extremely awkward to make an exact appropriation in the pulpit; that is, to pause, here and there, in the course of a sermon, and state precisely what is original and what is borrowed; nay, where the quotations or thoughts taken from other sources are woven into the sense and texture of the discourse, it becomes manifestly impossible. And yet is it not an offensive, an almost intolerable proceeding, that when a clergyman has been guilty neither of sloth or fraud, but, nevertheless, has availed himself of extraneous assistance, a reporter should come and carry off his discourse, in order to put money into the pockets of some unprincipled employer; that it should be published and placarded as a Sermon delivered in such a place, on such a day, by the Rev. Mr. Such-a-one: so that a minister is liable to be pilloried and gibbeted, not merely as a plagiarist but an impostor; to incur the suspicion not merely of doing habitually what he has, perhaps, only done on some special occasion, but even of attempting to print and palm upon the world the production of another as his own? This is no imaginary representation; for two instances, if not more, have already occurred.

We confess, however, that the pain, which so needless an exposure may inflict, although the very apprehension of it must have a tendency to render sermons more jejune and barren of sterling theology, and therefore less serviceable than they might otherwise be, appears of far less consequence to our minds, than the gratuitous impertinence of a stranger, who steps in between a minister and his flock, and makes public what was meant only to be parochial. It is a most serious evil that the effect of the system, which we are decrying, will be, if it spreads much farther, to strike at the root of all quiet, pastoral and parochial ministration. An aspiring minister, if he once sees his sermons reported, may begin, from that moment, to consider himself not so much the incumbent or curate of a particular district, as a burning and a shining light, who is to illuminate the whole country with a flood of eloquence; he may thenceforward address himself not so much to his congregation as to the press through the reporter; he is under a potent enticement to look beyond the humbler portion of the audience, which may be sitting beneath him, and to say not so much what will introduce a truly Christian tone of feeling and conduct among the immediate members of the Church who are

committed to his charge, as what will show off his own powers of fancy or diction when it appears in print. Besides, the contagion of his example must be taken into the calculation. Emulation starts up; or the fiercer irritations of envy rankle in the breast of others. A hundred uncomfortable and uncharitable feelings are engendered among rival preachers; or a young man, not long initiated in his sacred profession, and not knowing the aspect under which these things are regarded by the persons best able to appreciate them, is warmed with an inordinate desire to see his name enrolled among the "eminent divines" and "talented ministers" of the age. There is no reason, his vanity whispers to him, why he should not beam forth as another star in such a galaxy. And the method, which obviously suggests itself for the accomplishment of his end, is to imitate the prevailing style, of which the success is visible before him; and even to surpass it in brilliancy of decoration; to screw up strong doctrine to a still higher pitch; to excel energetic declamation by an energy still more intense; to *broad-cast* his metaphors still more thickly and profusely than his predecessors, and add yet another syllable to the average *sesquipedalianness* of his words.

The effect, again, upon readers and hearers travels, *pari passu*, with the effect upon ministers. Great is the stir among the sermon-hunters and preacher-fanciers of the day. These constitute the chief class of persons who peruse such works as "The Pulpit," and keep up their circulation; for the irreligious and the reckless have little disposition to read, and still less to purchase them. But the former class are perpetually on the watch for the appearance of a new light on the horizon; they are happy in the opportunity of starting off to a new place and a new preacher, that they may have something fresh to eulogize or criticize; some novel display to tickle the ear, and keep the imagination upon the stretch, and pamper the vitiated taste. The injury which must thus be done to the cause of sober, steady, regular devotion, is but poorly compensated by the collateral and casual excitement of religious sentiments, too often of a bewildering and enthusiastic kind; nor can we consent to take an incidental and possible benefit as at all a counterbalance for the variety of inherent evils which we have already pointed out, and the multitude behind which it would be easy to specify.

We acknowledge also that we cannot look without considerable misgiving to that mixture of "evangelical divines of every denomination," which is a conspicuous, and, we believe, an universal feature in these selections of sermons. It does strike us as unbecoming as well as extraordinary to see, among these "*most talented divines*," in one number the names and composi-

tions of three English Bishops; and in the next, of the Rev. Mr. Sherman and the Rev. R. C. Dillon, A. M.; and in one very near it, the names and compositions of *two* Dissenting Ministers, and even of the person who is supposed to have written the "Case of the Dissenters" against the Church. It is of course abundantly possible that the discourse of a dissenter may be quite as good as the discourse of the most dignified ecclesiastic that adorns the hierarchy of the land; and even that a man may preach as well from a mound of turf as from a pulpit, or in a plain coat as in a gown and cassock. But we should think it a spurious liberality indeed, if any clergyman of the establishment was a voluntary agent in having his sermons mixed up in the same leaves with the sermons of an Independent or a Baptist; if he should forget, and so help to obliterate, the broad and obvious line of separation between a National Church, and a variety of sects, which, to his understanding at least, must be imbued with heresy and schism. Such a measure, if deliberate and wilful, we should regard as almost a step to preaching in the same place of worship, and we entertain a strong feeling as to the mischief which it might occasion. Preposterous, we are aware, would be the absurdity of attributing to a catch-penny speculation, like the "British Pulpit," any deep or premeditated design. Yet the plan of comprehending "*Evangelical* divines of *every* denomination," is of a piece with the general tactics and devices of the Dissenters, assisted, as they sometimes are, by conscientious persons attached to a particular section in the National Church, who ought to be more upon their guard. It is just of a piece with the system which would distribute Christian ministers, not into the old and plain, and intelligible distinctions of Episcopalians, who belong to the Establishment, and Sectarians, who secede from it, but into a new division, of *Evangelical* and *un-Evangelical* preachers; the former to be extolled and brought forward, and and the latter to be proscribed: and thus—not to mention other sorer topics—by way of getting rid of the intolerance, and exclusiveness, and the assumption of the dominant Church, would introduce a *new* intolerance, a *new* exclusiveness, a *new* assumption, just on a par with that spirit, which advertises for "a maid of all work to a family of decided piety," and which would insinuate that none can be "serious" or devout, or really Christian, without the pale of the special sacred band, who use a peculiar phraseology on every suitable or unsuitable occasion. The notion, however, ought not to be lost of something superior, and independent, and separate in the Established Church; the associations of reverence, as well as affection, which are connected with it, ought not to be lightly broken. But if the religionists of the

day see all denominations of Christians and Christian ministers placed upon a perfect equality in a periodical work, they may soon become familiarized with the dissenting principle, that they are perfectly equal in themselves: they may slide into the habit of hurrying with an indifferent and most impartial eagerness, from Church to Conventicle, and from Conventicle to Church; just wherever there is "*a wonderful fine man*" to be heard; and all peculiar respect for the doctrines and discipline of the religion of the country, may be merged in an indiscriminate passion for florid and stimulating harangues. It is evident, at least, that, as far as the influence of these publications can extend, if the principle of an Established Church is not absolutely trodden under foot, the way is paved for the secret but triumphant progress of the principles of dissent.

In whatever light, then, the matter is viewed, whether as it affects preachers or as it affects hearers, whether as it affects those whose discourses are inserted against their inclinations, or those whose discourses are inserted with their proper knowledge and consent—whether as it affects successful, or, if such there be, unsuccessful candidates for the honour of a place—we can discern little more than another phase of mischief. Something, likewise, might be said generally about the intellectual and spiritual taste which is fostered by such publications as the *Pulpit* and the rest; and a few flowers might be gathered out of these gardens of eloquence, which such of our readers as are fond of the gaudy and fantastic might be anxious to preserve. We might smile at some of the men who are exalted to the pinnacle of popularity, and held up as the luminaries of the time. Divers samples might be selected of all that is puerile in logic, or that ought to be avoided in oratory,—of turgid rant or mawkish familiarity,—of the marvellously wild in doctrine, or the strangely infelicitous in expression,—of the sublime soaring away into the burlesque, or the pathetic sinking down into the ludicrous. Much unquestionably there is of a far better kind; but upon dipping into one of these compilations, or endeavouring to wade through another, we really cannot but come to the conclusion, that the exceptionable, on the whole, preponderates over the laudable, both in substance and in style. A considerable proportion is sad rubbish indeed.

This, however, is a matter on which we forbear to expatiate; for our object is rather to protest against the principle than to enter into details. Moreover, if we attempted the task of criticism, we should yet be ignorant whether we were passing our strictures upon the preacher, or upon the reporter.

This latter point one pregnant instance may sufficiently ex-

plain. We *had*, as it happens, prepared certain extracts—some of them atrocious transgressions against soundness of doctrine and purity of composition,—and, by accident, the very first was from a sermon in the Preacher, purporting to be delivered by the late Mr. Howels, and entitled “*Sacramental Preparation*.” But in looking into the Memoir of that clergyman, prefixed by his friend Mr. Bowdler to his Sermons lately published, we were much struck by the following passages. “Mr. Howels wrote with *painful emphasis* when complaining of the way in which his sermons were reported in some periodical publications.” He spoke of “sermons to be published afterwards, not for the *spiritual*, but the *temporal* profit of others.” He “*strongly objected to the practice of publishing his sermons, sometimes erroneously reported, and uniformly without his leave*.”—p. cxix. And the subjoined sentences then occur in a letter addressed by Mr. Howels himself to the editor of the Pulpit, and inserted in that work.

“Sir,—I have perused with surprise a sermon reported as mine, in No. 338 of your periodical publication. *Thousands of gold and silver* would not have seduced me into the press, and thence into the tour of the empire, in the dress I am invested with by your reporter.

“Though the *whole of the sermons would have been very different* had it courted the public eye from my own pen, I cannot, from bodily indisposition, do more than correct a few passages by presenting you with my own undisturbed sentiments.

* * * *

“*I disown every thing hitherto inserted in The Pulpit under my name, and deprecate the future insertion of any thing ascribed to myself.*”

These sentences have determined us not to quote any passages whatever attributed to *other* names, while we are *uncertain* as to their authenticity; but after this strong *caveat* of Mr. Howels, we may feel convinced that the reports of *his* sermons are *not* authentic in one of these compilations more than in another; and therefore we insert the following jargon, which some coarse and ignorant reporter, or perhaps some secret enemy, has put into the mouth of a minister of the Church of England; not as being any thing which Mr. Howels really said, but as showing the sort of stuff which “The Preacher” can contain as “*eminent Divinity*.”

“We have more to achieve than Wellington ever had when he faced the enemies of his country in Europe.”

“Some individuals are so much under the influence of good sense, that they not only say and do what is right, but they time things admirably. They will not only say a good thing, but say it at the moment

it ought to be said, *and we are very much pleased. This is just the way with God.*"

"It is true there is hypocrisy and deceit in the bosom of the believer; but he knows these enemies, and is fighting against them. This is the difference—though hypocrisy and deceit are lurking in his heart, yet he is not a hypocrite, a self-deceiver. I remember hearing a very eminently pious man say, '*You smile so sweetly.*' '*Hold your tongue,*' said I, '*you do not know how to abuse me: if you knew what was in my heart, your expressions are too weak a great deal; you cannot paint me: if you want to see me in all my deformity, let me paint myself—I do not want such a dauber as you are to murder my picture.*' The man was astonished, and at the same time ashamed of himself.

"In the hundred and nineteenth Psalm we see what individuals who live nigh unto the Lord are engaged in. What sweet aspirations there are in that Psalm! We see David flying on the wings of faith and love, leaving earth and all its trumpery; he seems to soar in the neighbourhood of the sun: yet after all how does he conclude? '*Seek thy servant; I am gone astray like a sheep that is lost.*' He was a man, as I told you before, who had his eye fixed in his heart. His conduct must have been admired by all who knew him. He was eminently embued with the spirit of piety; yet he said, '*Seek thy servant.*' May God give us this religion, a religion *that will make us all radicals*—that is the religion we want—a religion that reaches the root of every principle—a religion that *sometimes does what one tooth does with another, in the mouth of a young person*; the tooth that grows pushes out the other. So divine grace grows out every evil principle, in the strength and love of God."

"If thus I wait upon God in the exercise of faith, he will give me every thing that is good for me. Yes, he will give me, to-morrow, or even to-day, the sun, moon, and stars, if they would do me real good. *God takes away many things from his family, as a mother does with her child who has found a knife and fork; they pass very near his eyes, his mouth, and his nose; and what does she do? She takes them away from his hands. Thus the Lord does with us; and we shall learn hereafter, as I have often told you before, that God is often acting wisely in taking away what we consider to be necessary.*"—"The Preacher, part IV., Sermon 2nd."

We might adduce other specimens of *Preacher* and *Pulpit* eloquence quite as extravagant, and even more offensive; for, in point of fact, no clergyman in the kingdom, from the archbishop to the deacon, from the primate of all England to the assistant curate, is safe, except through thorough incapacity, from being not merely turned into an author against his will, but misrepresented and caricatured into the bargain; unless, indeed, by condescending to correct the proofs, he mixes himself up with persons whom, to say the least, he cannot respect, and acquiesces in a system which defrauds him, and perhaps gives to the defrauding parties a lien upon his literary property which may be used against

himself, if he afterwards wishes to print his own sermons for his own benefit.

But, if such are the evils of the plan pursued by "the Pulpit" and "its tail," the question comes, "what are the remedies?" For our own parts, we should be glad to see the matter fairly tried in a court of law. But the issue might be doubtful. In the case of medical lecturers, it has, we believe, been determined, that the lecture, when once delivered, belongs to the persons for whose service it was composed, and by whom the lecturer is paid. And although the case of a clergyman is in many respects different, and his moral and equitable right to a property in his own discourses seems incontrovertibly clear, the decision in law might be unfavourable, and he would be unwise to enter into a squabble with most unworthy antagonists, and put himself to trouble and expense, without first obtaining a sound legal opinion, founded upon an exact statement of the particular circumstances. Still there are some means of prevention, even if there be no complete redress. Wherever a minister is systematically annoyed by the unauthentic publication of his sermons, we advise him to express, forcibly and emphatically, his disapprobation and disgust, not merely in a letter addressed to the editor of the offending work, but generally, through the medium of the newspapers and the periodical press. To some inconveniences he would, of course, be exposed, and, very possibly, to some malignity of attack; for where is the thief who will resign his booty without a murmur? But the honest exposure would do good, and if the example was set by one influential divine of high character and talent, others would be induced to follow, and the proprietors of these compilations might be deterred by very shame; or, at least, it would be seen who the parties are who dislike and reprobate the system, and who, if any, are the other parties who, behind the curtain, uphold and promote it. We trust, indeed, that there are no clergymen of the Established Church who can, in any way, pander to a scheme so mischievous and so nefarious.

Something again might be, and we hope has been, done by the cheap and authorized publication of judicious and orthodox, and at the same time stirring and attractive, sermons, contributed either to a society, or to a responsible editor, by ministers of the Gospel, who are willing, occasionally, to see their compositions in print, but who have yet no inclination to puff themselves in a title-page.

No plan, however, of this kind can be sufficient to stop the evil, although it may help to counteract it. If the system can be put down at all, it must be put down by a fearless, powerful, uncompromising exhibition of public sentiment. We cannot see

why much mercy is to be shown to persons who live by purloining the products of other men's toil, and trampling upon the laws of common honesty and common propriety. We have, therefore, taken up the cause of the clergy against these literary beasts of prey, these "unclean harpies," who disgrace a liberal and honourable profession. To some we may appear harsh; but, alas, we have no choice but harshness. Lenity would be worse than misplaced, for it would be an injury to religion and its ministers. We have no personal feeling or interest in the matter, but we know that soft words are unavailing. We know that entreaties and remonstrances have been repeatedly addressed to the proprietors of these publications in vain, that promises have been violated, and that the system has been carried on in defiance of the known wishes of some among the most celebrated and excellent men in the Church. For these reasons, and for no other, we have felt it right to make the experiment of a slight castigation, since milder measures have been tried without effect.

ART. III.—*Oaths, their Origin, Nature and History.* By James Endell Tyler, B.D.

IN these times, when the spirit of reform increases from indulgence, we should be unwilling to declare ourselves its opponents, and will even go so far as to acknowledge the utility of it, when real evils are to be corrected or real good introduced. But forming anew is not always forming for the better, or we should never have occasion to find fault with any of the changes that are proposed in our laws or the administration of them. Still there is sometimes good cause that we should raise our voice against the cry of this popular spirit. When the prejudices of party are the sole grounds for an advocated change; when institutions are complained of, though the intrinsic reasonableness and real value of them remains unaltered, merely because individuals have thrown themselves out of that atmosphere through which the beneficial influence of them extends; when laws are found fault with, which are as just and as practicably useful now as they were at first, only because those laws have been abused in a manner entirely contrary to their original intention; then in truth we would caution the legislature not to be too busy, not to be for ever attending to the voice of dissatisfaction; for if it so easily gain attention, it will never be silenced, but will daily find new matter for murmuring and discontent.

Like the painter who tried to please every body and satisfied nobody, a minister who endeavours to make a change in every thing which is complained of, will find he has undertaken a task not only of insurmountable difficulty and endless toil, but also of extreme danger; it is often far more prudent—

———— “ to bear the ills we have,
'Than fly to others that we know not of.”

We can congratulate the ministers that they have found a point to which the spirit of reform can advantageously direct its energies. Of all existing abuses, not one is more apparent or more acknowledged than the abuse of oaths. Half-a-century ago Paley observed, with great reason, “ That the obscure and elliptical form of the oath, as administered in this country, together with the levity and frequency with which it is administered, has brought about a general inadvertency to the obligation of oaths, which, both in a religious and political view, is much to be lamented; and it merits public consideration, whether the requiring of oaths, on so many frivolous occasions, has any other effect than to make them cheap in the minds of the people.” Yet in spite of this observation of one of the most popular moralists of the day, and in spite of the assent of every thinking man to the truth of it, in spite of the grave, the awful importance of the subject, the legislature seems to have taken almost every opportunity to increase the evil, and the acts of every session of parliament have multiplied the occasions on which oaths are required to be taken.

The evil, which, we conceive, results from this multiplicity of oaths, is so great and extensive, that we know not where it ends. It destroys that good faith, which oaths were intended to confirm; and it strikes at the very root of religion itself by diminishing our veneration for the Deity. It is not to the elliptical form of our oaths, found fault with by Paley; it is not to the imprecatory clause, which has offended Mr. Tyler and others of nice conscience, but it is to the multiplicity of oaths we object, in whatever form these oaths are administered. In our idea, the evil exists under every form, for “ the signification of the oath is still the same,” says Paley, “ whatever be the form. It is the calling God to witness, i. e. to take notice of what we say, and invoking his vengeance or renouncing his favour if what we say be false, or what we promise be not performed.” This is the true explanation of what an oath signifies, and is, in our opinion, preferable to that either of Dr. Johnson or Mr. Tyler. According to Dr. Johnson, “ An oath is an affirmation, negation or promise, corroborated by the attestation of the Divine Being.” According to Mr. Tyler, “ An outward pledge given by the juror that his attes-

tation or promise is made under an immediate sense of his responsibilities to God:" The Moravian's declaration is an oath under each of these definitions, "I declare in the presence of Almighty God the witness of what I say," &c.

Even in this guarded declaration the imprecatory form is implied, for if the oath is corroborated and confirmed by the attestation of Almighty God, it is because He is the God of Truth—the enemy of falsehood. It is because God knows whether we speak truly or falsely, and will punish us if we are guilty of falsehood, it is *therefore* the attestation of God corroborates our testimony. Were God indifferent as to our truth or falsehood, the attestation of God would *not* corroborate our words.

The taking of an oath, then, either expressing or implying an imprecation of God as the avenger of falsehood, is an act of the most solemn and awful nature. The taking it seriously, considerably and truly is an act of religion; the taking it lightly, unadvisedly, unnecessarily or falsely, nothing short of blasphemy. Even common swearing, wicked and disgusting as it is, cannot be so criminal as this prostitution of an oath. While the commandment is before us, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," what crime can we believe more directly forbidden than the unnecessary taking of an oath in any form? We are now every day assailed by the complaints of the nice and tender consciences of our friends, who are for ever bitterly offended with words and scandalized at forms; we profess ourselves of even tenderer conscience than they, for we shall not be satisfied with changing the form or words, if the spirit, intent and meaning remain the same. No alteration in form or words can at all change the sacredness of an oath, and though, if the imprecatory clause were omitted, as in the oath of the Moravians, the frequency of oaths might be less offensive to some, it would, after all, be but a pious cheat, and would give cause for letting the evil continue unreformed, by clothing its unaltered deformity in a more specious garb. This we cannot but think is the real state of the case, and we trust that the subject, already noticed this session in the House of Lords, will not be permitted to rest until all unnecessary oaths are done away with, and a form of declaration substituted for them. We humbly suggest that declarations, such as we are about to recommend, might answer every purpose of oaths administered in most civil cases. The preamble might be exactly the same as that of the oaths now used, a simple declaration of the truth of it being added instead of the imprecatory clause; and the ceremony of touching and kissing the Testament being of course omitted. In every case where the falsity of an oath is not now punishable as perjury, and these cases are very many, the

declaration might safely be adopted; and probably might be used without any possibility of evil, instead of the oath of office, where that office is unconnected with the administration of criminal justice. This declaration should be made and signed before a proper officer, and the falsehood of this declaration or the non-fulfilment of the promissory part, should be made a crime punishable by law in a more direct and summary manner than that of indictment. Paley's advice concords with this suggestion; that advice indeed should be attended to as the practical explanation of the basis of the proposed amendment. "Let the law continue its own sanctions, if they be thought requisite, but let it spare the solemnity of an oath; and where it is necessary, from want of something better to depend upon, to accept men's own words or own account, let it annex to prevarication penalties proportioned to the public consequence of the offence." This would be some check to falsehood in those, who alone would be guilty of it, the immoral and the hardened. It might perhaps be thought advisable that declarations should be of two classes, each class to be subject to a different degree of penalty. The more solemn class of declaration might be intermediate between the less solemn and the oath. The declarer might assert that he believed that falsehood was a crime hated by God as well as man, and that under that belief he made his declaration and asserted its truth. This latter more solemn declaration might be adopted in some cases of evidence or some of those in which a juror would now by falsehood incur the penalty of perjury, and the penalty incurred by falsehood in this class should be heavier than that in the first case. The more simple declaration might be substituted for all oaths of minor office, all oaths under the poor laws, all oaths required of vagrants and all voluntary affidavits, besides many others which are now taken in cases of no very serious nature. For example, of the use of each class of declaration—the more simple form should be used in the examination of a pauper as to his settlement; but if that pauper was accused of having declared falsely, the evidence against him should be taken in the more solemn form of declaration.

We fear we have already indulged too far in our own lucubrations; these opinions we long since adopted, and they have received strong confirmation from the book before us, to the consideration of which we now proceed. Mr. Tyler shall explain what he intends to illustrate.

"The practical questions on which I have endeavoured, in the following treatise, to throw some light, are chiefly these three:—

"First.—Are oaths in themselves lawful to a Christian? or are they altogether prohibited by the Gospel?

“ Secondly.—If oaths are, in themselves, lawful to a Christian, are they, as at present administered and taken in England, calculated to promote truth and justice? and are they agreeable to the spirit of the religion we profess?

“ Thirdly.—If any alteration in our system of oaths should appear desirable, on what principles and by what means may such changes be most safely and satisfactorily effected?”

After a few more words of introduction, he goes on to state the general use of oaths in all ages and in all countries, and traces the origin of this use to the absence of good faith among mankind, and their consequent distrust of each other. He then proceeds to the definition of an oath, which we have above referred to. In answer to the question, are oaths lawful? many well-known arguments are brought forward, drawn from the ordinance of them under the Mosaic covenant and the regulations respecting them therein. Then follows the common interpretation of the prohibitory command in Matth. v. 34, and James, v. 12, and the quotation of our Lord's assent to the adjuration of Caiaphas; from this and Calvin's commentary thereupon, Mr. Tyler concludes that—

“ Oaths are not in themselves unlawful to a Christian. From the records of the Old Testament, from the words and from the example of Christ and his Apostles, from the testimony of the Christian Church, we conclude undoubtingly that consistently with the letter and the spirit of the Gospel an oath may be taken ‘ when a cause of faith and charity requireth it, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment and truth. Does it therefore follow that the system of oaths as enjoined or permitted and practised in England, is agreeable to the word and will of God?’ ”

This question is answered in the fifth chapter. And the author proves that he has not been idle in his researches on the subject, the opinions of several of the fathers and other ancient writers are collected to confirm his own assertion, that “ the utmost limit to which Scripture authority can, with any thing like fairness, be interpreted to extend, is the bare permission of oaths when NECESSARY for the ends of justice and maintenance of truth;” and he concludes by noticing, as one of the many objectionable instances of unnecessary oaths, that required to be taken every year by the primate of all England as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. That this oath might be discontinued, we allow; but we cannot agree with Mr. Tyler in thinking, that it is one of that objectionable description which should be among the first to call for the interference of the legislature to abolish it. It is administered to one who takes it with due solemnity; it is to him, the dedicated priest of God, an

additional vow to work in God's service; the immediate object of it is the furtherance of Christianity; there is no hazard that it will be taken with irreverence, or that its obligation will be neglected or forgotten. Unnecessary it may be, on account of the good faith of the most reverend person who takes it; but objectionable it is not, either in the manner in which it is administered, or the matter in which it is required.

The practical tendency of the multiplication of oaths is well stated to be—"first, to diminish the reverence of an oath; secondly, proportionably to undervalue the simple truth; and, thirdly, to produce an evil, which seems to be a natural consequence of the other two—a recourse to the sanction of an oath in common conversation—an appeal to Heaven in trifles and in every-day intercourse." With regard to the second and third evil consequences of the multiplicity of oaths, we must quote Mr. Tyler's own words at length, in a passage written as forcibly as any in the book.

"The second mischief we mentioned, arising from our present unhappy practice in the administration of oaths, was a proportionate undervaluing of the truth, when a bare affirmation is made without the additional sanction of such an immediate appeal to Heaven. This undervaluing of a simple declaration is seen in a twofold point of view—in the person whose words purport to convey the truth, and in the person to whom they are addressed—a sort of general disparagement of that 'yea' and 'nay' of Christians, beyond which the great Legislator and Judge, from whom lieth no appeal, has pronounced every thing to originate in a poisoned well-spring. If the legislature of England, by its solemn enactments, pronounces and declares that no credit is to be given to a man's word, however seriously pledged, unless it be confirmed by an oath, though the most trivial question of every-day life be the subject; if justice, even when engaged in settling a point of less value than can be estimated by the lowest coin that is named amongst us, will not move her hand or tongue without first witnessing an appeal to Heaven, what is the natural result? Can it be any other (especially amongst the least educated part of mankind) than, on the one hand, a comparative carelessness, a heedlessness of his own words, when a man speaks unrestrained, uninfluenced by the religious bond of an oath; and on the other hand, a proportionate distrust of another man's bare, naked word—an incredulity when he merely affirms or denies under the general obligation to speak the truth. Thus does the multiplication of oaths throw simple truth into the back-ground, and pave the way for the third evil we specified—the prevalence of rash and common swearing."—p. 38.

The seventh chapter asks—"Does the present system work well?"—by which is meant, does the present system answer the purpose for which it was intended?—"does it provide judges and magistrates with the real facts of the case which they are called upon to adjudicate? The evil propensities of our na-

ture are shown in the miserable expedients to which men have recourse to evade the guilt of perjury, and secure their own ends by falsehood." Here follow instances of superstitious fraud, which certainly may have occurred, but which do not seem to have much bearing on the question. We are gravely told "some kiss their thumb instead of the book;" but it must be very unusual ignorance indeed which believes that the kissing of the book is the most material part of an oath; "others kiss the book and say nothing." These instances are irrelevant to the subject, because they can refer only to a few uninformed and stupid persons, who can have so very little knowledge of right and wrong, so little understanding of the meaning of an oath, that whether only a simple declaration was required, or an oath most solemnly administered, their truth could never be relied upon. But Mr. Tyler thinks these subterfuges derive countenance from the practical legal interpretation of the laws relating to perjury. Ambiguous as this interpretation may be, we cannot see why he should think this; for an indictment for perjury would rest, not upon whether the juror himself knew that he had taken the oath in proper form, but whether that oath had been properly administered to him; and an assertion on his part that he kissed his thumb instead of the book, or that he himself said nothing, though by the usual action he assented to the oath administered; such an assertion, we imagine, would serve him but little as a defence. We shall remark hereafter on the ambiguity of the law relative to perjury. But "the dreadful extent to which perjury, direct palpable perjury prevails, from one end of the kingdom to another," calls forth Mr. Tyler's just horror and indignation. That the extent of perjury is truly deplorable, we allow; but we were hardly prepared for the extent of our author's credulity, when he avows "that the judges tell us—every obligation of an oath on the conscience is forgotten! Indeed one gentleman high in the profession assured me, as the result of his own experience, that not *one half* of those who came before him to swear affidavits seemed to feel that they were under the slightest religious obligation to speak the truth"! This is too much, however high may be the respectability of the legal gentleman: his experience must have been most unfortunate, or this is a very exaggerated statement. Perjury is prevalent, but that one half, or one fourth, of those who take oaths would perjure themselves, we must at once deny. But we can no longer wonder at the ready insertion of the lawyer's hyperbolical expression, when we read the contemptible story which follows, and with which some mischievous tattler must have practised upon the reverend gentleman's simple credulity. We cannot insult our readers by the repetition of this tale of Billingsgate blasphemy, though it is

related with most grave and innocent seriousness by Mr. Tyler, who seems to be quite unconscious that any one can doubt its truth.

After the contents of the last chapter, the reader will have no difficulty in answering at once in the affirmative the question of that which follows:—"Are any changes necessary?" The first change proposed is the omission of the imprecatory clause; but here we take leave to prefer the judgment of the author's friend to his own.

"His remarks seem to me to unite sound judgment with equally sound liberality. I think it may be very safely said, the distinction of the Moravians is too finely drawn. What meaning can be attributed to the act of calling God to witness any declaration short of virtually calling upon his omniscience to discover, and upon his might to avenge, any falsehood in that declaration? The Moravians cannot mean to call upon the Deity to give sensible tokens of attestation. Still I object not to your recommendation to omit that part of the oath which is directly imprecatory, turning entirely, in the English oath, upon the word 'so'—an objectionable, almost an insidious form of inducing an illiterate man to invoke the vengeance of the Almighty. I hold it no sufficient reason to retain the words 'So help me God,' that there will still be a virtual imprecation without them. If actual imprecation shocks the conscience even of the weaker brethren, and adds little or nothing to the sense of obligation, it is a reason for recommending an altered form."—p. 62.

The alterations, which are called for by every considerate person, are thus shortly explained by Mr. Tyler.

"I shall take it for granted that every one who professes to regard the Gospel as the rule of life, will feel, first, that all unnecessary oaths should be abolished, in whatever department of church or state they may be found; and, secondly, that whatever oaths, after a calm and dispassionate examination of the subject in all its bearings, may still be deemed indispensable, they should always be administered with such marks of reverence and solemnity as at once are due to the hallowed name of Him who is invoked, and may be calculated to inspire a religious feeling of respect and a reverential awe, as well in the person sworn as in all who witness the ceremony."—p. 63.

The first class of these oaths which are unnecessary, is that of oaths of office, except those of extraordinary trust in church or state. We have already stated our own coincidence with this opinion, for we think oaths never so seriously and solemnly, and therefore fitly taken, as in matters appertaining to religion. There can be no irreverence in the ministers of God calling on Him to witness any act of dedication to His service. Oaths of this kind are very analogous to those vows of old by which persons devoted themselves to the Lord; oaths of this kind are a part of religion itself, and should be abolished on no consideration. With re-

spect to offices in the state, the distinction between those simply of a civil nature, and those connected with the administration of criminal justice, might, we think, agreeably to the author's suggestion, decide the instances of those where a declaration would be sufficient, or those where an oath was still requisite. Next to these oaths of office are mentioned voluntary affidavits: great is the mass of these which are now every day administered, and every day irreverently taken. If the proposed alteration in the poor laws takes place, it will destroy at one swoop a myriad of them. The part of these laws relating to bastardy are the cause of as much perjury, especially in the agricultural districts, as any or all the rest of the law requiring or permitting oaths. But we rejoice that here the annihilation of a vast collection of matter for perjury and falsehood is contemplated, and a multitude of oaths done away with, without the substitution of any declaration in the place of them: and this is far the most advisable mode of proceeding, where it can be adopted without any great inconvenience; for as oaths often draw men into the heinous sin of perjury, so declarations must in equal proportion be followed often by falsehood. When neither oath or declaration is required, perjury is impossible, and falsehood must remain inactive and innocent.

In many instances of voluntary affidavits, Mr. Tyler thinks the administering of an oath is even now contrary to law, for Sir E. Coke says expressly—"Oaths that have no warrant by law are rather nova tormenta than sacramenta, and it is an high contempt to minister an oath without warrant of law, to be punished by fine and imprisonment." We think there is very little reason to believe that the number of voluntary affidavits illegally administered is worth noticing; for not only have late acts of parliament legalized many oaths for which in Sir E. Coke's time there was no warrant, but magistrates and masters in chancery are very careful to adhere strictly to law. Some years since we know it was the custom with magistrates in the country to permit affidavits to be taken by any who wished to prove the truth of their words, or to clear their character from unjust imputations. Every idle assertion or ridiculous tale of scandal was subject for an affidavit, and we have known instances where the parties have gone to different magistrates and made oath of statements diametrically opposite to each other. We have heard, too, cases where masters in chancery are reported to have been equally careless and equally liberal in swearing persons, without a pretence of the law requiring it. But did either magistrates or masters act in this manner now, it would not escape the notice of those who are for ever ready to inform against persons in authority, whenever opportu-

nity occurs of proving that they have transgressed. Whether legally administered or not, however, voluntary oaths even now are too often admitted when not necessary. There is no case of this sort which immediately comes to our recollection as more productive of perjury, than that of a person surcharged by the assessor of taxes being allowed to clear himself of the surcharge by an oath. The temptation to falsehood in this instance is twofold; first, the person by his own oath confirms the truth of his own previous statement, which is called in question by the surcharge; secondly, he is exonerated from the payment of the amount surcharged. Oaths, where temptation of this sort exists, are snares baited too alluringly to be escaped by any but those of a strong conscience or wakeful caution. We regret that in candour we must own that the number of confirmed surcharges which takes place every year, and almost every where, militates against the idea that those who despise the obligation of their word, would, in general, be equally neglectful of the obligation of an oath; for here we see that men who without scruple sign a falsehood, do scruple to swear to it. But while we allow this, which is an argument for the retaining oaths, as the only means of eliciting the truth, we think, if falsehood were itself made a crime punishable by law in a summary manner, all these would be deterred from signing, besides many more whose conscience is less nice, and who are at present tempted to commit the more heinous sin of perjury.

The tenth chapter contains some very just remarks on the oaths required at the universities. Most of those which regard academical discipline might be done away with; the matriculation oath has almost come to seem a tissue of ridiculous absurdities. Instead of calling on the undergraduate to swear that he will observe the Statutes of the University, many of which are obsolete, and the observance of some of them impossible, it would be much more wise to give him warning publicly of the penalty or punishment which would be incurred by disobeying them. This warning would be likely to induce him to be obedient, and would prevent any cause of complaint in case that penalty or punishment was inflicted on his disobedience.

“ But if the universities offend in these particulars by their tens, the courts of law offend by their tens of thousands. The blessed Founder of Christianity said, ‘ Swear not at all; the Apostle James re-echoed his Saviour’s words; the earliest Christians interpreted this command as prohibitory at least of every oath not absolutely necessary for the preservation of justice and peace; and yet in England, if ever the voice of our Christian legislature is heard bearing on these points, its words seem to sound, ‘ Swear on all occasions: omit no opportunity of insisting on

an oath.' Indeed our country has been, not without reason, called 'a land of oaths.'"—p. 76.

Enough has already been said upon this subject to show that an inquiry is called for; it is with the greatest satisfaction we find that inquiry has already commenced. We trust it will be rendered effective by the counsel of that Right Reverend individual, to whom Mr. Tyler has, with great propriety, dedicated this volume. We have already learned the value of that counsel towards the amendment of our law. It is to the spirit of real reform, tempered by cool judgment, and aided by Christian wisdom, that we can trust with confidence in these innovating times, to eradicate existing abuses, without endangering the beneficial parts of that system, to which they belong. No better general rule for effecting the object desired can be given than in almost every case to say "increase bonds and penalties and diminish oaths." The manner of administering oaths (with which the author again finds fault) must at present, in consequence of their frequency, be improper; "familiarity breeds contempt," and as long as the multiplicity of oaths exists, the want of respect to them must remain; diminish the number, and then, and not until then, can they be administered in a becoming manner or with due solemnity. Certainly those oaths which are retained would gain some reverence, from their being required only on most serious occasions; but we quite agree that the manner of administering them should be more solemn; the administrator should be a person of high character and office; indeed, nothing should be omitted to render the ceremony grave and impressive.

The first part is concluded by a statement of these objects, which are worthy of the consideration of the legislature.

"1st. An approximation towards such a state of a Christian community with regard to oaths as would be worthy of the gospel, to be attempted by the abolition of all unnecessary oaths.

2ndly. That in the administration of oaths, either the judge himself, or some high officer, should perform the duty in a most reverend, grave, and impressive manner.

"3rdly. In cases where the party to be sworn may desire it, a change of form from the imprecatory to the attesting form."

To the first two objects we cordially assent; for the last, we have already stated we see no necessity; but if a change is necessary, "that we offend not those who are weak," we think the change should be in all oaths, and if the alteration of the words, "So help me God," to "I call God to witness the truth of what I shall say," be thought desirable, we cannot see that it at all diminishes the awful solemnity; for the God of Truth is in either case equally invoked, and if falsely or irreverently invoked, it is

equally certain "that God will not hold him guiltless who taketh his name in vain." We shall pass over without much observation the very learned history of the forms of oaths in different countries, as well as the very curious matter contained in the lettered sections of Part III. We do not think these parts of the volume bear much upon the main question, though in all probability they gave the author more trouble and put him to more research than all the rest; to some readers they may be very interesting; but that to which we wish to direct attention is the practical part. We shall therefore only notice the chapter which treats of perjury.

"No one can have paid attention to the subject of oaths, without being driven at a very early stage of his inquiry to draw a broad line of distinction between the moral guilt of false swearing and the civil crime of perjury. It is a distinction which the laws and the practice of many people would force him to make; but which seems in no country to have involved more inconsistent consequences, and to have led to greater practical evil than in our own."—p. 194.

The inadequacy of our law for the punishment of falsehood, the ambiguity of its construction, and the consequent uncertainty of conviction under it, these and many other evils of like nature, all arise from the frequency of oaths. Mr. Tyler confirms this by his interpretation of, and commentary on, a passage from Blackstone. "The law takes no notice of any perjury, but such as is committed in some courts of justice having power to administer an oath, or before some magistrate or proper officer invested with similar authority in some proceedings relative to a civil suit or criminal prosecution, for it esteems all other oaths unnecessary at least, and therefore will not punish the breach of them." Some very sensible observations occur in a former part of the volume, and are the remarks of a friend of the author; they are quoted in a note on p. 51.

"With regard to the defects and inconsistencies imputed to the law of England, in that it does not punish as perjury falseswearing, when the juror swears only to his recollection or belief, or where the matter sworn to is irrelevant to the point in issue, nor the breach of promissory oaths, it is to be observed, that no system of human laws extends nor indeed can extend to all breaches of moral duty. They punish as civil offences such only as are more tangible by law, and more peculiarly detrimental to the public weal, and then draw the line."

This is a very just explanation of the existing law, and acquaints us moreover with the difficulty of amending it, and we acknowledge that in the detection of falsehood, there must always be much caution observed: for the obligation which did not keep one party to the truth, may be equally inadequate to restrain the other; it is for this reason, that, if possible, the evidence in all prosecutions for falsehood should be confirmed by more solemn

obligations than that by which the accused was bound, or in case this is impossible (as where the charge is for falseswearing) that, as now, many witnesses should be necessary to disprove the oath of one and the veracity of these confirmed by attested circumstances. We have no doubt that the great unwillingness of the legislature to dispense with oaths, has in a great measure arisen from this acknowledged difficulty in proving, and therefore in punishing, falsehood. As the law at present exists, the fear of a prosecution for perjury certainly does not go far to prevent falsehood in those whose conscience is so hardened as to despise the obligation of an oath.

We cannot conclude our remarks without owning that we think the part of Mr. Tyler's book which is practically useful, might be condensed into a small pamphlet, and we are inclined to wish that an abridgment might be published, containing the first part, with very little of the second, and none of the third; in fact that that portion which would be easily read and attended to with utility, might be disencumbered from that weight of learning with which it is now mixed up. Without the curious matter in the third part, and the erudite disquisition and history in the second part, we are aware the volume will lose its present imposing appearance; but as there are in it many valuable hints, and much just reasoning, we are anxious that these should be read by more than will be inquisitive enough to search into, or literate enough to enjoy, the large and multifarious treasure of the author's unwearyed research. We have but one more complaint to make, it is, that Mr. Tyler has snatched at all the intelligence which he could obtain, and has given equal credit to every friend who offered him an anecdote or an illustration. There is a very chaos of eleemosynary information. The opinion of a judge and the tale of a trifler are to be found in the same page.

On the judgment of one friend he could hardly place too much reliance, and he seems so grateful for the valuable remarks which he obtained from him, that we think he will readily pardon us for pronouncing those remarks, wherever they occur, to be as forcible and just and as full of sense and truth as any passage in the volume; that friend must be a learned, a wise, and a good man. But whatever fault we may find, it is more than outweighed by the praise which is due to the good feeling with which the whole is written, and the good intention with which it is published.

All into whose hands this book may fall will agree, that it does credit to the pen of a Christian minister, and is not unworthy of the patron to whom it is inscribed.

ART. IV.—*The Poetical Works of the Reverend George Crabbe.*
London: Murray. 1834.

THE history of Crabbe is one of uncommon interest, and it is narrated by his son and biographer with great simplicity and affectionate earnestness. We follow him through all the changes of his fortune, from the day of his unhappy apprenticeship at Wickham Brook, until his arrival, a desperate adventurer, in London, without friends, without money, and without employment. What he endured during that period of bitter trial may be seen in the extracts from his private journal contained in the present memoir. They are irresistibly affecting, from their sincerity and impressive truth. But our object in this article is to confine ourselves to the poetry of Crabbe, and we shall therefore only touch upon such portions of his life as may be thought to have influenced his genius.

Crabbe was born at Aldborough, in Suffolk, where his father was collector of the salt duties. A description of this place will be interesting to the admirers of the poet, from the remembrance of the graphic sketches which it furnished to his vigorous pencil.

Aldborough (or as it is more correctly written Aldeburgh) was in those days a poor and wretched place,* with nothing of the elegance and gaiety which have since sprung up about it in consequence of the resort of watering parties. The town lies between a low hill or cliff, on which only the old church and a few better houses were then situated, and the beach of the German Ocean. It consisted of two parallel and unpaved streets, running between mean and scrambling houses, the abodes of seafaring men, pilots, and fishers. The range of houses nearest to the sea had suffered so much from repeated invasions of the waves that only a few scattered tenements appeared erect among the desolation.

Crabbe often mentioned a tremendous spring-tide, which happened about the 1st of January, 1779, when eleven houses were at once demolished, and he saw the breakers dash over the roofs, and round the walls, and crush all to ruin. The beach consists of successive ridges—large rolled stones, then loose shingle, and, at the fall of the tide, a stripe of fine hard sand. Vessels of all sorts, from the large heavy troll-boat to the yawl and frame, drawn up along the shore—fishermen preparing their tackle or sorting their spoil, and nearer, the gloomy old town hall (the only indication of municipal dignity), a few groups of mariners, chiefly pilots, taking their short quick walk backwards and forwards,

* We borrow from the memoir of Crabbe.

every one watchful of a signal from the offing—such was the squalid scene that first opened on the author of “The Village.”

Nor was the landscape in the vicinity of a more engaging aspect—open commons and sterile farms, the soil poor and sandy, the herbage bare and rushy, the trees few and far between, and withered and stunted by the bleak breezes of the sea. The opening picture of “The Village” was copied in every touch from the scene of the poet’s nativity and boyish days :

“Lo ! where the heath, with withering brake grown o’er,
Lends the light turf that warms the neighbouring poor ;
From thence a length of burning sand appears,
Where the thin harvest waves its wither’d ears ;
Rank weeds, that every art and care defy,
Reign o’er the land and rob the blighted rye,
There thistles spread their prickly arms afar,
And to the ragged infants threaten war.”

Here he grew up among the rough sons of the ocean—a daily witness of unbridled passions and of manners remote from the sameness and artificial smoothness of polished society. At home he was subject to the caprices of a stern and imperious though not unkindly nature ; and probably few whom he could familiarly approach, but had passed through some of those dark domestic tragedies in which his future strength was to be exhibited. The common people of Aldborough in those days are described as

“A wild amphibious race,
With sullen woe displayed in every face ;
Who far from civil arts and social fly,
And scowl at strangers with suspicious eye.”

Nor although the family in which he was born happened to be somewhat above the mass in point of situation, was the remove so great as to be marked with any considerable difference in point of refinement. Masculine and robust frames, rude manners, stormy passions, laborious days, and occasionally boisterous nights of merriment—among such accompaniments was born and reared the Poet of the Poor.

But we have already seen, that the poet’s father was a person of intellect superior to his associates, and it was his frequent custom to read to his family in the evenings passages from Milton, Young, or some other religious poet, which he did with powerful effect. He happened also to take in a periodical work called “Martin’s Philosophical Magazine,” which contained at the end of each number a sheet of miscellaneous poetry, which the salt master always cut out when the magazines of the year were sent to the binders. These treasures therefore fell to the lot of young Crabbe, who studied them until he had committed the greater

part to memory. These verses would certainly never have cradled him into song, such as Mr. Murray would have thought worth publishing, or we should have taken the trouble to review. His inspiration was to come from a different source.

After leaving the school of Mr. Richard Haddon, at Stow Market, the young poet seems to have devoted his time for "many an idle year" to the enjoyment of solitary wanderings along the sea-shore. He has painted these amusements with great spirit in one of his poems.

"I to the ocean gave
My mind, and thoughts as restless as the wave;
Where crowds assembled I was sure to run,
Hear what was said and muse on what was done.
To me the wives of seamen loved to tell
What storms endangered men esteemed so well;
No ships were wreck'd upon that fatal beach
But I could give the luckless tale of each.—
I loved to walk where none had walked before
About the rocks that ran alone the shore;
Or far beyond the sight of men to stray,
And take my pleasure when I lost my way;
For then 'twas mine to trace the hilly heath,
And all the mossy moor that lies beneath.
Here I had favourite stations, where I stood
And heard the murmurs of the ocean flood,
With not a sound beside, except when flew
Aloft the lapwing or the grey curlew,—
When I no more my fancy could employ,
I left in haste what I could not enjoy,
And was my gentle mother's welcome boy."

"The Borough," although Crabbe, in his preface to that poem, discountenanced the belief, is known to have been a free picture of Aldborough, preserving all the striking features of the place and its inhabitants, heightened of course to increase the pictorial effect and to conceal the directness of the imitation. This will be seen from a reference to the eleventh letter, entitled *Inns*, and if any of our readers have ever visited the *White Lion*,

"High in the street o'erlooking half the place,"
they will perhaps remember an old fashioned parlour, which the "lordly host" of the present day

"With pomp obsequious bending in his pride,"
points out, with consciousness of the honour reflected upon his house, as the scene of many gay evening meetings, in which "young Dr. Crabbe" was by no means the least distinguished for hilarity. In this work some of his happiest efforts are to be found; he had the original before him, and the life and broad-

ness of his own copies no one will call in question. The scenery was exactly of that description which he delighted to pourtray, and we may add the only kind from which he appears to have derived any gratification. For, as his son has confessed, though in aftertimes he resided in some of the finest parts of the island, he never seems to have taken any pleasure in the grander features of inland scenery.

Crabbe seems to have been only susceptible of poetical impressions from particular objects, and which to others have always proved the least interesting. For nature he had little affection, and the occasional touches of rural beauty, scattered, at long intervals, through his poems, are apparently to be attributed to accident rather than design. For although extremely partial to natural history, and pursuing his researches in that study during his residence in Suffolk, we are informed by his son, that those branches usually considered the least inviting had the highest attractions for him. In botany, grasses the most useful, but the least ornamental, were his favourites; in minerals, the earths and sands; in entomology, the minuter insects. His devotion to these pursuits, observes his biographer, appeared to proceed purely from the love of science and the increase of knowledge—at all events he never seemed to be captivated with the mere beauty of natural objects, or even to catch any taste from the arrangement of his own specimens.

Of the style in which he shone so eminently, the following is one of the most remarkable specimens. It is the picture of an old warehouse in the Borough, which was let out in lodgings to beggars of every description.

- “That window view! oil’d paper and old glass
✓ Stain the strong rays which tho’ impeded pass,
And give a dusty warmth to that huge room,
The conquer’d sunshine’s melancholy gloom;
When all those western rays without so bright,
Within become a ghastly glimmering light,
As pale and faint upon the floor they fall
Or feebly gleam on the opposing wall:
That floor once oak, now pieced with fir unplanned,
Or where not pieced, in places bored and stained;
That wall once whiten’d, now an odious sight,
Stain’d with all hues except its ancient white;
The only door is fastened by a pin,
Or stubborn bar, that none may hurry in:
For this poor room, like rooms of greater pride,
At times contained what prudent men would hide.
Where’er the floor allows an even space,
Chalking and marks of various games have place;

Boys, without foresight, pleased, in halters swing ;
 On a fixed hook men cast a flying ring :
 While gin and snuff their female neighbours share,
 And the black beverage in the fractured ware.
 On swinging shelf are things incongruous stored ;
 Scraps of thin food—the cards and cribbage board,
 With pipes and pouches ; while on peg below,
 Hung a lost member's fiddle and its bow,
 That still reminds them how he'd dance and play,
 Ere sent untimely to the convict's bay.
 Here by a curtain, by a blanket there,
 Are various beds conceal'd, but none with care ;
 Where some by day, and some by night, as best
 Suit their employments, seek uncertain rest ;
 The drowsy children at their pleasure creep,
 To the known crib and there securely sleep.
 Each end contains a grate, and these beside
 Are hung utensils for their boil'd and fried,
 All used at any hour, by night, by day,
 As suit the purse, the person, or the prey.
 Above the fire the mantel-shelf contains
 Of china-ware some poor unmatch'd remains ;
 There many a tea-cup's gaudy fragment stands,
 All placed by vanity's unwearied hands ;
 For here she lives, e'en here she looks about
 To find some small consoling objects out :
 Nor heed those Spartan dames their house, nor sit
 'Mid cares domestic,—they nor sew, nor knit ;
 But of their fate discourse, their ways, their wars
 With arm'd authorities, their scapes and scars :
 These lead to present evils, and a cup,
 If fortune grant it, winds description up.
 High up at either end, and next the wall,
 Two ancient mirrors show the forms of all,
 In all their force ;—these aid them in their dress,
 But with the good, the evils too express,
 Doubling each look of care, each token of distress."

As a specimen of Dutch painting this must be acknowledged to be admirable ; to what poetical rank it is entitled is a question of more difficulty. It may be affirmed that all poetry, in a greater or less degree, depends upon the associations connected with it. The white cottage of a villager with the flaunting woodbine, and the blackbird piping under the thatch, and a group of rosy children sitting on the warm grass and throwing daisies at each other, form a very pleasing picture ; but in the gloomy and sickening abode of dissolute vagabonds there is not only nothing to gratify the mind, but every thing to disgust it. This objection, in reference to Crabbe's poetry in general, has been strongly

urged by Mr. Gifford. "If," he says, "the checks of fancy and taste be removed from poetry, and admission be granted to images of whatever description, provided they have the passport of reality, it is not easy to tell at what point the line of exclusion should be drawn, or why it should be drawn at all. No image of depravity, so long as it answers to some archetype in nature or art, can be refused the benefit of the general rule." If this principle be admitted, there is no haunt of iniquity, from Temple Bar to Hyde Park Corner, which may not have its impurities "hitched into a rhyme," until at length we should have a complete portrait gallery of monsters—an exhibition sacred to vice. The author of the *Borough* had certainly no intention to proceed to such an extent, but we are speaking of the theory not as it is in the hands of the founder, but as it may become in the hands of a more hardy disciple.

A comparison has been sometimes instituted between Wordsworth and Crabbe; they are indeed in one sense both poets of the poor, for the prints of their footsteps are commonly to be traced in the sequestered paths of humble life. But the peasantry of Wordsworth are not the peasantry of Crabbe; they are men—poor though they be in worldly treasure—into whose spirits the music of nature has penetrated; men, who, from their childhood, have been familiar with the charms of the creation; to whose feet every woody defile, every pastoral glen, every sun-chequered path is familiar; whose eyes have ever been open to the sweet influences of the varying seasons—whether the solemnity of autumn, or the horror of winter, or the allurements of spring, or the ripe maturity of summer, when a hundred streams

"unto the sleeping woods all night"

warble their "quiet tunes." Thus the very atmosphere of life becomes to them purified, and nature is the nurse who leads them up to God.

What a different aspect do the peasantry of Crabbe present? The squalidness of their dwellings appears to have imparted a kindred degradation to their feelings. We discover nothing noble, nothing picturesque, nothing that chains our eyes to the portrait in love or delight; yet this instinctive sentiment of aversion is a most unimpeachable testimony that the artist has redeemed his promise in giving us the scene,

"As truth will paint it, and as bards will not."

He conducts us to the cottage door, and points to the melancholy group within; the "drooping weary sire," worn out with toiling for

the bread that perisheth; his miserable offspring crowding in
hungry wretchedness round the "matron pale," who

With trembling hand
Turns on the wretched hearth th' expiring brand.

The exquisite description of the village workhouse, which first introduced the poetry of Crabbe to the notice of Sir Walter Scott and Wordsworth, may even now be applied to many similar abodes in the district from which it was originally copied. Those "walls of mud," which scarcely bear "the broken door," still pain the passers by, although the "dull wheel" no longer "hums doleful through the day."

Severe, and even repulsive, as many of Crabbe's portraits are, it would be acting most unjustly to his genius to allow the reader to retain an impression which has become very general, that he is essentially a gloomy and sombre writer. No doubt, was the eloquent remark of Professor Wilson, to persons who read his poetry superficially and by snatches and glances, it may seem to give too dark a picture of life, but this is not the feeling which the study of the whole awakens: here and there he presents us with images of almost perfect beauty, innocence, and happiness; but as such things are seldom seen and soon disappear in real life, it seems to be his opinion that so likewise ought they to start out with sudden and transitory smiles among the darker or more solemn pictures of his poetry. Now we take this to be true, and that there are times when no poet in English literature gazes with a more holy gladness on the "settled countenance of peace," or whose eyes are more often "charmed away from the troubles and wickedness of life to its repose and its virtue." He closes up his captive in a narrow and miserable cell, but the blessed light of heaven streams through the grating; he gives him an iron pallet for his couch, but peace strews his hard pillow with flowers of sweet odour. The peasant of Wordsworth is ennobled by the feeling of poetry; the peasant of Crabbe is dignified by the mild and long-suffering spirit of the Gospel. Over his blackest portraiture of human crime and misery gleams of light are sometimes shed, and the evil spirit is often dispossessed by the music of early innocence and virtue.

There is a passage in the twenty-third letter of the *Borough on Prisons*, representing the dream of a condemned felon, so beautiful that we cannot resist the temptation of extracting a part of it. It may not be improper to observe that the tale itself originated in a visit which Crabbe paid to Newgate during his melancholy season of affliction in the metropolis. The criminal has been suddenly transported by the visions of the night to his

native village, and beholds again the chamber of his youth, and clasps once more the hand of her whom he loved as they wander along the "pleasant garden walk."

"Yes! all are with him now, and all the while
Life's early prospects and his Fanny's smile;
Then come his sister and his village-friend,
And he will now the sweetest moments spend
Life has to yield.

* * * * *

They feel the calm delight and thus proceed
Thro' the green lane; then linger in the mead—
Stray o'er the heath in all its purple bloom,
And pluck the blossoms where the wild bees hum;
Then thro' the broomy bound with ease they pass,
And press the sandy sheepwalks' slender grass,
Where dwarfish flowers among the gorse are spread,
And the lamb browses by the linnet's bed;
Then cross the bounding brook they make their way
O'er its rough bridge, and there behold the bay!
The ocean smiling to the fervid sun—
The waves that faintly fall and slowly run—
The ships at distance and the boats at hand;
And now they walk upon the sea-side sand,
Counting the number, and what kind they be,
Ships softly sinking in the sleepy sea."

The lines marked in *Italics* strike us as exquisitely beautiful, both in thought and diction. The melody seems also perfect; whether the continued alliteration in the last line was intentional or accidental we do not know, but it unquestionably realizes in a very peculiar manner the appearance of vessels upon an unruffled, sunny sea in the summer time. The "lamb browsing by the linnet's bed" is sweetly expressive of rural serenity and repose.

Of Crabbe's tales the principal defect appears to be the paucity of incident, the dramatic action is the slightest imaginable; they are, in fact, only tales because they can be nothing else. Their great recommendation is their truth; the sketches of country society either have the muscular bearing of the seafaring tribe, or the more simple manners of rustic life. His village girls are not parodies of London milliners; his heroes are any thing but prodigies. Their misfortunes are evolved out of the plot in the most natural manner; they are not placed in such castles as never were built, in the midst of such forests as never grew; their misfortunes are all satisfactorily accounted for. We know that Allen Booth would have returned to marry Isabel if he had not been captured by the Spaniards, and we feel quite convinced

that "it's all up" with the "Gentleman Farmer" when he surrendered his outward man to the care of the Scotch doctor.*

The poetry of Crabbe, we suspect, is not so well known as to render an extract superfluous, and we shall endeavour to illustrate our remarks by the tale of Phœbe Dawson, which is said to have engaged the attention of Mr. Fox in the painful hours of his last illness, and to have been one of the few poetical pieces which continued to delight the declining Magician of the north.

"Two summers since, I saw at Lammas fair,
The sweetest flower that ever blossomed there,
When Phoebe Dawson gaily crossed the green
In haste to see, and happy to be seen;
Her air, her manners all who saw admired;
Courteous tho' coy, and gentle tho' retired;
The joy of health and youth her eyes display'd,
And ease of heart her every look convey'd;
A native skill her simple robes express'd,
As with untutor'd elegance she dress'd;
The lads around admired so fair a sight,
And Phœbe felt, and felt she gave delight.
Admirers soon of every age she gain'd,
Her beauty won them, and her worth retain'd;
Envy itself could no contempt display,
They wish'd her well, whom yet they wish'd away.
Correct in thought she judg'd a servant's place
Preserved a rustic beauty from disgrace;
But yet on Sunday eve, in freedom's hour,
With secret joy she felt that beauty's power;
When some proud bliss upon the heart would steal,
That poor or rich a beauty still must feel."

Phœbe at length falls in love with a tailor, who, like many other people, was not as good as he ought to have been:

"Now through the lane, up hill and 'cross the green,
(Seen but by few and blushing to be seen)—
Dejected, thoughtful, anxious, and afraid,
Led by the lover, walk'd the silent maid,
Slow thro' the meadows roved they many a mile,
Toy'd by each bank, and trifled at each stile;
While as he painted every blissful view,
And highly coloured what he strongly drew;
The pensive damsel, prone to tender fears,
Dimm'd the false prospect with prophetic tears.
Thus pass'd th' allotted hours, till, lingering late,
The lover loiter'd at the master's gate;
There he pronounced adieu! and yet would stay,
Till chidden, soothed, entreated, forced away;

* See the tales of the "Parting Hour," and the "Gentleman Farmer."

He would of coldness, tho' indulged, complain,
And oft retire, and oft return again ;
When, if his teasing vexed her gentle mind,
The grief assum'd compell'd her to be kind."

This, says Mr. Jeffrey, is the taking side of the picture ; at the end of two years comes the reverse:—

" Lo ! now with red rent cloak and bonnet black,
And torn green gown loose hanging at her back,
One, who an infant in her arms sustains,
And seems in patience striving with her pains.
Pinch'd are her looks, as one who pines for bread,
Whose cares are growing, and whose hopes are fled ;
Pale her parch'd lips, her heavy eyes sunk low,
And tears unnoticed from their channel flow ;
Serene her manner, till some sudden pain
Frets the meek soul, and then she's calm again.
Her broken pitcher to the pool she takes,
And every step with cautious terror makes ;
For not alone that infant in her arms,
But nearer cause her anxious soul alarms ;
With water burden'd then she picks her way
Slowly and cautious in the clinging clay ;
Till in mid green she trusts a place unsound,
And deeply plunges in th' adhesive ground ;
Thence, but with pain, her slender foot she takes,
While hope the mind, as strength the frame, forsakes :
For when so full the cup of sorrows grows,
Add we a drop, it instantly o'erflows.
Her home she reaches, open leaves the door,
And placing first her infant on the floor,
She bares her bosom to the wind, and sits,
And sobbing struggles with the rising fits :
In vain they come, she feels th' inflating grief,
That shuts the swelling bosom from relief ;
That speaks in feeble cries a soul distressed,
Or the sad laugh that cannot be repressed.
The neighbour matron leaves her wheel, and flies
With all the aid her poverty supplies,
Unfee'd the calls of nature she obeys,
Not led by profit, not allured by praise,
And waiting long till these contentions cease,
She speaks of comfort, and departs in peace.
Friend of distress ! the mourner feels thy aid,
She cannot pay thee, but thou wilt be paid !"

The story of Phoebe Dawson has nothing in it which has not been told a hundred times before, but it has never been told so well.

The rank of Crabbe among his fellow bards has been variously assigned. While some have elevated him to the highest seat, others appear to question his right to any. His own vindication of his poetical principles may be seen in the Preface to his *Tales*, published in 1812, from which we shall make a brief extract. After quoting the well-known and exquisite passage from the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which Shakespear draws so beautiful a picture of poetical genius, he continues—

“Hence, we observe, the poet is one who, in the excursions of his fancy between heaven and earth, lights upon a kind of fairy-land, in which he places a creation of his own, where he embodies shapes and gives action and adventure to his ideal offspring; taking captive the imagination of his readers, he elevates them above the grossness of actual being into the soothing and pleasant atmosphere of supramundane existence; there he obtains for his visionary inhabitants the interest that engages the reader's attention without ruffling his feelings, and excites that moderate kind of sympathy which the realities of nature oftentimes fail to produce, either because they are so familiar and insignificant that they excite no determinate emotion, or are so harsh and powerful that the feelings excited are grating and distasteful. Be it then granted that (as Duke Theseus observes) such ‘tricks hath strong imagination,’ and that such poets ‘are of imagination all compact;’ let it be further conceded that theirs is a higher and more dignified kind of composition, nay, the only kind that has pretensions to inspiration; still, that these poets should so entirely engross the title as to exclude those who address their productions to the plain sense and sober judgments of their readers, rather than to their fancy and imagination, I must repeat that I am unwilling to admit, because I conceive that by granting such right of exclusion a vast deal of what has been hitherto regarded as genuine poetry would no longer be entitled to that appellation.”

In this case, as in most others, the truth will be found, we apprehend, between the two extremes. There cannot surely be any necessity to refuse the honours of a painter to Gainsborough, because he could not produce the “Transfiguration;” or to deny Cowper's title to the name of poet, because he did not write a rival to *Paradise Lost*. In poetry, as in its sister arts, there are many degrees and kinds of excellence, and where any of the *vivida vis*—the true inspiration—is present, we ought to speak of the author only in terms of relative superiority or inferiority. The modern attempt to dethrone Pope only ended, as all such rash, we were going to say prophane, attempts ought to end, in the discomfiture and disgrace of the revolvers. Mr. Crabbe writes upon this topic with propriety and clearness. He himself had indeed very little, if any, of that genius which Shakespear describes. His merits and defects were those of a Dutch artist—vigour and coarseness. His eye, as it only embraced a few

objects, so it dissected them with the most untiring diligence. It is not a paradox to affirm that he was only great when he was little—that his most surprising effects arose out of his minuteness. If he had painted the Deluge, like Bassan, one of the most prominent objects would undoubtedly have been a brass pan. Pope was the poetical master he delighted to honour, and he was probably indebted to that well-known passage, beginning, “*In the worst inn’s worst room,*” for the style which he afterwards so excelled in. One of the witty authors of *Rejected Addresses* called him Pope in worsted stockings. His verse was certainly of a very different texture from that of the author of the *Rape of the Lock*.

His language, however, is suited to the subject—hard, cold and frequently prosaic. It is only in his occasional lyrics that the absence of poetic diction is strongly felt. By poetic diction we do not mean that indiscriminate mixture of roses and posies, and flowers and bowers, which run wild over so many pages of modern verse; but a language which shall receive a hue from the imagination, and shall differ in some measure from the every-day dialect of common life. None of our readers require to be told that the language of Virgil is not the language of even Livy—much less of any other Latin historian. But many of Crabbe’s poems, if deprived of their metrical form, would not only cease to retain any indication of a poetical origin, but would really become very idiomatic prose. To pursue this argument would lead us beyond our limits; we may, however, extract two stanzas from a song which is now published for the first time in the fourth volume of Crabbe’s *Poems*. It was originally written in the album of the Duchess of Rutland.

“ At sea, when threatening tempests rise,
 When angry winds the waves deform,
 The seaman lifts to heaven his eyes
 And deprecates the dreaded storm.
 Ye furious powers, no more contend;
 Ye winds and seas, your conflict end;
 And on the wild subsiding deep
 Let fear repose and terror sleep.
 At length the waves are hush’d in peace,
 On flying clouds the sun prevails;
 The weary winds their efforts cease,
 And fill no more the flagging sails;
 Fix’d to the deep the vessel rides
 Obedient to the flagging tides;
 No helm she feels, no course she keeps;
 But on the liquid marble sleeps.”

Who would imagine this to be the commencement of a love-song?

It will not be unpleasant, we hope, to our readers, to compare with these stanzas a little poem of Mrs. Hemans, written in a style such as Crabbe had no conception of, and which, though somewhat too aureate, offers no bad specimen of poetical diction. The fair and accomplished authoress has not received the honour which belongs to her; if her lyre has only few notes, they are full of dignity and a rich and impressive harmony.

“ And I too in Arcadia dwelt.”

A celebrated picture of Poussin represents a band of shepherd youths and maidens suddenly checked in their wanderings and affected with various emotions by the sight of a tomb which bears this inscription—*Et in Arcadia Ego*.

“ They have wandered in their glee
With the butterfly and bee;
They have climbed o’er heathery swells,
They have wound through forest dells;
Mountain moss hath felt their tread,
Woodland streams their way have led;
Flowers in deepest shadowy nooks,
Nurslings of the loveliest brooks,
Unto them have yielded up
Flagrant bell and starry cup:
Chaplets are on every brow—
What hath stay’d the wanderer now?
Lo! a grey and rustic tomb,
Bowered amid the rich wood gloom;
Whence these words their stricken spirits melt,
‘ I too, shepherds! in Arcadia dwelt.’

“ There is many a summer sound
That pale sepulchre around;
Thro’ the shade young birds are glancing,
Insect wings in sunstreaks dancing;
Glimpses of blue festal skies,
Pouring in when soft winds rise;
Violets o’er the turf below
Shedding out their warmest glow;
Yet a spirit, not its own,
O’er the greenwood now is thrown;
Something of an under note
Thro’ its music seems to float,
Something of a stillness grey
Creeps across the laughing day;
Something dimly from those old words felt,
‘ I too, shepherds! in Arcadia dwelt.’

“ Was some gentle kindred maid
In that grave with dirges laid;

Some fair creature with the tone
 Of whose voice a joy is gone,
 Leaving melody and mirth
 Poorer on this altered earth ?
 Is it thus ? that so they stand
 Dropping flowers from every hand ?
 Flowers and lyres and gathered store
 Of red wild fruit prized no more ?
 No ! from that bright band of morn
 Not one link hath yet been torn ;
 'Tis the shadow of the tomb
 Falling o'er the summer bloom,
 O'er the flush of love and life
 Passing with a sudden strife ;
 'Tis the low prophetic breath
 Murmuring from that house of death,
 Whose faint whispers thus their hearts can melt,
 ' I too, shepherds ! in Arcadia dwelt. '

We would not destroy the charm of this lovely poem by minute criticism, but we may point out two errors which call for correction ; when Mrs. Hemans says that

“ They have climbed on heathery *swells*, ”

she does not write English, for we have no such word as *swells* in the language, except as a verb. So, again, a “ stillness grey,” however poetic and pleasing, can hardly, perhaps, be a legitimate phrase for silence, which, having no substance, cannot be invested with colour. Milton, we know, has the raven wing of darkness, and a modern poet of no small fame has the “ white stillness.” We are not sure that the application of either is admissible. The last seems to savour of affectation.

But the muse of Crabbe never seduced him into these delicate mysticisms. His most ambitious lyric efforts, Sir Eustace Grey, and the Hall of Justice, are of a different, and certainly in some parts of a higher order. That passage in which the unfortunate victim of phrenzy is carried to the land of universal silence, is very nobly conceived.

“ Upon that boundless plain below,
 The setting sun's last rays were shed,
 And gave a mild, a sober glow,
 Where all were still, asleep, or dead.
 Vast ruins in the midst were spread,
 Pillars and pediments sublime,
 Where the grey moss had formed a bed,
 And clothed the crumbling spoils of time.

"There was I fix'd, I know not how,
 Condemn'd for untold years to stay;
 Yet years were not—one dreadful now
 Endured no change of night or day;
 The same mild evening's sleeping ray
 Shone softly solemn and serene,
 And all that time I gazed away,
 The setting sun's sad rays were seen."

The quiet of the evening scene, contrasted with the horror and tumult of his own heart, is very beautiful. But the Hall of Justice is, perhaps, upon the whole, of all Crabbe's poems, that which impresses the reader with the highest opinion of his genius. The hard and frightful lineaments of a vicious and abandoned character are marked in every line.

We must hasten to bring our observations to a conclusion.

In all the social duties of life, Crabbe was most exemplary; and no person can read the warm-hearted pages of his affectionate biographer without admiring the beautiful union of the Christian with the poet—somewhat of eccentricity, however, mingled with the discharge of his sacred office. His son observes, oddly enough, that he had a trait very desirable in a minister—the most complete exemption from fear or solicitude. "I must have some money, gentlemen," he would say, in stepping from the pulpit. This was his notice of tithe day. Once or twice, finding it grow dark, he abruptly shut his sermon, saying, "Upon my word I cannot see, I must give you the rest when we meet again." He would walk into a pew near a window, and stand on a seat and finish his sermon with the most admirable indifference to the remarks of his congregation. He was also, like his own author-rector, careless of hood and band.

Now we really do not consider these to be traits "very desirable in a minister;" but on the contrary think them calculated to bring religion into contempt and derision, as every thing which impairs the solemnity of the hallowed ministration of the Gospel necessarily must. Such a misfortune, we are sure, was never contemplated by the excellent minister, but we are sorry that he should have lent the influence of his example to any thing like negligence or levity of deportment in a servant of the temple of the Most High.

ART. V.—*An Argument to prove the Truth of the Christian Revelation*, By the Earl of Rosse.—London: Murray, 1834.

WE profess that our spirits have derived very great refreshment from the perusal of this volume. We are at this moment surrounded on all sides with the noise of many waters. In the skies above we behold signs of vicissitude and commotion. In the earth beneath we have the raging of the waves, and the madness of the people who *imagine a vain thing*. But, in the midst of all this tumult, a voice is heard to declare, with calm solemnity, *As for me and my house we will serve the Lord*. And this voice comes, not from the retreats of Theology—not from the lips of *hirelings*—not from the shrines of *Priestcraft* and *Imposture*. It comes from the high places of the earth. It comes from the region of dignity and affluence. It is uttered by one who cannot possibly be prompted by any personal and merely secular interest, to the support and propagation of falsehood. We therefore listen to this voice as ominous of good. The pursuits of literature and science, in all their branches, are allowed to form a noble occupation for the opulent and the great. But whenever we behold the *honorable of the earth* girding themselves up to a patient and faithful investigation of heavenly things, we have before us a spectacle incomparably more elevated than that of mere lettered ease. We then witness the supremacy of Divine Truth in one of its most potent manifestations. We cannot but feel, with more than ordinary force, the power and the reality of religion, when we find that it can captivate the affections and enchain the thoughts of those who are surrounded by every thing which can make this transitory scene bright and glorious in their eyes. And hence it is that we cordially hail the publication now before us. We accept it as a faithful and perfectly unbiassed testimony *to the truth as it is in Jesus*. We even venture most humbly to regard it as an indication that God has not hidden his face from our wise, and our noble, and our mighty men; and that He will yet cause the rich in this world's goods to be likewise rich in faith, to the honor and praise of his holy name.

The style of this work is throughout remarkable for perspicuity and ease. We can imagine (though there may be some fancy in this) that, even if it had appeared anonymously, we should have been enabled to pronounce that it was the performance of one who was accustomed to the best society. There is nothing ambitious in it—no bursts of fine writing—no fits of overwrought sentiment—not the slightest approach to the confines of enthusiasm. But there *is* about it a tone of deep and sedate conviction :

and the language in which this is expressed is precisely what might be expected from a person not very solicitous about literary fame, but nevertheless accustomed on all occasions to deliver himself with propriety and self-possession.

But to come to more substantial matters. The noble author commences his argument with the Mosaic history of the creation : and here it is observable that he ranges through this very dark and awful region of inquiry with much less embarrassment and difficulty than is usually experienced by professional divines. It is natural enough, and it is moreover very fit and right, that the appointed guardians and interpreters of the sacred oracles, should watch over them with more than ordinary jealousy ; and nothing could be more ungenerous or more unrighteous, than to stigmatize them as ignorant and cowardly bigots, for looking with something like a feeling of dismay upon the stupendous Apocalypse which Geology has, of late years, partially disclosed to our view. The Scriptures seem to speak of the vast work of Creation as an affair of six little days. But, lo ! the magician hath smitten the earth with his hammer ; and, behold, there is straightway spread out before our eyes a record, written on the solid rocks, which, if it hath been rightly read, speaks of periods and of cycles that baffle calculation. Monuments are laid bare to our gaze, the very preparation of which may have been the work of a hundred ages ; — a vast sepulchre, in short, which tells us of a time when this terraqueous globe was the undisputed inheritance of strange and gigantic monsters, unawed by the presence and the dominion of reasoning man. Is it, then, wonderful that they who had hitherto relied with pure simplicity of faith on the oldest written testimony in the world, should have been startled at these prodigies, and should even been disposed, at first, to avert their eyes from the scene, almost with an emotion of incredulous hatred ? Would it have been to their honor, that they should have stood by, with cold and faithless apathy, while Philosophy was calling up witnesses from the bowels of the earth, to impeach (as it was feared) the records of inspiration ?

There is reason to hope that the nervous agitation, and the feverish excitement, produced by the first disclosure of these subterranean mysteries, are now beginning to subside. For ourselves, we are well content that theology and physical science should each, for a time, (it may be for a very long time,) labour in their respective and separate vocations, and upon their own peculiar principles. The geologists, we all know, are intensely busy in exploring and deciphering the documents, which their labours have dug up and brought to light ; and even so, we say, let the divines and the critics spare no pains in the interpretation

of the documents which have been placed in *their* hands by the Divine Wisdom and Goodness. If it be true that Scripture has provided us with a clear *Natural History* of the wonders of creation,—by the statements of that history we must, of course, be prepared to abide, as faithfully as by the representation which Scripture has given us of other historical events. But before either party commit themselves to the mischievous and officious rashness of *putting enmity* between philosophy and Scripture, let each of them,—both the adherents and the pupils of philosophy, and the champions of Scripture, be quite sure that they have rightly comprehended and expounded the records in which they respectively profess to search for the truth.

It is well known that one expedient resorted to for bringing the testimony of geology into accordance with that of the Bible, has been, to expand the six days of creation into six demiurgic periods of indefinite length. This expedient, it is also well known, has been emphatically denounced by many distinguished divines, as a virtual surrender of the authority of the Sacred Record. “The testimony of the Sacred Historian,” says Bishop Horsely, “is peremptory and explicit. No expressions could be found *in any language*, to describe a gradual progress of the work for six successive days, and the completion of it on the sixth, in the literal and common sense of the word *day*, more definite and unequivocal than those employed by Moses; and those who seek or admit figurative expositions of such expressions as these, seem to be not sufficiently aware, that it is one thing to write a history, and quite another thing to compose riddles.”* And it is very remarkable that this same expedient seems, of late, to have found as little favor with the philosophers as with the divines. “Another indiscretion,” says Professor Sedgwick, “has been committed by some excellent Christian writers on the subject of Geology. They have not denied the facts established by this science, nor have they confounded the nature of Physical and Moral Evidence. But they have *prematurely*, (and therefore, without an adequate knowledge of all the facts essential to the argument), endeavoured to bring the natural history of the earth into a literal accordance with the Book of Genesis;—*first*, by extending the periods of time implied by the six days of the Creation, (and whether this may be rightly done, is a question only of criticism, and not of Philosophy); and *secondly*, by endeavouring to shew that, under this new interpretation of its words, the narrative of Moses may be supposed to comprehend and to describe in order, the successive Epochs of Geology.

* Bishop Horsely's Sermons. Vol. I. p. 435. 2nd Edition.

"It is to be feared that truth may, in this way, receive a double injury: and I am certain that the argument just alluded to has been unsuccessful. The impossibility of the task was, however, (as I know by my own experience), a lesson hard to learn. But it is not likely again to be attempted by any good Geologist."*

Well, then,—let us suppose this project to be dismissed; or, at least, to be suspended for the present, as *premature*. It will then remain to be considered, whether there is any thing in the language of the Book of Genesis which compels us to include, within the six demiurgic days, the production of those primordial elements of which the universe is composed. Lord Rosse appears to be fully satisfied that there is nothing in the Bible to extort from us this belief. "Moses," he observes, "does not assert that that, *on the first day*, God created the heaven and the earth. His words amount to nothing more than a general statement, that, at some indefinite period, these elements were called into being by the will of the Omnipotent Creator. St. John says, *In the beginning was the Word; and the same was in the beginning with God*. Precisely similar to this is the language of Moses; *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*: that is, he created the materials of them antecedently to the commencement of time; but he had not yet begun to shape and fashion them in the manner which they were afterwards to assume. This he did not begin to do till the first of the six days. It is therefore expressly stated, in the second verse, that the earth was *without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the waters*. How long it remained in this state, whether for years, or for hundreds and thousands of years, we are not told. But it is very important to observe that, while in this state, the waters, according to Moses, were uppermost, and therefore it is reasonable to presume, that all the rest of the materials were then, as La Place represents them, originally settled in layers, each layer above the other, in the order of their densities."—(Append. p. 412.) In this view of the matter he, of course, has the concurrence of the geologists. "The only way," says Professor Sedgwick, "to escape from all difficulties, pressing on the questions of cosmogony, has been already pointed out. We must consider the old strata of the earth as monuments of a date long anterior to the existence of man, and to the times contemplated in the *moral records* of his creation. In this view, there is no collision

* Sedgwick's Discourse on the Studies of the University. Append. Note F. Cambridge, 1833.

“between physical and moral truth. The Bible is left to rest on its appropriate evidences, and its interpretation is left to the learning and good sense of the critic and the commentator; while geology is allowed to stand on its own basis, and the philosopher to follow the investigations of physical truth, wherever they may lead him, without any dread of evil consequences; and with the sure conviction that natural science, *when followed with a right spirit*, will foster the reasoning powers, and teach us knowledge fitted at once to impress the imagination, to bear on the business of life, and to give us exalted views of the universal presence and unceasing power of God.”*

Let it, then, be conceded, *for the present*, that this is so; and that the two first verses of Genesis are, as Lord Rosse contends, only introductory to the narrative which follows. *In that case*, the moving of the Spirit of God upon the face of the waters may, reasonably enough, be understood to denote the influence and operation of the Spirit’s creative and plastic energy upon the compound mass, throughout the whole period anterior to the creation of man. There may, perhaps, be something rather dreary and repulsive to the imagination, in the thought of a vast and measureless abyss of time, during which nothing was going on but the slow deposition of strata, and perhaps the development of organic life, for the most part, in its lower and more imperfect forms. But then it should be recollected, that there was either this, or—nothing! And it would surely be difficult to say, why the contemplation of mere vacuity should be more comfortable or cheerful, than the imaginary spectacle of Supreme Power, gradually working out its beneficent purposes upon a chaotic congeries of materials. It is altogether beside the purpose, to say, that the whole of the great result might have been effected in an instant by the *fiat* of Omnipotence. For we know, if we know any thing, that it is *not* inconsistent with the majesty of Omnipotence, to work gradually, and *slackly*, as men count slackness. Many of the grandest operations of the God of Nature and of Grace, are slow and tedious to our puny apprehensions. But He who inhabiteth eternity, hath eternity to work in. And, whether his might be put forth in a stately and deliberate march, which wearies the impatient spirit of man, or in sudden and irresistible manifestations, which overwhelm the faculties of man—in either case, we may be perfectly assured that his working is in perfect harmony with his goodness, his wisdom, and his power.

In saying this, however, we desire not to be understood as

* Sedgwick, *ubi supra*.

contending for the absolute certainty of the position in question. We accept it rather as a sort of *provisional* hypothesis, which is to await the final result of scriptural criticism on the one hand, and of more extended scientific inquiry on the other. And, with this hypothesis in our hand, let us proceed to the first of the demiurgic days. The work of this day is announced in words, whose sublimity extorted the admiration of a heathen critic,—*Let there be light, and there was light*. Here, then, arises the question—are we to collect from this passage that the luminous element was, at this period, first brought into existence? Or, are we merely to understand that it was then so modified, and so combined, as to fit it for the use of the animated and vegetable natures, the production of which was speedily to follow? Did the ethereal fluid then, actually and literally, begin to *be*? Or, having pre-existed, was it then, for the first time, brought into that precise condition, which alone could qualify it to do the various offices of light or fire, for the inhabitants by whom the earth was thenceforth to be tenanted? The geologist, we presume, will contend for the latter of these suppositions. We collect as much from the words of Professor Sedgwick. “Speculations like these,” he says, “starting at least from actual phenomena, are not without their use. For, without lowering one jot the proof of a pre-ordaining intelligence, they point, through a long succession of material changes, towards a beginning of things, *when there was not one material quality fitted to act on senses like our own*. And thus they take from nature that aspect of unchangeableness and stern necessity, which has driven some men to downright atheism, and others to reject all natural religion.”* We, likewise, collect as much from the obvious necessities of the hypothesis itself. For it must be observed, that “the lunar theory teaches us that the internal strata, as well as the external outline of our globe, are elliptical; their centres being coincident, and their axes identical with that of the surface; a state of things incompatible with a subsequent accommodation of the surface to a new and different state of rotation from that which determined the original distribution of the component matter;”† and, we may add, clearly incompatible with a state of rotation, commencing only after a solid spherical nucleus had been formed within. Now, if this be so, it seems inevitably to follow, “that the spheroidal form of the earth must have preceded all geological phenomena, and makes probable the condition of primeval fusion; and, following the same train

* Sedgwick's Discourse, &c. &c. p. 24.

† Reports of the British Association, 1831-1832. Note to p. 407, 408.

“of thought, we have only to imagine *another accession of heat*, “and the whole earth must have been dissipated through planetary space, and have appeared (were there then an eye like “our own to behold it), like a mere expanded nebulosity.”* According to the hypothesis before us, then, the mass of our globe was once in a state of fusion. And how was there to be fusion, if there was no heat? And is not the element of heat, if not identical with that of light, for the most part, in the closest association with it? If, therefore, this hypothesis is to stand, how are we to understand the words, *Let there be light*? Are we to take them in their literal and rigorous import, as summoning into existence a perfectly new element, distinct from that of heat? Or are we to consider this decree as instantaneously communicating to an element, already existing, some peculiar and additional property, or influence, which might qualify it to “*act on senses like our own*,” and so to become, *to us*, the agent now known by the name of light or fire? Even if this supposition should be adopted, we can perceive in it nothing which stands in audacious opposition to the announcement of scripture. For it can scarcely be doubted, that the various properties which now belong to the primordial elements have, at some time or other, been assigned to them by the Supreme will. All those elements, as Sir J. Herschel has observed, “have the essential “character of a manufactured article.”† And if so—whenever the All-wise and All-powerful Artificer might be pleased to invest any one of them with new qualities, or to assign to it new modes of operation—the effect might fitly enough be spoken of as a fresh result of creative energy; and this, more especially, in a popular statement, designed, not for the advancement of science, but purely for the purpose of asserting the sovereignty of God, and recording the wonders of his omnipotence. On this subject, however, we speak, as becomes us, distrustfully and cautiously. Whether the soundest biblical critics will acquiesce in this accommodation of the passage to the views of physical science—or whether they will judge that, by this concession, the plain declarations of Scripture will be dangerously tampered with—we shall not here venture to anticipate. We speak not in the spirit of dogmatism, but of patient and candid inquiry. And we merely beg to point out this, as one of the questions that must seriously be considered, before the matter can be brought to a satisfactory adjudication.

But again: we learn, that before the word went forth, *let there*

* Sedgwick's Discourse, &c. p. 24.

† Hersch. Nat. Philos. p. 38.

be light, darkness was on the face of the deep. Are we, then, to collect from this that, previously to that command, the whole of the terraqueous expanse was literally involved in night? We know not what the geologists are prepared to say to this. They will hardly, we imagine, be willing to consign the inhabitants of their pre-adamite world, whatever might be the imperfection of their organic nature, to a state of profound gloom, for a countless succession of ages; more especially if it is to be maintained that the vertebrated sea-animals, whether fishes, or the saurian tribes, were endowed with a befitting apparatus of vision. Lord Rosse escapes from this difficulty, by concluding that none but the primitive rocks, which contain no animal *exuvie*, had been formed at the period of the Mosaic creation; and by maintaining that there was abundance of time for the formation of the secondary rocks between the creation and the deluge. According to this adjustment,—whatever necessity there may have been for *heat*,—there may have been no absolute necessity for *light*, antecedently to the scriptural period of its production; none, at least, for the accommodation of animal natures, since, there were then no living creatures to stand in need of it. Whether, or not, this hypothesis is tenable, we must even leave the geologists to determine. Let us, however, for a moment, suppose it to be admitted; there will still remain the difficulty of reconciling with the scriptural account, the production and loss of successive races of organized beings, between the six days of Genesis, and the diluvial convulsion. The Mosaic narrative, indeed, tells us that the waters were first peopled, then the air, and lastly the earth. But it tells us nothing of successive creations and extinctions subsequent to those six days. It tells us nothing like that which the geological record, *so far as it has yet been examined*, does seem to tell us,—and to tell us with a distinctness, which almost defies contradiction. We say nothing here of those various and mighty changes, (some of them slow and gradual, others, violent, sudden, and disruptive,) the history of which, we are assured, may be clearly traced in the crust of the terraqueous globe. But we must, at any rate, confess that we do not, *at present*, see how the evidence can be well resisted, which speaks of a series of different animal and vegetable genera and species, continued during some remote period or other, both in the waters and the land. “The Geologist,” says Professor Sedgwick, “arranges the successive monuments before him in chronological order. He observes on them the marks of “skill and wisdom, and finds within them the tombs of the ancient “inhabitants of the earth. He finds strange and unlooked for

"changes in the forms and fashions of organic life, during each of the long periods he thus contemplates. He traces these changes backward through each successive era, till he reaches a time when the monuments lose all symmetry, and the types of organic life are no longer seen."* Here then is another point, upon which the interpreters of the Bible, and the interpreters of the records engraved upon our rocks, will, probably, for some time to come, be at issue with each other. We have, therefore, only to repeat—let us patiently wait for the final arbitrement. It cannot be pretended, that geology has yet laid the whole of her evidence before us. She has as yet to search more deeply into the bowels of Asia, of Africa, of America, of New Holland—before her case can be said to be complete. Neither, perhaps, can it be said, that the science of biblical criticism and interpretation has yet reached its perfection. These, then, are fair and reasonable grounds for mutual forbearance. And, at all events, it is certain, that neither religion nor science can be benefited or honoured, by casting scowls of defiance and contempt upon each other. Science, we know, will "hold on the way she takes," and rejoice as a giant to run her course, in spite of all that the advocates of revelation can say or do to arrest her career. Let the advocates of revelation then calmly and stedfastly employ themselves in collecting all the lights which unwearied erudition and research can throw upon *their* case. And let them do this in the full persuasion, that truth can never be like a house which is divided against itself. If her sons be at once temperate and faithful, their concurrent, but independent labours, must assuredly end in presenting her habitation to the world, as a *city that is compact together*. And, even so thought one of her worthiest champions, when he exclaimed, that "Christianity has every thing to hope, and nothing to fear from the advancement of philosophy."†

We cannot quit this part of the subject without likewise adverting to the sentiments of a zealous minister of our own communion. Whatever may have been the theological merits of old Thomas Scott,—thus much, at least, may be said of him, that of all the commentators on scripture that can be named, he was undoubtedly among the least likely to compromise the authority of the sacred writers. And yet, old Thomas Scott scruples not to say, that "*the sacred writers were not inspired to speak of natural things with philosophical exactness.*" And he afterwards adds, that "*ignorance and error* in these respects

* Sedgwick's Disc. *ubi supra*.

† Speech of Dr. Chalmers at the British Association, June, 1833.

"are not fatal; and the most exact knowledge is of comparatively small value. *Unto man he said, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, is understanding.*"* Now, without presuming to define the precise extent to which these maxims may be admissible in the interpretation of Scripture, we hope and trust that we may be allowed, respectfully and diffidently, to submit to the consideration of wise and learned men, whether we may not legitimately take these maxims with us, in our consideration of another passage of Genesis, which, on the face of it, presents no inconsiderable difficulty. In the 4th and 5th verses it is written, *And God saw the light that it was good. And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light day; and the darkness he called night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.* At this time, be it remembered, though light was created, it was not, that we are informed, collected into a central body, or made to emanate from any particular quarter. For any thing that we learn from the text, the luminous element must have been diffused. It is not till the fourth day, that the *two great lights* were made. It was not, therefore, until that day, that light was, as it were, concentrated in the sun. And yet, of every previous day it is predicated, that *evening was, and morning was.* If, therefore, we are to contend, that Moses is here speaking with strict narrative accuracy, how are we to understand his meaning? What signification are we to attach to the phrases morning and evening, when, as yet, there was neither sun-rise nor sun-set? And what are we to understand by the expressions day and night, when used with reference to a period, in which, though light was created, neither the sun, nor any other body, was the receptacle and citadel of light? An attempt, as every divine knows, has been made to meet this difficulty, by supposing that the newly created light, though not yet collected in the body of the sun, was made to circulate round the earth, in some such manner as to produce an alternation of light and darkness; and that thus it was, that *the light was divided from the darkness.*† Whether this conjecture has any philosophical comeliness to recommend it, we shall not stop to inquire. But at least, it is obvious, that it is nothing but conjecture. And we further venture to suggest it, as an equally warrantable *conjecture*, that the sacred writers may not have been commissioned to furnish us with very precise information, when speaking of this, and of various other matters which appertain to natural history.

* Scott's Bible, note on Gen. i. 14—19.

† Patrick ad loc.

Once more, we are most anxious not to be mistaken. On the one hand, it is true, we see no sort of necessity for launching denunciations of impiety against all manner of persons who addict themselves to the prosecution of geological science. Neither, on the other hand, are we the advocates for a lax and unfaithful handling of the Word of Truth. But surely, without being false to religion, or more than just to science, we may insist on the necessity of ascertaining (as far as honest inquiry can ascertain) what we are reasonably to expect from an ancient record, obviously designed, not to supply us with philosophical details, but to lay before us a grand outline of those facts which attest the sovereignty and the providence of the living God. Surely it is one thing to approach the sacred text with reverential and pious caution; and it is another thing to build it up, by the help of rigorous interpretation, into an inflexible hypothesis, which refuses to bend before the weight of facts and the force of demonstration.

Brief and obscure, however, as the Mosaic record may be, touching the creation of man, there still shines through the darkness, evidence enough to satisfy us that the writer must have derived his knowledge, as to all essential matters, from an authentic source. He tells us, for instance, that the globe of the earth was once entirely covered with the waters: and the same thing is now told us by the masters of philosophy. Whence then could he have learned this fact, but, either directly from inspiration, or else from a primeval tradition which told the truth? There is nothing in the nature of things to suggest such an hypothesis to an ignorant builder of popular cosmogonies. The jumble and confusion of all the primordial elements was much more likely to suggest itself to the imagination of a dealer in mythological tales. Again—the same writer informs us that light was created first, and was afterwards (to speak somewhat loosely and popularly) collected in the sun. Now what is there in the actual system of the world which speaks to us of an order like this? Let us suppose that a fabler, uninformed by tradition or by science, were, at this day, to compose a narrative of the Creation; would he not be almost irresistibly tempted to place the great luminary, which is now the source of life and motion, foremost in the series of created things? Could it ever occur to him that the subtle element was first produced in a state of diffusion, and that afterwards a *chamber* was prepared for it, from whence it might issue forth as from a mighty reservoir or fountain? And from what source, save that of truth itself, could the Hebrew chronicler derive his knowledge of a circumstance so remote from all ordinary human apprehension? Furthermore, what is there in the present course of nature which could by possibility have raised up, in the head of any un-

instructed man, the notion, that the work of creation was carried on through six successive days or periods?—a fact attested to this hour by the Sabbatical institution—a fact which could never have been *known* but by a communication from the Creator himself. Once more:—"Geology," says Professor Sedgwick, "tells us, *out of its own records*, that man has been but a few years a dweller upon earth; for the traces of himself, and of his works, are confined to the last monuments of its history. *Independently of every written testimony*, we therefore believe that man, with all his powers and appetencies, his marvellous structure and his fitness for the world around him, was called into being within a few thousand years of the days in which we live; not by a transmutation of species (a theory no better than a phrenzied dream), but by a provident contriving power. And thus we at once remove a stumbling-block, thrown in our way by those who would rid themselves of a prescient first cause, by trying to resolve all phenomena into a succession of material actions, ascending into an eternity of past time."* And now let us suppose that the scriptural record were, at this moment, but just recovered and brought to light; would it not be found potently to confirm the report of science with respect to the chronology of man's creation? And should we not be constrained, on perusing it, to exclaim—who can have imparted this knowledge to the author, but He who formed man in his own image, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life? A similar exclamation would undoubtedly be extorted by the written narrative of the universal deluge, to the truth of which, in many important matters, the researches of geology seem to bear a most harmonious testimony. There is enough, therefore, in the Mosaic narrative to satisfy us that, in its main particulars, it was dictated by infallible truth—enough to inspire us with a confident hope that, when geology shall have fairly worked out the vast problem which is now before her, all subordinate discrepancies will be found at last to shrink into insignificance.

These discrepancies (as we have already intimated) do not appear to strike Lord Rosse as very formidable, even in the present state of the question. His faith derives abundant confirmation from the various instances in which revelation and philosophy are found to be in harmony with each other; and it suffers no sort of disturbance from the seeming disagreements in their testimony. We cannot but cordially admire the manly and fearless spirit in which he has conducted his argument. At the same time we must candidly avow that we are unable to boast of a courage altogether so heroic as his own: for he is persuaded that, *at this day*, the science of geology is quite sufficiently advanced to furnish a safe

* Sedgwick's Disc. p. 23.

and firm foundation for his reasonings. We believe it will be found that the most right-minded of the geologists themselves have no such confidence as this. Professor Kidd, for instance, has very recently protested against "*the principle of supporting the credibility of the sacred Scriptures on any unascertained interpretation of physical phenomena.*" Such a support," he says, "appears to be imprudent as well as unnecessary; unnecessary, because the moral evidence of the credibility of the Scriptures is of itself fully sufficient; imprudent, because we have the strong ground of antecedent analogy, not only in another, but in this very branch of knowledge, for anticipating a period in the progress of science, when particular phenomena may be interpreted in a manner very different from that in which they are interpreted at present."* We accordingly reiterate—let there be no precipitation, no impatience. Let there be no hostile manifestos between theology and physical science; neither let there be any haste to patch up a hollow and perilous alliance between them. Let each of them pursue their own designs by their own independent paths; and let us wait the time when their respective courses, however divergent they may seem at the present moment, shall bring them to an amicable meeting upon common ground. If, however, in the interval, philosophy should chance to forget herself, and to wax wanton, and to lift up the heel against the majesty of Revelation,—it must not be endured for a moment. Let her instantly be held in with bit and bridle, and chastised with stripes, and driven back among her caverns and her rocks; lest she should rush in, like the boar out of the wilderness, to tread down and waste the vineyard of the Lord.

We shall produce here, for the benefit both of the philosophers and the divines, the wise and charitable counsels of no less a personage than Aurelius Augustinus, Bishop of Hippo. He too, as we learn from his own Confessions, was grievously beset by a variety of discordant interpretations of the first chapter of Genesis. The debate then, indeed, related more particularly to the two opening verses of that chapter, and involved questions entirely distinct from those which are agitated at present. But the reflections of the illustrious Father on this conflict of opinions, are nevertheless capable of a very salutary application to the controversy (if such it may be called) which is now carried on between science and theology relative to the whole Mosaic history of the Creation. "After a patient examination of these things," says Augustine, "I confess to the Omniscient God, that I perceive that two sorts of dissension may arise, when anything is declared

* Kidd's Bridgwater Treatise, pp. 181, 182.

" to us by witnesses of veracity: the one is, when the disagree-
 " ment relates to the truth of the things themselves; the other,
 " when it relates to the design and meaning of him who declares
 " them. It is one thing to inquire what is the truth touching the
 " condition of created things, and another to inquire what it was
 " the intention of that illustrious servant of God to convey to the
 " mind of the reader. . . . Respecting the unchangeable truth of
 " God we can have no contention; but we cannot look into the
 " mind of another man, and peruse it with a certainty and a con-
 " fidence equal to that with which we rely on God's unchangeable
 " truth. If Moses himself were present among us, and were to
 " say, 'such and such was my meaning,' we might, indeed, be-
 " lieve him; but still we should not be able to discern, and as it
 " were to read, his thoughts. Let no man, therefore, be inflated,
 " for one, against another, beyond what is written. . . . Various sig-
 " nifications may possibly be extracted from the words of Moses,
 " and of these we may be unable to pronounce that any one is in
 " opposition to the truth. How absurd then is it, rashly to pro-
 " nounce which of those senses was in the mind of the writer, and
 " thus to violate the law of charity by pernicious disputations! . . .
 " The language of Scripture is graciously accommodated to the
 " ignorance and infirmity of man. It is framed as a sort of nest,
 " in which his feebleness may be sheltered, and his infant faith
 " may be cherished. And if he who has not yet reached his full
 " growth and strength, should, with *proud imbecility* (*superbâ*
 " *imbecillitate*), rashly venture beyond that soft cradle, must he
 " not fall? But do thou, O God, have pity on him, lest those who
 " pass by the way should crush the unfledged creature. Send
 " thy angel to place him once more in the nest, that he may live
 " until he shall be able to take wing! . . . When one man, then,
 " affirms that Moses meant *this*, and another that he meant *that*,
 " I reply that we may more religiously and reverently affirm, that
 " he meant to convey whatever various truths may be elicited from
 " his words. For myself, I protest that if I were desirous of
 " writing anything with the most commanding authority, I would
 " not be satisfied with so framing my statements that they should
 " convey some one single truth, to the exclusion of other mean-
 " ings, which, even should they be erroneous, would give me no
 " offence. Rather would I so order my words that they might
 " embrace every possible truth that could fairly and reasonably
 " be collected from them. I will not, therefore, my God, be so
 " hasty as to question that the privilege of doing this was vouch-
 " safed unto thy servant when speaking of the wonders of thy
 " creation. Doubtless his intention was to convey to us whatever
 " truth we may be able to find in his words; yea, many truths

“ which as yet we may have been unable to find there, but which “ those words may nevertheless be at last found to contain.”* Such were the sentiments of the great and venerable Augustine; of one who will scarcely be suspected of a disposition to handle the revelations of God with irreverent and unbecoming laxity. What acceptance his words may find with the men of criticism, or the men of science, we cannot undertake to say. We nevertheless presume to recommend his sayings to all, in such measure as men may be able to bear them. And of one thing we are quite certain, that the candid and humble spirit which dictated his words, might be allowed, with most signal advantage, to preside over the labours of the philosopher, and the meditations of the Christian.

We have been allured by the statements and reasonings of Lord Rosse into much more copious remark upon these topics, than we had originally contemplated. And we must confess that the subject itself, in spite of its manifold perplexities, is exceedingly seductive. We know not how it may be with others; but to us there is something strangely and inexpressibly interesting in the spectacle which the labours of geology have conjured up, from the depths of sea and land, and placed before our mental vision. Only think of the days (if ever such days were) when the whole of this terraqueous globe, or far the greater part of it, was one vast menagerie! Let us imagine ourselves in the midst of such a scene as the noble exhibitor has here presented to our thoughts.

“ We should then see crawling about, lizards twenty feet in length, with conical teeth, and monstrous eyes. Others still more monstrous crawling about also on four limbs, and with slender necks, as long as their bodies, and their necks rising from their bodies, like serpents, but with heads on them, like the heads of lizards. Also, moving on four legs, others, even seventy feet in length, and in size equal to a whale. In the air, too, might be seen flying lizards, armed with sharp teeth, with short tails, long backs, and high legs, and with wings attached to their claws,” (like those of bats.) “ Around the shores of these northern countries we should see the turtles swimming, and two or three kinds of crocodiles resembling the *gavial* of the Ganges. We should see also, lamentins, like those in the seas of the torrid zone. In the woody districts of these countries, along the banks of rivers, the great elephants, or mammoths as some call them, from fifteen to eighteen feet high, covered with coarse red wool, and long black bristly hairs, which formed a mane along their back, and with enormous tusks, longer than those of the elephants of our time, might be found feeding, as they were wont, under the shade of lofty palms and gigantic ferns, and amidst thickets of bamboos and other huge aquatic reeds, resembling those which only grow in the hottest regions. Here also we should see

* August. Confess. lib. xii. c. 33. 35. 37. 42.

grazing the mastodon, as large as the elephant, with enormous tusks, and a body of great solidity. Also, the hippopotamus and the tapir, as large as the others. Here, too, the great double-horned rhinoceros, and stags superior in size even to the ancient elk of Ireland. And here, the voracious hyena. All these animals were of a different species from any resembling them at the present day, and their races appear to have been extinct from the time of the deluge, which destroyed all of them that were then in existence. Such is the account which Cuvier and the other modern geologists give of these animals. Such, too, is the account which they give of their catastrophe."—pp. 68, 69.

Well may we exclaim, there were giants in those days! And what a fortune might Mr. Wombwell make, if he could but provide himself with one specimen of each of these monsters! How would the metropolis disgorge its multitudes into the Zoological Gardens, if these stupendous forms could be seen living and moving within its enclosure! And how can we wonder that the minds of inquisitive and sagacious men should be irresistibly impelled to explore the tombs of these ante-diluvian, or perhaps pre-Adamite, tenants of the waters and the land. And, when we contemplate the wonderful perseverance and penetration of Cuvier, how can we forbear to exclaim, with his admirers,

" His tibi me rebus, quædam divina voluptas
Percipit, atque horror; quod sic Natura, tuâ vi,
Tam manifesta patet, ex omni parte relecta ?"

We can do no justice whatever, by any art of abridgment, to the miraculous march of Divine Providence, as it has been traced by Lord Rosse throughout the whole period of the elder dispensation. Neither can we attempt to follow him through his detail of the *mighty works* by which the Saviour of the World was pleased to authenticate his divine and gracious mission. The publication, by its very nature, is itself a compendium of those proofs, which are, or ought to be, familiar to all intelligent Christians, who would be prepared to give a reason for the hope that is in them. Thus much, however, we can honestly say;—that this compendium is such as never can be superfluous to the best informed professor of Christianity; for it may serve to bring before him, in comprehensive review, the legionary strength of evidence, arrayed in the cause of Divine Truth. And we may likewise add, that the whole argument is put forth by him in a tone of so much unaffected sobriety, and masculine good sense, that it can scarcely fail, as we imagine, to silence, if not entirely to correct, the merest wantonness of scepticism. If we were called upon to make selections, we should especially invite the atten-

tion of the reader to his lordship's representation of the several cures of blindness, and of the raising of Lazarus from the dead.

Lord Rosse has reserved for his Appendix a very sensible dissertation on the date of St. Matthew's Gospel. He conceives that this Gospel must have been composed not long after the Ascension; adopting, in this respect, the view of Bishop Tomline, who was one of the latest writers on the subject, and therefore had the advantage of examining the reasonings and researches of many preceding critics. The question is of no inconsiderable importance. For, the earlier was the publication of this Gospel, the greater would be the number of living witnesses to the transactions which it relates; and, consequently, the greater the authority of the uncontradicted document itself.

Before entering on this question, however, his lordship, offers some valuable remarks on the composition of the other Gospels; a subject which has been so much perplexed by the officious ingenuity and perverse industry of the German critics, that one is apt to rise from the investigation with the impression that the Gospels never could, by any possibility, have been compiled *at all*! The explanation of the noble author has at least simplicity to recommend it: and we shall give it in his own words,—premising only, that, to us, it appears *at least* as satisfactory as any other which has been propounded:—

“The language spoken by Jesus was the language of the country. We have no reason for supposing that he ever spoke a sentence of Greek. All the sayings by him, as we have them in the Greek Gospels, must be translations. In the last three Gospels the translations of those sayings were made or adopted by the persons whose names they bear. We do not know who was the translator of St. Matthew's Gospel. We only know, by the quotations from it by the early Christian writers, that the translation of it was made very early, in the time of the Apostles. All the doctrinal parts of the Gospels, as we have them, are consequently translations. But their accurate agreement with each other, and the authority of the early Christian writers, and of their adversaries, proves that they are correct. The many passages that are word for word the same in the first three Gospels, have made many persons suppose that they copied from one another; or, that they were copied from one early original. But as this sameness of expression is almost entirely confined to the sayings of Jesus, it seems to me that they accurately treasured up these sayings in their memories at the time they were spoken; and by often repeating them to each other, as they would naturally do, and also to others, and, perhaps sometimes by writing them down, they had them so fixed in their minds, as generally to remember the identical words which he spoke. Indeed it would be surprising if they did not do so; for as it is evident that they believed him, from the beginning of his ministry, to be a teacher sent from God, in consequence of which they

forsook their families and occupations to follow him, we must believe that they set a great value upon every sentence of doctrine which he uttered; and that they would thus, with verbal accuracy, preserve it in their minds. The constant repetition of these sayings to the Jews in the beginning, when they were instructing them and when they were conversing with each other, would continue to preserve them accurately in the language in which they were spoken; and afterwards, when they began to instruct the Gentiles, they would with the same care translate them into Greek, and probably consult and compare with each other, the translations of many of these important passages and sayings of Jesus; and thus would the coincidence, which we now perceive in them, arise; while, at the same time, they left the narrative part to the extempore diction of the teachers; and therefore in their narratives we find but few instances, comparatively, of such verbal agreement. Afterwards, when the last three Evangelists wrote their Gospels, which they did in Greek, they retained, in general, the very words of the doctrines of Jesus, as they had been rendered from time to time by his disciples in their early discourses. In the same manner the translator of Matthew's Gospel, we may presume, adopted them likewise. And it is with great deference to that most learned and eminent prelate, Dr. Marsh, the present bishop of Peterborough, that I prefer this simple, and, as I think, natural way of accounting for these frequent verbal agreements in the Gospels, to his very ingenious and elaborate hypothesis."—*Appendix*, pp. 418—420.

With regard to the date of St. Matthew's Gospel, the following is the outline of his lordship's reasoning:—

It is agreed by all writers on the subject that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel before he left Judea.—How, then, shall we ascertain the date of his departure? The first members of the Church who travelled from Palestine were those "which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen;" but the Apostles remained some time longer at Jerusalem:—Acts viii. The precise period at which each of them left Jerusalem cannot now be ascertained; but that they had most of them left it when St. Paul went thither to see Peter, seems highly probable from the language of St. Paul himself, in his Epistle to the Galatians; viz.—*then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him three days. But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother.* Now it is scarcely credible that St. Paul should, on this occasion, have passed fifteen days at Jerusalem without being introduced to the whole of the Apostolic brotherhood, if they had been collected there. Michaelis, indeed, draws an opposite inference. He contends that the words of Paul imply that other Apostles *were*, at that time, at Jerusalem; but that St. Paul made no acquaintance with them, because he was not come for the purpose of being instructed by *flesh and blood* in the

mysteries of the Gospel, which he had already learned by direct communication from heaven. Instruction in the Gospel, undoubtedly he needed not. But, still, what can be more unnatural than the supposition, that a convert so extraordinary as Paul of Tarsus, should remain fifteen days in a place where the other Apostles were residing, and yet that they should not be apprised of his arrival; or, if apprised, that they should not, one and all, rush forward to offer him the right-hand of fellowship?

It has further been objected, by Bishop Marsh, that in the Acts ix. 26, &c., we are told that Saul *assayed to join himself to the disciples; but that they were afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple: but that Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles, &c. &c.* This passage, however, appears to us quite conclusive the other way; for it shews, in the first place, that there was no reserve or caution on the part of St. Paul, since he endeavoured to be introduced to all the Christians at Jerusalem; secondly, that although the *disciples* (that is, the general body of Christians at Jerusalem,) shrunk from his society, he was, nevertheless, brought by Barnabas *to the Apostles*; but to what Apostles? Certainly not to the whole of the Apostles; for Paul himself affirms that, besides Peter, he saw none but St. James. And further, that there was no caution or restraint to keep him from the society of the rest, is evident from the fact, that he was *with them*,—(whom he actually did see,)—*coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem*.—Acts ix. 28. From all which it appears irresistibly clear that Paul would have seen other Apostles, and not Peter and James only, if any beside Peter and James had then been present to receive him.

But then comes the question—When did St. Paul visit Jerusalem? And, in order to ascertain this, it must be remembered that Stephen was put to death, of course, before the conversion of St. Paul; and that, if the proto-martyr was sentenced by the Sanhedrim, it must have been subsequently to the year 37, in which Pilate was dispossessed of the government; for while Pilate was in possession, the Sanhedrim could have exercised no such power. After his conversion, Paul went first to Arabia, and thence returned to Damascus. The length of his abode in Arabia is not mentioned; but if we allow it to have been for one or two years, and if we add to this the further interval of three years which passed before he went up to Jerusalem, this will bring his arrival there to the year 41 or 42.

If, however, as Bishop Tomline believes, Stephen was sacrificed by an irregular and tumultuous eruption of popular fury, under the government of Pilate, his death may have taken place some two or three years earlier; and, in that case, the arrival of

St. Paul at Jerusalem may have been just so much earlier likewise. But, at all events, the year 41 or 42 is the *latest* period which can reasonably be assigned to this occurrence.

Again, it was about the year 41 that *the Apostles and brethren that were in Judea* (not merely in Jerusalem,) *heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God.*—Acts xi. After this, the Apostles could be withheld by no scruple from going among the Gentiles for the purpose of converting them to the Gospel. This, therefore, was the critical time at which those of them who had, heretofore, been occupied in the labour of conversion throughout Judea, would, most probably, go forth to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. And this, accordingly, is the time, or nearly the time, at which we may safely presume that Matthew likewise went forth from Judea for the same object. How, then, are we to evade the conclusion that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written previously to the year 41 or 42, if it be true (as all agree) that it was written before his departure from Judea?

We have no space for the insertion of other cogent particulars of evidence, produced by Lord Rosse, in support of his argument; and for which we must, therefore, refer the reader to the work itself. We accordingly take leave of his lordship, with sentiments of cordial respect; first, for shewing that he is not ashamed of confessing the *Son of Man* in the face of a sensual, self-sufficient, and froward generation; and, secondly, for having conducted the cause which he has taken in hand with a degree of knowledge which might do honour to a professional divine; and, at the same time, with a manly and sedate good sense, which must extort respect from the most perverse and fastidious gainsayer.

ART. VI.—1. *Sermons on the Leading Principles and Practical Duties of Christianity.* By Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D. Warden of New College, Oxford; and Rector of Foxley, Wilts. Vol. II. London: Rivingtons. Oxford: Parker. 1834. pp. 510.

2. *Sermons on Various Occasions.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, A.M. Professor in the East India College, Hertfordshire; Rector of St. Paul, Shadwell; and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. III. London: Murray. 1834. pp. 393.

SOME of our readers may feel inclined to ask us, “why we have put these two volumes together in a single article?” Certainly not because they are not each of them well worthy of a separate and elaborate examination; nor because they present so many points of similarity, either in the matter or the manner of compo-

sition, that the remarks which are applicable to the one will be found for the most part applicable to the other. Still, however, amidst many features so strikingly different that they may be said to exhibit a contrast rather than a resemblance, they do possess certain lineaments in common which we are desirous to point out; and a brief review of them conjointly—far too brief, indeed, for the value of their contents—may afford an opportunity at the end of making a few observations upon the doctrinal and practical divinity of that section of the Church to which they both belong.

One great and common distinction, in which these volumes are conspicuous, is the pre-eminence of their merit. They stand foremost, we think, among the *collections* of sermons lately published by any one writer. Many volumes of discourses have, it is true, come before our notice, sound, earnest, and excellent in their way, admirably adapted to the parochial uses for which they were intended; but these are, upon the whole, of a higher and more philosophical cast. Mr. Melvill, again, has exhibited powers which might well entitle him to the same rank. But in addition to certain peculiarities and extravagancies of doctrine, there still lingers an immaturity, or an inequality, about that gentleman's productions, which are of infinite disservice to them when weighed in the balance of rigid and impartial criticism; and although Mr. Melvill displays every here and there the *disjecta membra*, the scattered beauties of a fine poet as well as a fine orator, he too often leaves upon us, after all, the impression of a magnificent *boyishness*, and a rich exuberance of exaggerated common-places; he is but the strongest instance which we have seen for a long period how a man of extraordinary talent can produce a very attractive specimen of a style constructed on wrong principles. In the present volumes there is more of calm, solid, well digested sense; more of strict and chastised taste, and more finished *manliness* of composition, the result of thought, of practice, of extensive learning and research; a rejection of false or superfluous embellishments, and a disdain of all attempts to array known and simple truths with a parade of illustrations and a mere semblance of profundity.

At the same time the style of Mr. Le Bas is decidedly a rich and ornamented style. There is much of pomp and dignity in its march. Without redundancy, it is full and sonorous; without mannerism, it has a bold and peculiar character; and the thoughts are so from being exhibited, like skeletons, in a bald and fleshless nakedness, that they are usually clothed in a dress of imposing diction or of noble imagery.

It strikes us as a peculiar advantage in his Sermons that they are not of that enormous length which might render them quite

useless as models to a young preacher. It is, we think, a far more serviceable thing to present discourses in a shape and of a bulk convenient for delivery from the pulpit, than to spread them out into long treatises or orations which could not have been addressed to an ordinary audience on any single occasion, and therefore which can exhibit no pattern for compressing the thoughts and illustrations into a compass the best adapted for practical purposes.

But a stronger recommendation of these Sermons is the cautious and sober tone of their theology, against which, however, no coldness can be charged, no want of earnestness and decision, no evasion or attenuation of great doctrines. Mr. Le Bas is ardent and cogent in his eloquence, and therefore he may well hold himself aloof from the common arts of petty popularity. He disdains all enthusiastic and lacrymose appeals to mere excitability or religious sentimentality; in his representation of the divine nature and dispensations, he would inspire a holy love rather than a grovelling and slavish fear, and scorns to build up the structure of superstition upon the foundations of an irrational terror; while, at the same time, he shrinks not from displaying the severer majesty as well as the gentler attractiveness of religion, and calls up before the imagination the full awfulness of an Almighty and Omniscient God.

We point out these capital distinctions much more for the example of others than in commendation of Mr. Le Bas. If he were some fresh candidate for honourable celebrity, we might be loud and circumstantial in his praise; but his place in the public estimation is so well assured, that our eulogies could not lift him to any higher elevation.

Yet in the present case, even more than in the generality of instances, we would warn our younger readers against a servile imitation. Every man, who possesses the elements of power within him, has his own style of expression, as he has his own character of thought; and although the ambition is to be fostered which would catch a general improvement from the contemplation of acknowledged excellence, or which would lead a man to study with laborious diligence the beauties which he should emulate and the perfections at which he should aim, still, if he attempts to make a close copy or transcript, he forfeits that vigorous spirit which can belong only to originality of conception and language; and it is almost a certainty that he will burlesque another, and write below himself. Here at least his failure would be deplorable. The style of Mr. Le Bas is not to be attempted with impunity by men of ordinary mould. An imitator might aspire to its solemnity, and reach only a kind of heaviness; he might aspire to

its grandeur, and reach only a kind of tumid inflation; what to Mr. Le Bas is habitual and natural would in him be effort and exaggeration; and if he adopted the antiquated forms of termination, such as "hath" and "teacheth," which are, we humbly conceive, of questionable utility even in Mr. Le Bas, he would inevitably become ridiculous in his affectation, through the lack of a weight of matter which could support and set off the peculiarity of the diction.

Upon looking into the present volume of sermons by Mr. Le Bas, we are quite at a loss, where all is so admirable, to hold up particular sermons, or particular passages, as subjects of especial admiration. We are not startled by unevenness of composition; we are not delighted by brilliancy in one page, and shocked by extravagance in the next; but the whole contents are of uniform and consistent value. Any choice of extracts, therefore, must do some injustice to the publication, because it may convey an impression that the quotations are better than the rest. Yet we cannot refrain from expressing the extreme gratification and instruction which we have received from the first three discourses in the collection; from the two sermons, the sixth and seventh, on the "Witness of the Spirit;" from the twelfth on "The Children of Disobedience;" from the glorious sermon upon "Saul at Endor;" and from the two concluding discourses on the parable of the "Sower," preached before the University of Cambridge.

As to our extracts, let it be remembered, that we give them only as average specimens of the volume, and not as *crack* passages, which stand out from the canvas through the unusual force of the drawing or the colouring. We quote, then, from the first sermon, as the fairest mode of exhibiting what Mr. Le Bas has done.

"The sting of death is sin, says the Apostle. And what says the history of man, throughout all the realms, and all the ages, of heathenism? How was it in those days, which the long-suffering of God winked at and overlooked? And how is it, at this day, in those countries which still continue to weary his patience by the multitude of their abominations? What was it that, in ancient times, demanded the fruit of the parent's body, but the sin of the parent's soul? What was it that caused the children of the idolaters to pass through the fire to Moloch? And what is it, which, at this day, prostrates the eastern pilgrim beneath the chariot wheels of a monstrous and mis-shapen Idol? What are all these atrocities, but visible commentaries on the text of the Apostle? What is there but the inward sense of wickedness, and a persuasion of the necessity of atonement, which can account for these prodigies of voluntary sacrifice and martyrdom? If death had no sting but that which it inflicts upon the body; if the sufferings of life, or the agonies of dissolution, were all that mortals had to apprehend, why is it

that fathers should ever consign their children to the fire, or their own bodies to extremity of torment? Throughout the world there is, and ever has been, a deep and indelible sense of guilt, which poisons every source of human enjoyment; which makes life restless, and the end of life terrible. It knocks at the door of the peasant, and thunders at the portals of monarchs. It tells the cottager at his meal, and the sovereign at his banquet, that he is weighed in the balance, and found wanting. It whispers terror even to the sage in the retirement of his chamber, and turns his boasted wisdom into foolishness.—And what is all the will-worship, and all the voluntary humiliation, and all the superstitious vanity, and corruption, which the world has ever seen,—what are they all, but expedients to blunt the sting which never can be taken out, and to deaden the anguish which its point is constantly inflicting? Why is it that man hath ever sought to hide himself in falsehood, but that he may escape that fearful looking for of judgment, which shakes his spirit to its inmost recesses; which makes cowards of all alike; which reduces to one wretched level him that tills the earth in the sweat of his brow, and him that is canopied in grandeur and in power; aye, and him, too, that is endowed with might, which surpasses the glory of the kingdoms of the earth—the might of a capacious and commanding intellect?”—pp. 5—7.

What, again, can be more striking or more just than the following description in the same sermon?

“It would be to handle most unfaithfully the gracious word of God, if we were to speak of the sting of death, and yet to remain silent touching that merciful provision, which the Lord of life hath made to deprive it of its bitterness. For, in truth, the secret is not to be found in the storehouses of ancient wisdom. There is much, perhaps, to be found there which may gratify and elevate an awakened understanding, but nothing, literally nothing, which can assuage the pangs of an awakened conscience! The sages of old could tell us, and tell us most truly, that vice and moral turpitude, in all their varieties and degrees, pollute and degrade the nature of man, and liken him to the brutes. And cold indeed must be our hearts if they kindle not within us at the words of flame, in which their indignation breathes against the lusts which, thus far, war against the soul. But, with all their powers, these mighty masters are speechless as to that wherewith a sinful being shall come before the Lord, or bow himself before a holy God who cannot look upon uncleanness or iniquity. Now, here it is that the oracles of God pour in a flood of light upon the darkness that is around us, for they not only tell us that sin is the disgrace and the torment of life, and that it is the sting of death, but they likewise speak to us of a way more excellent than was ever thought of in the days of ignorance; a way by which God can be just, and yet the justifier of them that believe in his mercy; a way in which death may be deprived of its sting, and its victory may be wrested from the grave. Sin, in short, is the confession of all religions under heaven. But what religion is there, but the religion of the cross, which speaks of any sovereign remedy for sin? What

religion is there, but the religion of the cross, which tells us of a power which yearneth to help our infirmities, and to aid our pleadings before the mercy seat with groanings that refuse the utterance of words. What religion is there but this which tells us of One who is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever, and who ever liveth to intercede, at the right hand of God, for them that come unto him in penitence and sorrow? How then shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation? And how shall we attain to that salvation,—how shall we ever desire it, or even think of it,—if all our care is, not to destroy the serpent that stings our life, but merely to deaden the smart of its venom; to lose all recollection and all sense of anguish, in the anodynes, and the charms, and the sweet but deadly potions, which this world is perpetually holding to our lips?"—pp. 12—14.

How beautiful is the delineation in the fourth sermon of Christ as our High Priest.

"He knew the anguish of being assailed by our temptations, though he knew nothing of the dishonour of being defeated by their power. He went through more than all the bitterness of our struggles, though he went through them always unto victory.

"Here is the ground on which the Christian loves to take his stand. Here is the prospect which reveals heaven unto him, as indeed the dwelling place of love. We know that we have a Mediator at the right hand of the Father, who, in his own person, unites all the sympathies of man, with all the purity and perfection of God. And think, brethren, for a moment, what must have been our condition if this were not so! Think what it would be for human weakness and impurity to stand in the presence of God's unveiled majesty and holiness. Our souls are often troubled within us, even when He thundereth with the voice of his excellency. Our faculties are outstripped and overpowered by the speed and the brightness of his lightning. Our flesh and heart fail beneath the manifestations of his power, which pass continually before the eyes of the children of men, even in this dark place of their imprisonment. Who then, without fear and trembling, can approach, even in thought, to that unclouded sanctuary, in which the same power resideth, in all the fulness of its glory? And then, when we remember that not irresistible might alone, but inflexible justice, and righteousness unchangeable, have, likewise, their dwelling within that tabernacle, how can we dare to rush into that Presence, before which the seraphim veiled their faces with their wings; that Presence, the sight of whose very confines compelled the prophet to exclaim, 'Woe is me, for I am undone; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts?' But what becomes of all this dismay and confusion of spirit when we look upon the Father, and know Him only through the Son? Where is our dread, and where our failure of heart, when we behold, in the form of a brother, Him who was the only begotten of the Father, the express image of the invisible God? Yes; the fulness of the Divine grace and truth hath shone upon us: but it hath shone upon us in the mild aspect of a human countenance; it hath spoken to us with a human voice; it

bath even wept human tears ; and bath felt and suffered, if we so may speak, with a human heart. And thus it is that all the tenderest emotions of earth, and all the most exalted attributes of heaven, seem to have made a blessed league for our consolation. If it were given to man to look on uncreated majesty and brightness, instead of lifting up the voice of praise and thanksgiving, he would be unable even to whisper out of the dust, in the accents of penitence and prayer ; for who shall behold the face of God, and live ? But to look upon God, in Christ, is a privilege which giveth life instead of death. It is a privilege which enlighteneth the eyes, and gladdeneth the heart, and giveth understanding to the simple. It is this, and this only, which can enable us fully to understand the mind of the Apostle, who saith that God is love ; yea, that loving-kindness and compassion form, as it were, the very essence of his nature."—pp. 58—60.

In juxta position, let us place an extract from the eighth sermon, on "The Church and Kingdom of Priests."

"In order that you may feel these things more deeply, and perceive them more distinctly, I would entreat of you to weigh the matter thus : you all well know the loathing and the indignation which arises if a consecrated minister of God should chance to walk unworthily of his sacred calling. A profligate priest, or even a careless and worldly priest, is a name of infamy. The finger of scorn is pointed at him. He becomes an astonishment, and a hissing, and a curse. Not only do the hearts of the faithful and the godly sink within them at the sight of such a man, but even the merest children of this world can join, loudly and triumphantly, in the outcry against him, and can proclaim him as the rightful successor and representative of the disciple who sold and betrayed his Lord. And most just and righteous is it that this should be so. For if the plague-spot of unholiness can fix itself on them who breathe the very air of the sanctuary, how shall they that are without be expected to escape the pestilence ? But now, remember,—what we are to the congregations of the faithful, even such are the faithful themselves to the whole congregation of mankind. They are priests of God, and pledged to bear witness to the truth of God. Such, at all events, is the office assigned unto them by the Lord himself, unless there be deceit in the words of apostles and of prophets. Well, then ; what if one of this holy tribe should forget his high vocation ? What if a member of this royal priesthood should walk even as a heathen, or a publican, or a sinner ? Think ye that the world will be blind to his unfaithfulness ? Can he complain if he is stigmatised as a traitor, and a hypocrite ? What can the covetous Christian,—or the dissolute Christian,—or the vindictive and malicious Christian,—what can all these expect,—but that the world will say of them, that their whole life is a lie ! And what must be the end thereof, but that the enemies of God will utter the words of scoffing and of blasphemy, and that the cross of Christ will be despised, and the blood of the covenant will be counted an unholy thing ? I would ask you, then,—could any man endure the thought of all this ignominy, if the nature and the dignity of his holy calling were

incessantly before his eyes? Would it be possible for him to dishonour the name of the Saviour by habitual and wilful sin, if he were to keep in perpetual remembrance the awful fact, that he, too, has been, in a manner, ordained and set apart for the service of God; that he, too, is a member of a sacred and peculiar order; that he, as well as they who serve at the altar, has been solemnly dedicated unto Him who was holy, harmless, and undefiled, and separate from sinners. Let every man, therefore, when tempted of his lusts, think of the feelings with which he himself has looked, at any time, upon an unworthy servant of the altar, and then let him say—'Even such are the feelings which I am, at this moment, arraying against myself.' He will then be smitten with something of the shame and horror which are, or ought to be, the portion of a selfish and ungodly priest. He will thus be fortified with one powerful motive to keep the sacred fires alive within his heart, so that the savour of death may not pass upon him, or come nigh unto him."—pp. 138—140.

In the same style are the ensuing paragraphs from the twelfth sermon.

"Let us look, for a moment, into the artifices by which the sons of disobedience, in the seasons of fear and misgiving, hope to pacify their own maimed and wounded spirits. Their condemnation, perhaps, seemeth to linger for a season; and hence the threatenings of wrath sound often in their ears like a cunningly-devised fable. And to this thought they fly for consolation, and, perhaps, for courage. But miserable is the comforter in which they put their trust, for if they will not believe the words of an apostle, they surely may believe the facts, which a little search and forecast would bring before their sight. Have they never heard that, even in this life, some fearful portion of the wages of sin is frequently paid down? Have they never heard of the poisonous fruits of transgression, which, even on earth, will sometimes come to a disastrous ripeness? Have they never heard of ruined health, of murdered faculties, of a name which has become loathsome, of hopes that have been smitten as by a withering curse, of a sun that goeth down in darkness even at noonday? Have they heard nothing of those sudden shocks which awaken the slumbering minister of vengeance within the bosom of the wicked, and which people their very chambers with demons of remorse? Have they never known or seen that the penal fires which await the sinner have sometimes, even here, burst out beneath his feet, and made him taste of torment before the time? And if they have seen or heard such things as these, how can they endure the deceivers who tell them that no wrath is treasured up for them that do evil? With these earnest of vengeance before them, how can they dream that men may waste their strength and debase their noblest capacities in the service of their lusts, and yet that God hath forgotten, and will not see it? or that God is merciful, and will not visit for it? that Heaven hath no eye to view such things, and that hell hath no flames to punish them?"—pp. 219—221.

We can only afford room for two other quotations, which we
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have taken almost at random; because they happen to be easily separable from the context. The one is from the fifth sermon, entitled, "On the Great Commandment."

1. First let us look into the heart of man; that part of his nature, I mean, which is the seat of his kindly and social affections. There scarcely lives a human being so brutalised as not to have tasted the joys which spring from that sacred source. Where is the man who has not often felt a pure, disinterested gladness at the welfare of his fellow man? Where is the savage who knows not something of the thousand nameless charities, which shed cheerfulness and sunshine over the daily intercourse of life? Who is there among us insensible to the delights of friendship, or wholly dead to the luxury of beneficence? And, above all, who would endure to be thought a stranger to those pure and hallowed emotions, which consecrate our hearths, and make the very name of home a name of power and of magic, able to stir and kindle the purest fires of the soul? Can we think of these blameless and genuine pleasures without feeling that the Divinity hath been at work in our bosoms? Can we doubt that the Deity, who is love itself, hath chosen the heart of man for his own sanctuary? And, if this be so, with what eyes must He look upon the dark and odious passions which often burst in upon that holy place! How will He endure that malignity and revenge should riot in the habitation which he hath set apart for Himself? And, if we have ever once tasted of those fruits of peace and joy which He hath planted there, how can we endure that 'the wild beasts should be in our palaces, and the dragons in our pleasant places?' How can we bear that this temple of God within us should be converted into a hold for foul and evil spirits? How can we bear that vultures should seek their prey in the heart, where none but the heavenly dove should take up his abode?"—pp, 73, 74.

The other is from the nineteenth sermon.

"2. Next followeth he that received the seed into stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it, yet hath he no root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by-and-by he is offended.

"The stony places, we find, are somewhat remote from the way side, on which the seed is altogether lost and wasted. Their situation is, in some degree, more promising and hopeful. They have even a covering of mould to receive the seed. But the earth is not much; so that the supply of nourishment fails, and the growth is neither vigorous or permanent. And then comes the scorching sun, or the driving tempest; and the sickly produce withers, or is swept away. Could the most pointed rebuke find its way more directly to the conscience of the animated but superficial Christian? There is in some natures good soil sufficient to cherish, for a while, whatever is generous and excellent; a soil congenial with all that is great, and noble, and suitable to the dignity of an immortal spirit. And yet it may likewise be, that its depth is small; and that it may be but the covering of a heart which, at its

core, is hard with pride and selfishness, or frozen into stone with dread of pain and evil. The sensibilities may, indeed, be quick ; and the imagination may be ardent ; and the perception of all that is great, and venerable, and lovely, may be keen ; nay, there may be a passionate craving of the soul after the noblest forms of moral grandeur and beauty. And these, of themselves, undoubtedly are admirable qualities ; and the doctrine of the Cross, the mystery of God manifest in the flesh, is fitted to call them out into intense and vivid action. But then, this mystery is a plant of more than earthly strength and virtue. Its roots have a power of penetrating to unknown depths. It cannot flourish, or even live, in a shallow soil. If it finds nothing for its support, but elements which may be scattered over the mere surface of the character, it soon begins to wither, and must perish speedily. And we find, accordingly, that the Gospel, at first, is frequently received with joy : for it holds out bright and blessed views of the destiny of man ; and it exhibits righteousness and mercy in forms which must be captivating, where the heart has a capacity for admiration or for love. The spirit must feel exalted and enriched by that truth which puts to shame all earth-born philosophy. So long, therefore, as the Gospel speaks only to the hearer's understanding, or to his fancy, or to his sensibility, so long is he surrounded by visions of glory. He hath heard the sound of it in the season of serenity and sunshine ; in the voice of solemn ordinances, and heavenly sacraments, and in the lessons of holy and venerable men ; and he cries, in transport, It is good for us to be here. But then, perhaps, cometh a cloud which darkens the scene, and chills him to his inmost soul. The season of heaviness is at hand ; and he hears a summons which says, not only, Look unto the Cross, but Take up the Cross and follow me. And then, alas ! the stately growth of his profession boweth down even to the dust. Then is betrayed the shallowness of that rich mould, into which the seed hath fallen, and the unfruitful rock which it concealed. Then is it found that there was something in the 'heart of heart,' which resisted the inward thriving of the plant ; something which was starving the root downward, while, upward, nothing was to be seen but a fair and hopeful increase."—pp. 358—361.

Who can read these extracts with fit and corresponding dispositions, and not be wiser and better for the perusal ? All is harmonious in its magnificence. Indeed, Mr. Le Bas dwells in the loftiest walks of composition, regions too sublime to be accessible to common footsteps ; and when we state that we should occasionally like something of more simple gracefulness, something of more familiar ease, something of more homely tenderness, something of more picturesque and personal description, we are, perhaps, merely confessing that our intellects are tuned to a lower pitch, and that we cannot elevate them, or keep them elevated, to the high and noble communion of great and uncommon thoughts.

We turn to Dr. Shuttleworth, who is worthy to be the companion of Mr. Le Bas. Dr. Shuttleworth's style is of a character

less ornate, and apparently less laboured. We say apparently less laboured, because we believe that there is no real labour to Mr. Le Bas, who manages, with the utmost facility, the weapons of a weighty and imposing language, which in the hands of "us petty men" would be as awkward and ponderous, as if we attempted to draw the bow of Ulysses, or wield the battle-axe of King Richard.

The sentences of Dr. Shuttleworth flow along with a smooth and placid current,—deep and yet clear, seldom precipitate, and never turbid. There are no cataracts and no rapids. There were, in fact, antecedent grounds for expecting a temperate, guarded tone; since the sermons of the Warden of New College were subjected to the ordeal of men rather fastidious and skilful to detect faults, than inflammable or easily led away by the daring thunders of a vehement oratory: and we are told that they were preached before the University of Oxford to larger and more attentive audiences, and with wider and more decided success, than those of almost any preacher among Dr. Shuttleworth's contemporaries. In us, then, it may seem presumptuous to raise any objections whatsoever against so favourable an award pronounced by so distinguished a tribunal. Yet on this very account there is the more need that our objections should be stated, upon the supposition that they are reasonable in themselves.

We think, then, that the gold,—for it is gold,—is drawn out into a wire, thin by necessity from its protraction. The sermons are too long and too disquisitional. Several of them are deficient, not merely in condensation of matter, but in unity of aim. We are far from saying that there is no connection in the remarks; but there is no scheme or frame-work of the several discourses as a separate whole. The matter is so diffuse, and linked together by so slight a thread of almost imperceptible associations, that sometimes we can scarcely see why, since the observations extend so far, they should not extend farther, or even over the entire field of theology and religious ethics. Thus, although it would be unjust to pretend that the sermons of Dr. Shuttleworth are without beginning or end, without any absolute directness of plan or purpose, we may still assert that they are somewhat loose in their texture, somewhat rambling, straggling, and undefined in their scope; and rather a string of ingenious observations, than a train of views gathered up into one emphatic and convincing appeal. Hence we the more regret that there are no titles given at the head of each of the discourses. It has been, and probably is, much the fashion at the Universities, first to write a sermon on some particular subject, and then to look out for a text, which may be prefixed for a motto. Now the Warden of the College provides us with a long text, to which he seldom recurs, and of

which he often loses sight, almost at the outset of his sermon; while he proceeds to wander through a series of strictures, in the midst of which, for want of any title to the discourse, or any synopsis of its contents, we are actually unable to discover what is the precise topic which he proposes to himself, or at least what are the limits by which he intends to confine it. In another edition, or in another volume, it would be easy to remedy this defect; and, assuredly, some trouble would be saved to the reader, and some check might be imposed upon the discursive propensities of Dr. Shuttleworth.

We speak, then, with sincere deference and diffidence; but yet we are inclined to complain that the compositions before us are religious treatises running over a broad surface, rather than close and compact sermons; although many persons may be of opinion that the nature of the congregation to which they were addressed affords a full justification, and therefore more than an apology, for the circumstance. The same reason, too, may also be assigned for another characteristic which we shall venture, nevertheless, to specify as a fault, and at which we hinted in the case of Mr. Le Bas. These discourses are, to our taste, too uniformly abstract, too exclusively speculative. They consist too much of generalities, too much of metaphysical propositions, very learned and very clever, but not *alive*; not personified, not individualized, not put into action, not embodied and set before the eye in familiar and strong instances; not brought home to our business and our bosoms. We search in vain for practical illustrations; for graphic sketches of human character and the workings of the human will; for the touches of personal feeling, and the gushes of a quick and overflowing sensibility. In a word, the fountains of the heart are not moved in their secret depths; because Dr. Shuttleworth speaks to us, rather as an inquirer than as an orator.

Moreover, while we are upon the disagreeable chapter of deficiencies and faults, we cannot help remarking, that, in this volume, as in another which he has previously published, Dr. Shuttleworth appears a little too full and too fond of Scriptural *difficulties*, a little too proud of the exhibition of intellectual gladiatorship, and a little too lavish in the repetition of certain favourite words, such as "*deep-seated*" and "*tremendous*."

But having picked these few holes, we turn to a far more grateful and a far more copious theme. Hitherto we have discussed only the blemishes, or the supposed blemishes, in Dr. Shuttleworth's work; and we have discussed them with the greater freedom, because they are the more conspicuous to our sight from the graces which surround them; and because, from his reputation

and his influence, the warden of New College must be tried by a very high standard, as he may be made an example and a model to hundreds of young divines. It is, indeed, extremely probable, that, although without design, we may have depicted them in overcharged and exaggerated colours: at any rate, they are infinitely more than counterbalanced by excellencies of the highest order. We regret, certainly, that Dr. Shuttleworth, from calmness perhaps of temperament, or from fear of the very imputation of enthusiasm or rant, has not thrown into his discourses more of warmth and vigour, more of fervid, impetuous, and impassioned appeal; and we regret it the more, because in the occasional passages which rise above the ordinary level of his style, there is a very powerful and successful energy; and it is only justice to say that although Dr. Shuttleworth exhibits rather the acumen of a Lysias than the fire of a Demosthenes, and we are seldom worked up to any peculiar intensity of emotion, still the inherent qualities of the sentiments and the diction carry with them a very considerable impressiveness. There are few bursts of eloquence, and not much boldness of metaphor; there are no abrupt transitions, no startling apostrophes; but there is every where the elegance of a scholar, and the ingenuity of a philosopher, and the piety of a Christian. All is judicious, temperate, discriminating, extremely sound, and extremely *sensible*: every sermon contains mines of thought, which well deserve to be explored; and every page may furnish to the reader ample materials for long and profitable meditation. The whole volume teems with unquestionable ability; it forms a valuable accession to our stores of sound divinity and useful learning; it will take, and keep, an eminent place in our theological literature.

Here, as in the case of Mr. Le Bas, we can only afford a few extracts, which may be detached without much violence to the context.

The following remarks are as emphatic as they are just.

"Our progress through this life may be compared to a laborious ascent up a mountain of ice, in the course of which many a step must necessarily be lost, and many a backsliding be retraced; and where, to make any progress whatever, betokens considerable energy and perseverance. But we know that God regards the earnestness of the will, the rectitude of purpose, and the submission of the heart and affections, far more than any external brilliance of achievement; and that seemingly imperfect services which escape our notice, may one day find more favor in the sight of him, who seeth not as man seeth, than the more ostentatious but perhaps in reality easier efforts of many to whom we now look up with admiration. But woe unto that man who would pervert these warrantable and scriptural admissions to his own destruction and to the destruction of others. Woe unto him, who would derive from the

blessed revelation of a merciful and long-suffering Creator, and of a crucified Redeemer, the blasphemous doctrine of a licence to commit deliberate sin. Woe unto him who would attempt to establish upon calculation an unholy compromise between the eternal interests of his soul and the impure propensities of his flesh, or who would dare to set up the involuntary infirmities to which the best of the descendants of Adam are liable, as a justification of premeditated and persevering profligacy. The idea that we may safely stop short of the highest point of moral excellence attainable by human endeavours, and that, because we must inevitably, and against our will, sin much, we may therefore intentionally sin more, if entertained only as a passing illusion of a youthful imagination, is highly dangerous; if maintained as a tenable theory until it assimilates itself with our habitual and later practice, is irrecoverably fatal.

"It is a well known phenomenon of our moral and intellectual nature, that practical habits grow stronger and easier of execution, by daily exercise, whilst in exactly the same proportion our mental sympathies and excitements grow from frequent repetition less and less perceptible. Hence arises the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, which all of us feel, as we advance in life, of reviving the early impressions of our youth in all their original freshness and warmth of colouring. This law of our nature, on the modifications of which so much of our personal character depends, is more particularly influential on the formation of our religious habits. It is from this cause that even the best resolutions of amendment of life, if frequently, but yet ineffectually made, become eventually not merely nugatory, but worse than nugatory; that is to say, whilst the unrestrained licentious habits grow daily more and more confirmed by indulgence, the countervailing stimulus of occasional religious excitement grows in like manner weaker by continual repetition. Thus the voice of conscience, which once spoke as in thunder, becomes at length scarcely an audible whisper. Thus one broken vow of reformation becomes at once the precedent, and subsequently the excuse, for another and another act of similar inconsistency; till, tired with fruitless attempts, and habituated to seeing the resolutions of yesterday rendered abortive to-day, the languid and disheartened mind takes its final refuge in the slovenly hope that God will accept the will for the deed, and allow us to plead the infirmities of our nature as an excuse for our systematic disobedience to his will."—Vol. ii. p. 332—334.

The eighth sermon, on the all-important topic of "Faith and Works," deserves the most serious and attentive study. After tracing the analogy between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, Dr. Shuttleworth proceeds:

"Our conclusion, then, founded as it appears to me upon the whole consistent tenor of Holy Writ, is the proposition with which we set out; namely, that the first and great position of all revealed religion is the original duty of perfect obedience to a perfect moral law. Had man's nature possessed in itself the means of such perfect obedience, we have no reason to believe that any subsidiary machinery, or secondary

contrivance whatever, under the form of ritual expiations, or of the blessed atonement of our Redeemer himself, would have been necessary for our final salvation. Man's performance and will would have been adequate to the task imposed upon him, and the result would have been everlasting life. But every moment's experience shows us that we all fall short, infinitely, fearfully short, of this imaginary perfection. By a strange anomaly in our constitution, which has never been explained, excepting by the inspired history of the fall of our first parents, the sense and perception of the ideas of goodness indeed, to a certain degree, remain with us, but the life, the warmth, the practical spirit of holiness is, as we all painfully feel, far, very far departed from us. Here then, is the next great question which naturally suggests itself. How shall we hope to lift a burden, not indeed heavy in its original nature, but overpoweringly so when considered with reference to the anomalous constitution of the human heart? The whole tenor of revelation affords us a consistent answer. God, who has enjoined the task, has himself found out a way for our relief. He asks no longer for that faultless and superhuman service, which it is evidently beyond our means to afford; but, limiting his demand to such exertions as, with the assistance of his co-operating grace, still come within the scope and compass of mortal powers, mercifully points out a method by which all the remaining unredeemed portion of our debt may be effectually cancelled. Be that method what it may, it is obviously a free and gratuitous gift on his part, and it is for his infinite wisdom to determine upon the peculiar mode of its operation. Had He continued to sanctify, even to our own time, the expiatory offerings of mere animal sacrifice for that beneficent purpose, it of course rested with him to do so. But He has condescended to substitute in their place an infinitely holier and more effective sacrifice for sin; a sacrifice which, from its awful nature, supplies the strongest pledge of the fatherly anxiety by which he seeks for the salvation of his creatures; a sacrifice, which, from its most awful character, can neither leave us for a moment in doubt of its adequacy for the accomplishment of its purpose, nor of the deadliness and abomination of that body of sin which nothing less than so vast a process of atonement could entirely extirpate. What possible proposition then, let me ask, involves more fearful blasphemy than that which would assert that this very astounding contrivance, introduced by infinite wisdom solely and exclusively for averting the consequences of human wickedness, is itself intended as a warrant for deliberate, wilful, and gratuitous sin? Yet such has been the sickening and loathsome inference of false presumptuous philosophy. Such, in fact, was occasionally the base and ungrateful suggestion of the human heart, even in the apostolical age itself."—Vol. ii. p. 276—279.

"Let me not be here supposed to be for one single moment asserting the doctrine of the merit of man's best actions, as really effective in the work of our salvation. It is impossible to scrutinize impartially the various motives which influence the conduct of even the best and holiest members of society, without feeling how very short they invariably fall from that standard of purity which the perfect laws of God require from moral and intellectual agents. It is, I admit, going beyond the truth, to assert that there is no relic of original goodness in our fallen

nature ; yet even that assertion approaches much nearer to the truth than the opposite position, which would assume the fact of its own independence and self-sufficient righteousness. The middle inference between these two opposite extremes is, in all probability, the correct one. The image of God in the human soul is disfigured indeed, but not effaced. That we are intended for another and a better state of existence than the present, is attested by those instincts, energies, and apprehensions of our minds, which have little or nothing to do with our actual location upon the earth, and which, therefore, we cannot conceive a wise Providence to have placed within us, had he not intended them to be hereafter more fully developed. These, however, at this moment are at the best like golden treasures in earthen vessels, or rather, like jewels and costly works of art which are occasionally found imbedded among the ruined edifices of former ages, telling at the same time the story of their present desolation, and of the more glorious state of things with which they were originally connected. Every theory of religion which does not assert as its primary position the ruined condition of the human mind, as we now witness it in this world, is obviously wrong, because it is obviously irreconcilable with the evidence of incontrovertible facts. But harsh and uncompromising statements are seldom consistent with the sober character of real truth. The good principles of our minds are manifestly not entirely destroyed, but only crushed ; not extinct, but only benumbed and embarrassed in their operations. It is the object of religion to awaken them from this lethargy, and to restore them to their original vigour. How then would common reason tell us that this object might be best achieved, even were revelation silent on the subject ? Obviously, by invigorating, not extinguishing, the latent and almost imperceptible spark of holiness within us ; by calling into better and more consistent action our suspended or misapplied energies. Now it is evident that such is the salutary struggle in which we are engaged by the instrumentality of Christianity, if we understand our religion rightly."—Vol. ii. p. 283—284.

"We are saved by faith, and not by works ; because if we did not lay hold of the Divine help by faith, our salvation by works were hopeless. Our redemption is a free gift ; because, when man by the abuse of his own free-will had estranged himself from God, he forfeited every claim upon the forbearance of that Almighty Being, who, had it so pleased him, might have left him to all the fearful consequences of his misconduct. But here, let us remember, is a doctrine so far from being subversive of morality and of the necessity of human works, that it actually presupposes them. It is from God, indeed, that we originally derive the power even to will what is right, but we possess at the same time enough of real moral liberty to be able to refuse his tendered help, and consequently to forfeit the accompanying benefit. If, then, that help continues to be afforded, it is because we on our part manifest a disposition to avail ourselves of it. In other words, the sincerity and earnestness of the human heart supplies the standard and measure by which our Creator condescends to apportion his aiding and effective grace. This is a doctrine which, however scriptural, it is, I am aware, easy to entangle with the cobwebs of human metaphysics. It is as we

all know, a far from unfrequent thing for us to hear the dogma of the concurrent operation of assisting grace with human works censured, as though whatever we add to our theory of human liberty must necessarily be so much deducted from the glory of God in the work of our redemption. But may we not retort with much more plausibility on the other hand, that by denying the concurrent operation of man's will with assisting grace from above, and by substituting the cheerless doctrine of inflexible necessity in its room, we are directly contradicting the first principles of morals, and rendering nerveless and pointless all the emphatic and awful admonitions of Holy Writ?—Vol. ii. p. 285—287.

"If, then, we ask ourselves what will be the feelings which a sober but earnest investigation of the theory of the Gospel covenant is calculated to impress upon the mind of a sincere believer, we may venture to enumerate the following as necessarily the most prominent. In the first place he will be conscious of a deep and heartfelt conviction of indwelling sin, and of the weakness of his own moral powers; but he will therefore only the more anxiously endeavour, whilst he cries for spiritual assistance to the throne of grace, to use those powers to the utmost in the cause of holiness. He will aim at the possession of a degree of spiritual perfection, which at the same time he will know to be in this world unattainable, and will therefore combine with hopes and aspirations the most unbounded, humility and self-abasement the most sincere. He will therefore tender the daily offering of his feeble works of imperfect righteousness to his Maker, not with the proud self-satisfied spirit of one who is presenting an adequate sacrifice worthy of the Great Being to whom it is presented, but with the shrinking shame and diffidence of the poor widow, who followed in the train of the wealthy and powerful, to deposit her solitary mite. The sum and conclusion of these really combined and harmonious, yet seemingly discrepant feelings will be, the holy principle of faith in the Divine love and promises; the humble but unshaken conviction, that he who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all who believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life, will not be forgetful of this his gracious covenant, but remembering the immensity of the price paid for sin, will not be extreme in his censure of the sinner. But at the same time, he will recognize in the stupendous nature of that one great sacrifice, as well the most awful warning against the deliberate commission of sin, as an exhilarating assurance of its effective remission to those who through faith make themselves partakers of the covenant of redemption. Thus it is that the extremes of confidence and of humiliation meet and find their proper home in the breast of the Christian believer."—Vol. ii. p. 288—289.

When we read some sermons and some hymns, we feel that the annexed admonitions are not without their application and their necessity.

"Misled by the circumstance that the God whom revelation announces, is described to us as a Being calculated to excite the warmest feelings of affection, two very different classes of minds,—the coarsely

presumptuous, and the enthusiastically sensitive, have too often deviated into a mistake revolting to every reverential feeling of temperate and rational piety, and which, perhaps, more than any other, has given cause to the enemies of religion to blaspheme. It is a melancholy and sickening instance of the extreme difficulty, in this state of trial, of avoiding one evil, without falling into its opposite, that persons of the warmest devotion and the sincerest good intentions have been not unfrequently hurried, by an ill-directed enthusiasm, into ideas and language better fitted to express the aberrations of carnal passion, than those supplications for mercy at the throne of Omnipotence, which befit sinful and repentant beings. * This fearful mistake, thus dangerous even in minds of the finest texture, has, we too well know, when attaching to men of coarser feelings, been productive, at various times, of the grossest perversion of religion which history records; namely, the most audacious presumption and familiarity in their addresses to the Most High God, united with the rankest and most disgusting sensuality in their moral conduct.

"To those who, from such an ill-judging warmth of devotional feeling, or from such strange misapprehension of the awful purport of revelation, may have been at times inclined to forget the immeasurable distance between the sinful creature and the Creator, or to calculate upon the assumed laxity of God's moral government, solely because he is described as infinitely gracious; to such it cannot be unnecessary to observe that the self-same Scriptures which represent him to us as the Giver of all that is good, declare him also to be that tremendous Being whom no mortal eye can look upon and live: as one too pure to behold iniquity: one, the awful mysteries of whose dispensations even the redeemed spirits of the blessed tremble to explore: one who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. Fatal indeed must be the error of those persons who can imagine that a Deity thus girt around with the most formidable attributes, can possibly be one whom they may safely address with unholy familiarity, or whose connivance at the violation of those very laws, for the confirmation of which Christ himself died, they can hope to purchase by an imaginary and fantastic love for his person."—Vol. ii. p. 95—97.

We had marked several other passages for quotation; but we are prevented from inserting them by the want of room. Our regret, however, is diminished by the reflection that our readers will turn to the volume itself for their own edification and delight.

We return, then, to the first question; and we suppose it asked again, why we have taken these two volumes together; or what are the characteristics which Mr. Le Bas and Dr. Shuttleworth possess in common? They differ, as we have seen, in style; they differ, probably, in various shades of political and ecclesiastical opinion. But they both belong to the same section—if we

* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader how many religious publications, of an otherwise unexceptionable tone of piety, have been disfigured by the peculiarly offensive style here alluded to.

may so call it—of the Church of England; a section, to which, it is evident, we would allow a very considerable latitude, since we include Mr. Le Bas and Dr. Shuttleworth in the same category. And we are anxious to hazard a few remarks upon that party in general, while we can illustrate them by the works of two such men, whose writings uphold, and whose characters adorn it.

Here, as we well know, we are dashing upon subjects, of which many excellent men deem it more prudent and more salutary to avoid the discussion. Would that we could be of their opinion! but since we cannot, we must pursue our own course. Let it, however, be understood, that we no more expect to derive any private gratification from dealing with topics, which may give rise to painful differences of sentiment, than we should thrust our hand into boiling water for the pleasure of the immersion. At the same time, we cannot for our lives discover, how any injury should be inflicted upon the cause of truth by a manly and explicit avowal of its principles. The system which we reprobate, is the system of affecting ignorance of accusations or assaults which are actually in progress, and pretending to believe that all is peace, while other men are carrying on either an open or insidious warfare. The feeblest attacks must be formidable,—nay, must be fatal—if there is no defence: and where are the troops, so wavering in their courage, so beggarly in their equipments, so miserably provided with arms and ammunition, that they cannot enter a fortress which has its gates open, and its garrison asleep? In all ordinary cases, we think it wise to meet the beginning of evils, instead of waiting until they grow up into giants, and from their strength and magnitude are absolutely resistless. Every day heaps fresh fuel upon our conviction, that the falsest and most preposterous statements, provided only they are left uncontradicted, will fix an impression upon the national mind, which it becomes afterwards impossible to eradicate. Earnestly, therefore, would we express a fearful hope—a hope fearful from the very intenseness of our solicitude—that this system will be laid aside—this system of never speaking out—this system of feigning an unconsciousness of evils, of which no one is unconscious;—this system of thinking to stifle the hollow rumblings of agitation, which will not be so hushed—this system of throwing a little oil upon the foaming elements, which will not be so rebuked—this system, in short, of not merely treating delicate subjects with tenderness, but of passing them over in an entire silence. It is a system, which, in conjunction with the somewhat analogous practice of endeavouring to propitiate enemies at the risk, or rather the certainty, of alienating friends, has done, and is doing, more mischief to Religion and the Established Church, than all other causes in their united

operation. If it is abandoned, we shall have no apprehension; if it is continued, we shall almost despair.

But the objection to the opposite course is, that it stirs up controversy, and engenders intemperance. The contrary, however, is our belief. Assuredly, all controversy will soon be hushed, if the argument is allowed to be all on one side. But to the other party such a conclusion of it must be ruinous; and hence it happens that a frightened floundering opposition is offered, exactly, perhaps, when opposition is too late. Thus, too, as to intemperance,—it is not firmness, but the want of firmness, that is the parent of violence; as in a school, or in an army, it is the want of discipline that occasions severity; and the habit of winking at the earlier and smaller encroachments, which lead to every bold and aggravated offence, creates an ultimate necessity for a stern, and, as it appears, immoderate, vindication of authority and right.

Now, what is the particular application which we would make of these remarks? It is simply this. Injurious insinuations both as to doctrine and practice have been long thrown out against the party, which is usually designated as the orthodox party of the Church of England—insinuations of which we deem it far wiser and more politic to challenge proof than to affect ignorance. Are we to brush away the imputations in time? or are we to let the plague-spots settle? Are we to wait until the mind of the country is inoculated, and its whole heart is poisoned, by accusations that are false? For the sake of genuine Christianity, we throw down the gauntlet of defiance, and ask, who has the hardihood to take it up? We shall not utter one word in the way of offence; but we should blush and burn with shame, if we could sit in dumb acquiescence, while hints of imperfect and erring faith, untrue to the Gospel, or falling short of the letter and spirit of the Gospel, are scattered among the vulgar, the enthusiastic, or the unbelieving, against the majority of the Clergy of the Church of England. *That Church cannot endure, if such attacks are continued,—and continued without being met by an adequate resistance.*

For party-names in religion we entertain a most especial dislike, when they would tear or keep asunder one class from another in the same Church; nor would we willingly range ourselves under a banner upon which any such name has been inscribed. But if the differences become too momentous to allow of any neutral position; if our place and part must be taken; if there arises a necessity for united and concerted action; and all separate efforts would be only nugatory and inefficient, in that case our choice is made. We must cast in our lot with the men, who truly form, in our opinion, the more orthodox and apostolical, and, although the term may be denied them, the more really evangelical section of

the Church. True it is, that, in adhering to this side at this period, we may attach ourselves to what is frequently considered a falling and a desperate cause; though for ourselves, we neither despair about it, nor think it destined to fall; but rather hope that the good sense and sober devotion of the country will rally round it, in its hour of trial, with an affectionate zeal:—true it is, that we may neither look for encouragement at the hands of men in power, to whom opinions more manageable and pliant—for we will not allow them to be more *liberal*—would probably be acceptable; nor expect much flattery or favour from the mass of religionists, who would feed on a sentimental or fanatical excitement, and therefore would bestow their crown of popularity on other brows:—but our consolation will still be, not that we shall be in the train of those great and venerable men, pre-eminent for their moderation as their learning, who effected the Reformation in our Church, and whose names must be memorable in it and sacred, as long as its Articles and Liturgy shall remain:—*not* that we shall follow other men, their not unfit successors, the echo of whose mighty footsteps has scarcely yet departed from the land—*not* that, humble as we are, we shall stand side by side with many living divines, whose very shoes the pretenders who now decry them are unworthy to wipe;—but that to the best of our judgment and our power, we shall be serving the cause of true religion—the cause of the everlasting Gospel—the cause of Jesus Christ—and therefore the cause of Almighty God.

The manner in which the High Church Party has been attacked is matter of notoriety. The fox-hunting parson, the drinking parson, the gambling parson, the incontinent immodest parson, the lazy, careless, self-indulgent parson, the proud, morose, domineering parson, is successively brought forward as its representative. And if the letter-press of a book is incompetent to the work of defamation, the deficiency can be eked out by a libellous print in a shop-window. All the vices of individuals are picked up and brought together as the *beau ideal* of a High-Church-man. The modern Apelles collects the scattered features of deformity, and dips his pencil in the darkest colours of calumny, and then exclaims with a grim smile of self-congratulation “is not the portrait complete?”—But might we not retort? might we not retort upon the infidel? might we not retort upon the Dissenter? Is it not evident, that there is no picture, however hideous, or frightful, or revolting, which we might not form of any sect of Religionists under heaven, by adopting a similar process of ungenerous and iniquitous generalization? Would it not be easy, as it would be base, to exhibit the most disgusting traits of specious hypocrisy, or conceited ignorance, or nauseous cant, and

write under the filthy daub the word "*Saint*," or "*Evangelical*," or "*Methodist*?" And what we should scorn to do to others, may we not reprobate if done to ourselves? Yet when we would state how laborious, how regular, how well-instructed, are the present Ministers of the Church; when we point to the exalted qualifications which are required both intellectual and moral; then we are met, perhaps, with a reference to the days of Charles the II. or George the II., or even to the ribaldry of Fielding and Smollett, or to the veracious instances in a scurrilous novel or an obscene farce; and the wolf can still say, as he said of old, "Well, if it was not you, it was your grandfather!"

Stung, however, and goaded as we are by repeated and atrocious misrepresentations, we might bear them when coming from the ordinary quarters with Christian patience and humility. From the enemies of the Church, and the foes of all religion, we have nothing better to expect. Our sorrow is not at its height—our annoyance is comparatively nothing—until parties within the same establishment can speak of erroneousness or incompleteness of faith in connection with the tenets of the majority of their brethren;—can ascribe to them a laxity of spiritual discipline, or suggest that they dilute and impoverish the precious and saving doctrines of the Cross.

It would be a tedious, rather than a very difficult task, to run through an examination of the several aspects of English Theology between the present period and the period of the Reformation. The argument, however, does not turn upon this point. Even if it could be proved,—and the assumption of the possibility of such proof is a mere hypothesis, and the hypothesis most unfavourable to our cause,—that there *have* been times in which a diluted and impoverished divinity prevailed, and doctrines assumed a lower and less spiritual tone, and the manners of the Clergy departed in too many instances from the most elevated level of Christian righteousness, still not a step is gained in making out a case, unless it can appear that the Reformation itself was a lame and imperfect thing, that stopped half-way upon its course, or that the theology of the Church of England, at the present day, is for the most part untrue to the faith and practice of the old Reformers. The matter must be decided, not by that which has been, but by that which *is*; not by the religion of our Church, as exhibited in the reign of Charles II.; but by the religion of our Church as exhibited in the reign of William IV. Now we readily allow, that there may be a tendency in some individuals to refine and pare away Christianity into a lax and unscriptural and latitudinarian rationalism, just as there is a tendency in other individuals to work it up into a superstitious

faith, which is to be put forth as an antagonist principle to mental activity, and the free development or use of the intellectual powers : but we assert with the utmost confidence, that the vast majority of the Clergy of the English Church steer a safe and apostolical course between the two adverse rocks, in collision with either of which sound faith is sure to suffer shipwreck. They have, and must have, competent learning ; as every one is aware, who knows what sort of examination is now given to the candidates for ordination, whether to the office of Priest or Deacon, and how well the young men, with scarcely an exception, come prepared for it in the several dioceses of the kingdom : and their conduct is, and must be, generally conformable to their professions, both from the force of public opinion and the vigilant scrutiny which their actions are sure to undergo ; and, also, from those spiritual and evangelical motives, with which, perhaps, we ought not even to blend any inferior inducements.

And if we look to the conduct of the English Clergy during times, when it is scarcely a metaphor to say, that the thunder clouds are bursting above their heads, and that the ground is rocking under their feet, we may confidently affirm, that they have not disgraced their holy cause and vocation. With remarkably few exceptions, they have, as individuals, betrayed no sordid narrow cupidity ; no disposition to abandon or change their principles, as the keys of patronage have been placed into new hands ; no desire to advance their own emolument or dignity at the expense of their order ; and, as a body, they have evinced infinitely more solicitude about the spiritualities than about the secularities of their Church. If some few misguided men could even be found to detach themselves from the common cause and great interests of the establishment, and then seek to make their treason a separate ladder of preferment in the very Church which they would betray, we believe in our hearts that they would be unable to bear the quiet but scathing indignation, which would light upon their heads. But to proceed :—when Bills have been introduced for the Commutation of Tithes, or the Abolition of Church Rates, or the extinction of Pluralities, it now stands upon record, that the main anxiety of the Clergy has been to preserve inviolate the principle of the Establishment and unimpaired its efficiency as an instrument of spiritual good ; but that they have regarded the pecuniary difference, on the one side or on the other, as little more than a feather in the balance. But when concessions have been proposed, which ultimately involve the sacrifice of all their essential characteristics as a Church ; when attacks are threatened against their Liturgy, or when the endeavour is made to confuse and embroil, if not entirely to alter

and re-model the religious education of the higher classes in the country, by the admission of Dissenters to degrees at the Universities, *then* the Clergy have lifted up one mighty and almost unanimous voice, which has entirely drowned the murmurs of a few rash or dreamy dissentients, and have come forward to subscribe their names to petitions, almost as if one and the same hand had guided their signatures; because an invasion is attempted, not merely upon the forms of their ecclesiastical constitution, but, in its certain consequences, if not in its present operation, upon the integrity of their faith. Let them proceed upon this course, and the people will be with them; or, even if the people be deluded to their own sure misfortune, and their own final regret, still an Almighty Protector will be with them to the end.

But it is sometimes said, that the more numerous section in the Church of England takes "*a lower standard of requirements*," and entertains narrower or fainter views of the weight of Christian obligations. This charge, however, strikes us, we confess, as being not merely false, but almost incomprehensible. The reason of the thing suggests to us, *a priori*, that it could not be the case, and facts demonstrate to us, that it *is* not the case. What, in the name of reason, can be found in the orthodox doctrines, which has any possible connection with a low standard of requirements? If there be any difference, it is, that the more numerous section, while it recognizes the great tenet of justification by faith, lays more stress than the other upon the necessity of good works, as a concomitant in the economy of salvation, and separates itself, by a yet wider distance, from all tendency to Antinomianism. Its doctrines, assuredly, are the very antipodes of carelessness or coldness,—nor have they any thing of mere *legality*, in the degrading sense of the term.

Once more, as to the facts, we refer with the utmost confidence to the extracts already given from the two works under review. We refer to the orthodox writers either of past or present times. Do not the pages, for instance, of Bishop Van Mildert or of Mr. Rose evince as solemn and as pervading a sense of Christian obligations, as the treatises of any divines who could be named?

The distinction, however, ought carefully to be drawn between a *serious* and a gloomy view of Christian obligations. We may affirm, that in the theology, usually termed orthodox, there is *not* less of seriousness; but we are ready to acknowledge that there is less of gloom. Christianity is exhibited with a holy and majestic, rather than with a terrible and repulsive aspect. If to have a high standard is to demand a diligent, self-forgetting, self-renouncing discharge of active duties,—to do as much good as

possible and no evil ;—to be charitable in deed, and word, and thought,—to be kind and courteous, and liberal, yet personally strict, and pure, and spiritually-minded,—and to feel, at last, the inadequacy, the imperfection, the unprofitableness of all that man does, or *can* do, as forming for himself a charter or title-deed of everlasting reward,—then is the standard of the orthodox clergy as high as can be easily imagined. But if to denounce the innocent recreations and elegancies of life,—to deny that there is a proper time and place for moderate enjoyment,—to make a Christian, instead of carrying a spiritual temper into society, exclude himself from social existence,—and to cover the august and radiant lineaments of religion with a funereal pall of blackness and austerity ;—if this be to have a high standard of requirements, then, perhaps, as to the majority of her Ministers, the Church of England *has it not*. But let those Ministers be judged fairly from *themselves*, and not from a few erratic specimens of heedlessness or immorality, whom the High Church party, has of all, the strongest reason to repudiate and dislike, because no party has suffered from them so unjustly or so much.

In the same way let their divinity be judged from their own authors, and not from theologians,—if theologians they can be called,—such as Blair and Alison, between whom and them there subsists no link or alliance. Are such authors wanting? Even as we write, the recollection of mighty names comes upon us like a flood :—and yet not so much the Hookers, and the Jewels, the Barrows, and the Taylors, the Tillotsons, or the Horsleys, of times gone by, as men, who at this day adorn the bench, and send forth from our pulpits the genuine doctrines of the Gospel in the full beauty of their holiness ; men, who preserve the harmony and entireness of truth, and, without offensive familiarity, or the perpetual recurrence of the same phrases, make Jesus Christ the capital figure in every compartment of their canvass ;—men, with whose names we forbear to illustrate our page, because we would not incur the imputation of flattery.—Let the character of High-Church doctrines be judged by that vast and glorious body of divinity, which has cast a constant illumination over the Christian world :—or let it be judged by the Bampton, and the Boyle, and the Warburton, and the Hulsean Lectures ; but not by miserable shreds and patches detached and scraped together from lucubrations committed hastily to the press by some inconsiderate individual.

If fair samples and exemplars be taken, whether of life or doctrine, the High Church party, we are confident, has nothing to fear. They would sedulously perform their part as Ministers of the Church of England ; but they would perform it decently,

and in order, and with an undeviating deference to canonical regulations : they would not act from a spirit of personal intolerance and haughtiness, but they know the evils, which must be caused, and the discords, which must ultimately be fomented and increased, by attempting to fraternize with the Dissenters ; they are impressed with the imperative necessity of both public and private devotion ; but their prudence as well as their piety, and their piety as well as their prudence, makes them careful how they turn drawing-rooms into private chapels, or expound to an unprepared audience at an unseasonable time and place ; they do not belong to the tea-tray school, and therefore are not particularly ambitious to be rewarded for their services by the ladies of their congregation with a silver coffee-pot, or a new set of robes :—they rather entertain a conviction that the power and utility of a Clergyman must eventually be destroyed, unless he carefully upholds the authority and the dignity of his office. They may bear upon their brows some marks of exclusiveness ; but it is because they feel the Church, and the Church alone, to be the best depository and standard of sound principles. Their first object is the salvation of souls ; but they believe the accomplishment of that object materially to depend upon an efficient body of recognized Ministers acting in concert under the same rules. They are content to be reckoned among the “ graceless zealots ” who “ fight for modes of faith ; ” because they know that faith, and holiness, and charity, are all linked together by the strongest, yet most delicate sympathies ; and that if the integrity of Christian faith decays and dies, Christian charity will first weep at its obsequies, and then be buried in the same grave.

But we stop. Our object is to speak in candid justification of one party, and not to say a single word, which can be construed into an attack upon the other. While the general conduct of the Clergy is so excellent, we would abstain, on all accounts, from making any invidious contrasts ; nor do we think that the private habits of individual Ministers are the points, which can determine the question ; unless it can be shown that one class of tenets naturally and invariably leads to one class of habits, and another class of tenets to its opposite.

Alas, we know well the frailties, the weaknesses, the miserable lapses into sloth and error, which belong not to High Church men, or Low Church men, but to the feebleness and corruption of our common humanity. Moreover, there may have been men—and some very few, as we have hinted, there may yet be—who pretend to range themselves under the banners of the High Church party ; but who include *all*, who dislike their principles, and put their manners to shame, under some common nickname of

ridicule and abuse. In reality, therefore, the strict and regular High Church man is just as much the object of their contumely, as the devout and serious Christian, who embraces any other peculiarities of doctrine. At any rate, let them be told, that the High Church party does not want them; that it does not recognize them; that it has no disposition to have its own soundness impaired by the contact of any thing so rotten and so worthless. It sees weakness in their assistance, and contamination in their support. It abjures them as confederates; it renounces them as allies. It indignantly refuses to be mixed up with their practices or their opinions. While, therefore, we allow, that life is in some measure a test of doctrine, such persons, it must always be remembered, are only insulated individuals. They constitute no feature, they affix no character, they form no integral part in any section of the Church. Their number is dwindling to nothing; and of influence they cannot boast an atom.

Let it also be recollected, that, in defending the distinctive shades of High Church doctrine, we are not obliged to defend the language and the practice of persons, whom we should refuse to recognize as High Church men. We have positively nothing to do with them. It is almost universal with men, who have no creed and no religion at all, to profess themselves of that creed and that religion, which is dominant and fashionable; and, therefore, there will always appear a larger proportion of careless, or irreverent, or reprobate members attached to the faith and party of the majority of a land. Hence there is often the semblance, rather than the reality, of a higher and purer tone of devotion among the body of Dissenters, than among the body of Churchmen. Hence, again, in Catholic countries, the Protestant minority will seem more pious than the Catholic majority, while, in Protestant countries, the picture will be reversed. In England, for example, no class of men can perhaps be pointed out, so sedulous in the performance of their duties, so strict and exemplary and self-denying in their lives, as the Roman Catholic Priests. And Mr. Hamilton, in his remarks upon men and manners in some parts of America, draws a striking comparison between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Ministers, altogether in praise of the former, and to the disadvantage of the latter. But shall we, then, allow that the creed of Popery is more spiritual, or more true, than the creed of Protestantism, because accidental circumstances produce a particular result? or, if we took back Popery to our arms, and made it again the dominant religion, would not an immediate alteration in the relative aspect of the zeal of the two parties, *as parties*, be the consequence? Every minority is active, and earnest, and enterprising, simply

because it is the minority; but there is not the same stimulus on the other side, which is satisfied with what it possesses, rather than excited by what it hopes to obtain.

Such considerations, then, cannot, we re-assert, decide any question, which is at issue between the different sections of the Church.

It seems impossible, in fact, to enter upon the infinite shades and ramifications of opinion as to the minute proprieties of moral conduct. These points depend upon the countless modifications of individual character and circumstances; and, even if they be not so fine and subtle as to elude argument, they are yet too unsubstantial to form the component elements of a sect. The differences, where they do exist, which split party from party in religion, must be differences as to Church doctrine or Church discipline. But as to doctrine and discipline, we, who adhere to the Articles of the Church of England, and that interpretation of the Articles which has been usually deemed orthodox, stand, we must hold and assert, not in an aggressive, but in an attacked position. There are some who would have the articles remodelled. Of them we would ask, in what way and to what extent? There are others, who would prefer another interpretation of the articles. Of them, again, we ask, what is the rent which this diversity of interpretation is likely to make? They who desire changes owe a definite explanation to those who dread them. Every movement party may fairly be asked the length and the breadth of the required or intended movement. If others want something, and we nothing, we may legitimately put the very simple question, "*what do you want?*" They are the petitioners; and every petitioner ought to be prepared to state the full measure of his demands.

It is an undeniable fact, that differences are supposed to exist in the Established Church, and that the seceders from the Church are on the watch to take advantage of their existence. It is also evident, as we have observed in a former article, that there is a disposition to classify British Christians, not into Churchmen and Dissenters, but into Evangelical and Non-Evangelical believers. We are clearly of opinion, that Church-membership ought to be the line and the test; but we apprehend that some divines as well as laymen in the Church, have recognised and approved the classification just mentioned. These things are, at least, novelties. We would call upon them, therefore, kindly, we hope, and charitably, but most earnestly and most anxiously, to express without equivocation or disguise, their opinions upon a point, which, under the semblance of Christian union, may introduce the widest and most mischievous schism which has ever exerted

its unhappy influence in the land. If they seek only the restoration of a former faith, and think that the majority of the English clergy have apostatized from the tenets of the Reformation, let them, in God's name, trace the nature and extent of that apostasy: If they would bring forward new principles, and engraft improvements upon the Reformation, let the character and amount of these new and improved principles be declared, together with the reasons on which they are founded. We are the old party, and the defensive party; our opinions are known, and attacked because they are known. But it is high time that some definite causes of opposition should be stated, instead of general insinuations and vague surmises. Oh, let us at least have objections which we can honestly meet, and antagonists with whom we can fairly grapple.

We emphatically repeat—for it is a matter of the last consequence to our argument—that we conceive ourselves to belong to *that*, which is the old party, and now the defensive party, and the party, as we sincerely believe, attached to those genuine doctrines of the Reformation, which at different periods may have been preached with more or less of efficacy; or adorned more or less by the lives of those who have professed them; but which, as far as we know, have never been abandoned. We make no pretence to the reception of new lights; we do not expatiate upon the revival of religion, or talk of completing the Reformation by carrying it forward to an ulterior and higher point. If any men entertain such views, with those men we differ. But we are not the occasion of any schism; the differences only exist in the extent to which other parties have created them.

And yet it is very probable, that, in the vast majority of cases, a few brief sentences of frank and decisive explanation would remove the difference, by showing it to be imaginary, or verbal, or the result of a mutual misapprehension; or by proving that the disagreements existed only to that slight amount upon minuter subjects, to which they must always exist, until there is an exact conformity in the construction of various minds; and until the rays of intellectual light fall upon them all at precisely the same angle. Then, as to the Revivalists, we would ask them distinctly to announce, in what sense, and with what latitude, they use the phrase "revival of religion," of which we hear so much? If they mean by it merely a greater vitality and earnestness in religion, a fresh vigour of faith and liveliness of devotion, a larger measure of charity, an increased degree of personal exertion and personal holiness, then we can have no quarrel with them, except for the ambiguity of their language. We rejoice at such a revival of religion, wherever it occurs; and we honour the human instruments, who, under the blessing of God, produce it. But

if men can call themselves Revivalists, under the impression that they are a species of spiritual resurrectionists, whose business is to dig up out of their graves tenets which have been buried in the slumber of death, then we must say, that we see no necessity for the resuscitation or revivification of evangelical tenets; for we know of no evangelical tenets which have, since the Reformation, been defunct. In a word, we hail, with the utmost gratification, the diffusion and growth of Christian piety; but we stand upon our guard; and feelings, we acknowledge, of suspicion and apprehension, come across us, when we hear of a *revival* of Christian doctrine. We think the character of our doctrines to be of an importance, which far transcends every other consideration, and we wish to maintain our doctrines as they *are*.

Upon this subject we would say one word more in entire frankness. We hear a great deal about the value of an Established Church, as being an establishment; about the necessity of its maintenance and the ruin of its subversion. To these statements we cordially assent. We can discern the folly, and the mischief, and the injustice, of cutting away one half of the institution, and dreaming that the other will survive it; of shattering a machinery which has worked, and is working throughout the land, a vast aggregate of multifarious benefits; of laying prostrate a system which is connected with all the monuments of our history and the ancient habits of our people; and which, while it is of national establishment, is also for the most part of private endowment. But still the best *measure* of the value of an establishment must be the value of the doctrines to which it is attached, and which it serves, perhaps, to enshrine and embalm. As the existence of the establishment communicates to the doctrines an augmentation of authority and an increased power of diffusion, so the doctrines alone, in an age of intelligence and intellectual activity, can uphold and consecrate the establishment. We hope and trust that both may be saved; we would struggle to save both at every hazard and at every sacrifice; but let it be distinctly understood, that it is for the sake of the doctrines that we would adhere to the establishment, and not for the sake of the establishment that we would guard the doctrines. We would keep the casket for the jewel which it contains, rather than the jewel for the casket that encloses it. These two, positions, then we would lay down: First, the purity, the reasonableness, the scriptural spirituality of the doctrines, can alone, in times like these, be, under Providence, the strength and stay of an Established Church; for without this cardinal pre-eminence, neither could the establishment be preserved, nor would it be worth preservation. Secondly, even if the case were otherwise, and the alternative were

offered, there is no rational and pious Christian, who would not infinitely prefer that the doctrines should be preserved *without* the establishment, than that the establishment should be preserved without the doctrines. Not for one hour, not for one moment, should we hesitate. The inference on both grounds is, that no tampering with the Articles can ever be allowed; no amalgamation or compromise with the Dissenters for the attainment—of what, shall we say? of peace, and amity, and agreement? no, but of a brief, and shameful, and fatal truce; not merely, in short, no recognition of a principle such as Dr. Arnold's, which, under the pretence of widening the foundations of an establishment, would strike away one main use of an establishment, as a landmark and safeguard of sound doctrine; but no sanction or admission of extravagances and innovations, however popular they may happen to be within the Church itself; no departure from the sacred tenets and discipline of our fathers in the faith.

Is it wonderful, then, if our patience ebbs within us, when we see many among the best and wisest men in the kingdom represented by others, altogether their inferiors in education and mental powers, as little better than nominal or half-formed Christians, mere infants in religion, who can never hope to attain the perfect stature of faith and grace? What? do we not find amongst these men as profound, and humble, and trembling a sense of the weakness and insufficiency and corruption of human nature, and the consequent want of a thorough change and regeneration of character, through the help of an agency mightier than our own; as entire a conviction, as just an appreciation of the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, of the necessity and value of the Atonement by His death, of the need of faith in order to justification, and of the aids and influences of the Spirit, in order to sanctification, of the incompetency of mere intellect, the mere faculty of drawing logical inferences to “make man wise unto salvation,” without the holier energy of moral tastes and dispositions, as among the wildest and most hot-headed enthusiasts, who would decry the orthodox pastors of the Church as nothing more than ethical teachers, fond of enlarging on the dignity of man's being, and the merit of man's works; and prone to reject or explain away the peculiar and characteristic mysteries of the Gospel? In their exhibition of the Christian Faith, *what* doctrine, we would confidently ask, is merged or forgotten? *What* tenet is cut down into a meagre nullity? *What* peculiarity is dilated into a disproportioned importance? *What* part of religion is suffered to eclipse and over-power, to absorb and swallow all the rest? Where is the shadow of a slur cast upon any one of the marvels of our redemption? They may pause, indeed, before they so strip man of his moral capacities as to strip

him also of his moral responsibility ; they may pause before they admit doctrines which would revive in the Christian Church the darkest and most appalling fatalism of the ancient necessitarians ; they may discern unspeakable danger in making religion only a thing of impulse, or feeling, or sudden or intuitive belief ; they may claim for reason her legitimate province in matters of faith, and for the noblest endowments of the understanding an ample exercise ; they may insist upon the use of varied and extensive knowledge ; but all these things they would nevertheless subordinate to holiness and purity of heart ; and they can deem the meekness, and simplicity, and docility of a child, as more indispensable than the most practised skill and erudition of a philosopher.

Do these assertions require proof ? The evidence is overwhelming. The rank which England holds among Christian nations is our witness. The theological literature of the country is our witness. The whole host of illustrious writers nurtured in the bosom of that Church which they lived to exalt, men who have been the very beacons and bulwarks of genuine Christianity, are our witnesses. The very volumes now before us are our witnesses.

That sound and sterling religion which has been our boast and blessing as a community, and which we devoutly trust has made the temporal and eternal happiness of millions of individuals, we mainly owe to the orthodox divines of the Church of England ; and the preservation among us of that sound and sterling religion we shall, under that same Providence, owe mainly to their successors ; and the benefits of maintaining the soundness and orthodoxy of the English Church, must stretch far beyond the shores of our own country, and extend far beyond the limits of the present time.

On the one hand, if we look to the history of the past, we see only an accumulated debt of gratitude, which the whole of Christendom owes to the illustrious defenders of our English Protestantism. We need not refer to the days of Wiclif or Cranmer, but we would point to the series of theologians who arose, as lights in the world, from the period of the Reformation to the middle of the last century ; theologians, who have not only asserted and maintained a pure and scriptural religion in the eastern hemisphere, but sown its seeds in the western, and planted its standard, and set up its landmarks, (still useful because still partially observed), and spread a heavenly illumination, which, even if its sun be anywhere gone down, must ever preserve a brightness and a beauty even in its twilight. Again, when, in the eighteenth century, an unhallowed philosophy, which had enlisted in its ranks the most shining, if not the most solid, talents of the world, made its com-

bined and systematic attack upon Christianity with the weapons now of reason, now of ridicule, here of a pretended erudition, there of a sarcastic levity; and when the belief of many nations had succumbed and fallen before it, who were the men who rushed forward to stem the tide of ungodliness and beat it back from our coasts? Were they Dissenters? No. Were they any others than our orthodox divines? Once more we say, for the most part, no. The champions of Christianity were men like Horsley and the rest, who stood almost by the side of Burke with intellects almost as gigantic; and, as he saved us from infidelity by keeping off anarchy, so they saved us from anarchy by keeping off infidelity. Oh, who can survey with a steady glance the portentous peril of those times, and not be sure, that if God had permitted that attack for an awful season to be successful, and religion had been overthrown in England, it would have been overthrown with a more appalling, perhaps an irrecoverable, ruin upon the continent; and all Europe, in her agony of spirit, would have had double cause to exclaim, "Ichabod, the glory is departed, for the Ark of the Lord is taken?"

Shall the lesson be lost? Have not these times their portents also? When we think of the corruptions and superstitions of Catholic states, with that hateful offspring of unbelief, which they infallibly engender; when we think of the neology, the rationalism, the unchristianized Christianity too prevalent in Germany; when we think of the unspiritual theology of Geneva, and the rapid strides which Unitarianism is making among our brethren beyond the Atlantic, to what secondary agency can we turn, under Providence, but to the same orthodox establishment which has already preserved us? What other barrier can we find, on the one side, against a rampant or mystical extravagance; on the other, against that cold distortion of the Gospel, which seems, by a lamentable dexterity, to encumber itself with the difficulties both of Christianity and of Deism, without being able to rest upon the divine authority of the one, or take advantage of the human freedom of the other; and which would convert the rich and flowing rivers of Salvation into the stagnant, and sullen, and pestiferous, waters of the Dead Sea? Our hearts would sink within us, and our imaginations would be overshadowed by a thousand presages of darkness and disaster, if the old orthodoxy of the Church of England were now decried and abandoned. Upon no instrumentality of earth can we depend, but upon a sound, regular, well-organized divinity; upon minds, disciplined by study and education, and armed at all points from the arsenals of theological research, as well as tempered by the spirit of the Gospel of Christ. Can religious feelings and reli-

gious aspirations suffice?—religious feelings however warm, religious aspirations however exalted? Learning only can cope with learned adversaries, learning massive, extensive and profound; historical, and philological, and scientific arguments can only be met by a competent acquaintance with history, and philology, and science; and the perversions of reason can only be exposed, not by the disparagement of reason, but by its legitimate and highest use. Our Church has hitherto maintained a spiritual sobriety and a godly moderation. May she maintain them for ever! If they are exchanged for a flighty, and fantastic, and mystic creed, and if religious sentiment is not directed by religious knowledge, then will the miserable process go on, by which extremes will create extremes, and monstrous errors will generate prodigies of error still more monstrous, and extravagances will be arrayed against extravagances, and society will be divided into the two baneful sections of scornful infidelity, and half-crazy enthusiasts; or Socinianism and fanaticism will portion out the land between them; and then not only must we say farewell to the lustre of the Church of England, but the light of Christendom will be extinguished, and the fairest hopes of humanity will for a season be lost.

We may not persuade others, but we have delivered our own soul. Knowing how mixed and how imperfect is every thing in man, and how weak is human judgment, and how the bad feelings of our nature intertwine themselves about the good; and how hidden and uncalculated is oftentimes the sway of early prejudices, and the associations of habit and education, we offer these remarks, after all, as the opinions which may very possibly be warped by the action of many circumstances, of which we have not sufficiently computed the tendency and the strength. At the same time, however, we record them as the deliberate and conscientious convictions which we not only entertain, but which we deem it necessary to put forth, at a period the most eventful, perhaps, and the most critical that has ever occurred to the established religion of the country.

ART. VII.—*The Connexion of the Physical Sciences.* By Mrs. Somerville. London: Murray. 1834.

It *may* be true, that in many departments of our literature, the contributions of this age are decidedly inferior to those of previous ones. Our minds *may* not now be fertilized by fresh

"seeds of thought," such as Bacon scattered. Our style *may* be full of epigrammatic prettinesses, but destitute of the fire and the vehemence of Jeremy Taylor. Milton *may* be unapproached, either in poesy or in prose. We *may* have falsely fancied, that our compressed octavos contain the essence, the elixir, of the older tomes. Our mental scenery *may* have the choicest flowers and aroma of the primitive settlers, but have lost all the magnificent proportion and wild beauty of their land. This, we say, *may* possibly be true:—our judgments, not the old prejudice of decrying the present, may have drawn this estimate. And *yet* we do contend that our literature has more than a redeeming quality. Our advance in Science more than brings us on a level. Herschel and Davy, &c. more than vindicate our claims to even profound originality. Perhaps, we furnish fewer discoveries of the moral relations of the human mind,—but unquestionably we know more of human nature.

Now believing, as we do, that our advance in physical science is the characteristic glory of this age;—and that the strength of intellect—the analytical invention—the patient research—which its pursuit calls forth—are painfully contrasted with the commonness of the productions of other fields of literature; we think it would be an useful inquiry, Whence is it, this age excels in one department, but fails in most of the rest? Is it because the cultivation of that order of thought necessary for success in one, unavoidably leads to neglect of the others? Is there such an opposition between those powers of mind demanded by the *exact* sciences, and those demanded by the more *excursive*, that they cannot co-exist, cannot severally be vigorous? Is it impossible to be a mathematician and a poet? or to live amid the certainties of algebraical calculations and formulæ, and likewise in the more undefined and changing abstractions of metaphysics? Must we consent to be dwarfs in the one, if we would be giants in the other? Is there a great gulph fixed, and is it impassable?

It requires no elaborate argument to prove, that no studies induce such severe habits of consecutive thought, such love of patient but certain induction, such openness to the evidence of truth, as those of physical science, where mathematics are the leading instruments of investigation. And never have there gone forth before, so many minds whose earliest mental susceptibilities were disciplined by their attainment. Now, that these qualities of mind are of the gravest importance in the more excursive applications of thought must be most evident; and yet, have they shown themselves therein? Is it a mere declamatory question,—whether Truth, in all its branches moral and religious, has derived the benefit which might have been expected from the pre-eminence

now given in our course of education to the Physical Department?

We think that, without unamiably arrogating to ourselves superior wisdom, we can affirm that these studies have not yet produced their *best*—their *legitimate* results. They have, indeed, contributed much, and rapidly, to one species of our knowledge. The objects which they directly contemplate, both in their amplitude and their minuteness, have been brought before us,—and cold and rigid reason has apprehended them. But reason has monopolized. The emotions of the imagination have been kept at bay; just as if the temple of God's creation had only the magnitudes of sublimity, in order to be scaled by numerical calculations; or the harmonies of minute fitness, for the doctrine of proportionals: as if the moment the mind burst beyond the limits of accuracy, and indulged in indefinite wonder and admiration, its movements were sure to be erratic.

Some of our readers will probably smile at this language—will condemn it as the murmurings of some fretted student, who, in disgust, throws aside the abstruse Principia, and revels in the creations of Walter Scott. But allow it to be so. Is it therefore instantly to be repudiated? Have not the faculties of reason and imagination been too uncompromisingly divorced, in the pursuits which we are at present considering? We think they have. There has been an uniform, an unnatural disdain of the latter. As yet the doctrines and proofs of astronomy, or of optics, have been submitted as if only for dissection; as if no spirit, no life animated them, with which our sensibilities could sympathize.

Let it not be thought that we would for one moment strive to *popularize* the sciences, by relieving the student from the necessity of the most rigid application. We would not deduct one single problem:—but if they claim our notice at all upon the ground of the *qualities* as well as the relations of the objects of their research, why are these qualities merely to be hinted at? Are they to have no enthusiasts as their admirers, and would the impulse of delight in them be an impediment to inquiry?

We confidently believe, that, if the connexion between the Moral and Physical Sciences was more regarded, the pursuit of the latter especially would be far more beneficial than it has been. Man, as an impassioned being, is not unfit for their cultivation. He would be, if he were only *passion*. But it is possible (and such is the perfection of a mind) that judgment and feeling, thought and emotion, should co-exist, and be so kept in equilibrium that neither should be injured by its companion; and we long to see this more generally manifested in our Natural Philosophers.

What objects of sublimity and beauty are associated with their studies! This world has its poets;—its fields and its streams, its mountains and its torrents, its tempests and its zephyrs furnish them with the *materiel* for their creations; and the mind may be awed or soothed by the phantasy: still it is but a phantasy. There is, however, a higher, a more intense order of poesy. It is that of Physical Philosophy. She gathers her forms, not from a world, but an universe, and has this advantage, that, before her conceptions can be indulged, there must be vigorous and prolonged thought. This will not by too much luxury enervate the mind.

We need but glance at some of those conceptions:—for instance, the power of attraction, wielding an atom as well as a world, a world as well as a system; regulating the shape of every globule, as well as the rotundity of every planet: the breath, the life, the soul which the Almighty Parent has infused into his creation: withdraw it,—and the universe would become a corpse. And has this no sublimity, the inspiration of which the abstrusest calculator may not feel?

We turn to the theories of light; if we believe it to be an actual emanation from an observed object, or to consist in vibrations of an elastic fluid, or ether filling space—then as to its velocity, and the boundless ocean which it opens up to us, with its innumerable and luminous waves, and its prismatic colours—have these no grandeur, no beauty, which can allure the imagination and at the same time administer strength, by the efforts required before they can be enjoyed?

We have but barely adverted to two orders of phenomena, which first occurred to us, as illustrations of our meaning—that *all* man's faculties can have their appropriate and highest scope; in studies, from which the imagination has been too rudely repulsed. We may incorporate physical with other truths; they have all affinities with each other.

Somewhat similar remarks might be made upon the connexion between them and *Religion*. We complain that although, in most scientific treatises, we are told of the illustrations of the Divine power, and benevolence, and wisdom, which are provided in the discoveries of philosophy, such a glorious recommendation is but barely suggested. Perhaps one paragraph in the Introductory Chapter announces it, and it is then forgotten. This, we contend, is painfully reprehensible: for if science does contribute to our knowledge of these, the sublimest objects of contemplation,—this should be her supreme boast: as her chief aim, this should invariably be foremost: her disciples should feel themselves to be, in a subordinate sense, the ministers of God, striving to reveal to others the laws of the Eternal Mind, and exulting in their success just in proportion as they obtained it.

If we remove the idea of an All-pervading Intelligence from the Creation, we deduct from it its truest magnificence. It is the thought that a *mind* is thereby putting forth its mighty resolves, which gives to the universe a meaning. A fortuitous order and harmony would produce an impression such as might follow the correct music of an idiot. We feel, therefore, that science dissociated from religion, is comparatively tasteless and insipid. In union with it, it is itself ennobled. Why then is the connexion between them so unfrequently exemplified? Is it unscientific, after having calculated the centripetal and centrifugal forces which affect our system, to stop and adore a Being, thus proved to be One whom no extent of effort can bewilder or fatigue, whom no minute operations can so concentrate in his notice, as to divert him from other divisions of his providence? Or is it unsuitable to the gravity and abstraction requisite in investigating the properties of light, meanwhile to have the heart impressed with what must be the splendors of the immediate home of that Divinity, who so illimitably scatters amongst us the beauties which are involved in every ray? We are sure it is not unsuitable. Such thoughts inspired Bacon, and Newton, when enrapt in wonder at the new conceptions that burst upon them. They felt as if favoured with a nearer approach to the beatific vision of the Almighty.

And we are equally persuaded likewise, that science has a connexion with *revealed* Religion. Our present purpose, and the character of several papers in our last number, prevent us from inquiring, whether that connexion be one of confirmatory evidence or simply illustrative? Most of our readers will allow that it does furnish us with comparisons and analogies. Still this subject is never unfolded in those works which we are now in the general considering. The discoveries of philosophy throw a light, we conceive, upon many of the mysteries of the Divine Word. Do we feel it difficult to admit the doctrine of a particular Providence, that the very hairs of our head are all numbered,—that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without God's permission?—The uniformity of design,—the unbroken chain of physical adaptations, from the highest link to the lowest, which science has unveiled, teaches us that the contrary doctrine would be an absurdity. And so even in regard to the holiest and most soul-humblng fact of the Gospel, the divinity of the Atonement:—when sceptically disposed to inquire,—where is the moral congruity in the Creator's affixing such a value to but one “dim speck” in his Universe, as to interpose for it with his own Son?—*then*, we say, even science can afford her aid, can teach us, that worlds without number and filled by responsible agents, may most probably have been taught by it a lesson: unto other orders, unto angels, and principalities,

and powers, the Church may have made known the manifold wisdom of God.

We feel that we have been led into too wide a discussion of this topic. It arises, however, from the intense interest we feel in it. The dawn of physical science was the dawn of an intellectual reformation, nearly coincident in time with the religious one. And we are most strongly imbued with the conviction, that as a discipline to the mind, as furnishing it with the highest and most blessed contemplations at once beneficial to the imagination and the heart,—it should be the prominent study; but its connexion with moral and religious truth must never be forgotten.

Before any particular inquiry upon the merits of the work which is introduced at the head of this article, let us ascertain how far our previous remarks apply to it. We extract almost the *only* allusion to the connexion between science and our moral and religious feelings, which we can find in Mrs. Somerville's treatise.

“Science, regarded as the pursuit of truth, which can only be attained by patient and unprejudiced investigation, wherein nothing is too great to be attempted, nothing so minute as to be justly disregarded, must ever afford occupation of consummate interest and subject of elevated meditation. The contemplation of the works of creation elevates the mind to the admiration of whatever is great and noble; accomplishing the object of all study,—which, in the elegant language of Sir James Mackintosh, ‘is to inspire the love of truth, of wisdom, of beauty, especially of goodness, the highest beauty, and of that supreme and eternal Mind, which contains all truth and wisdom, all beauty and goodness. By the love or delightful contemplation and pursuit of these transcendent aims, for their own sake only, the mind of man is raised from low and perishable objects, and prepared for those high destinies which are appointed for all those who are capable of them.’

“The heavens afford the most sublime subject of study which can be derived from science. The magnitude and splendour of the objects, the inconceivable rapidity with which they move, and the enormous distances between them, impress the mind with some notion of the energy that maintains them in their motions with a durability to which we can see no limit. Equally conspicuous is the goodness of the great First Cause, in having endowed man with faculties by which he can not only appreciate the magnificence of His works, but trace, with precision, the operation of his laws; use the globe he inhabits as a base wherewith to measure the magnitude and distance of the sun and planets, and make the diameter of the earth's orbit the first step of a scale by which he may ascend to the starry firmament. Such pursuits, while they ennoble the mind, at the same time inculcate humility, by showing that there is a barrier which no energy, mental or physical, can ever enable us to pass: that however profoundly we may penetrate the depths of space, there still remain innumerable systems, compared with which those apparently so vast must

dwindle into insignificance, or even become invisible ; and that not only man, but the globe he inhabits,—nay, the whole system of which it forms so small a part,—might be annihilated, and its extinction be unperceived in the immensity of creation.”—p. 2—4.

The following beautiful passages occur in Sir John Herschel's first chapter of his *Introductory Discourse* ; which we cannot forbear to quote, since they breathe so much of the spirit we have been attempting to inculcate :—

“ Independent of the pleasures of fancy and imagination, and social converse, man is constituted a speculative being ; he contemplates the world, and the objects around him, not with a passive, indifferent gaze, as a set of phenomena in which he has no further interest than as they affect his immediate situation, and can be rendered subservient to his comfort, but as a system disposed with order and design. He approves and feels the highest admiration for the harmony of its parts, the skill and efficiency of its contrivances. Some of these which he can best trace and understand he attempts to imitate, and finds that to a certain extent, though rudely and imperfectly, he can succeed,—in others, that although he can comprehend the nature of the contrivance, he is totally destitute of all means of imitation ;—while in others, again, and those evidently the most important, though he sees the effect produced, yet the means by which it is done are alike beyond his knowledge and his control. Thus he is led to the conception of a Power and an Intelligence superior to his own, and adequate to the production and maintenance of all that he sees in nature,—a Power and Intelligence to which he may well apply the term infinite, since he not only sees no actual limit to the instances in which they are manifested, but finds, on the contrary, that the farther he inquires, and the wider his sphere of observation extends, they continually open upon him in increasing abundance ; and that as the study of one prepares him to understand and appreciate another, refinement follows on refinement, wonder on wonder, till his faculties become bewildered in admiration, and his intellect falls back on itself in utter hopelessness of arriving at an end.”—p. 4.

And again :—

“ Nothing, then, can be more unfounded than the objection which has been taken, *in limine*, by persons, well meaning perhaps, certainly narrow-minded, against the study of natural philosophy, and indeed against all science,—that it fosters in its cultivators an undue and overweening self-conceit, leads them to doubt the immortality of the soul, and to scoff at revealed religion. Its natural effect, we may confidently assert, on every well constituted mind is and must be the direct contrary. No doubt, the testimony of natural reason, on whatever exercised, must of necessity stop short of those truths which it is the object of revelation to make known ; but, while it places the existence and principal attributes of a Deity on such grounds as to render doubt absurd and atheism ridiculous, it unquestionably opposes no natural or necessary obstacle to further progress : on the contrary, by cherishing as a vital principle an unbounded spirit of inquiry, and ardency of expectation, it unfetters the mind

from prejudices of every kind, and leaves it open and free to every impression of a higher nature which it is susceptible of receiving, guarding only against enthusiasm and self-deception by a habit of strict investigation, but encouraging rather than suppressing, every thing that can offer a prospect or a hope beyond the present obscure and unsatisfactory state."—p. 7, 8.

A great portion of Mr. Whewell's valuable and interesting work, which we reviewed in a previous Number, is occupied upon the religious views that are suggested by physical science.

We are happy to find that he fully agrees with the sentiments which introduce this article, and that he supports us in our opinion relative to the lack of religious thought in our philosophical treatises. The extracts, however, which we have given from Mrs. Somerville and Sir John Herschel must be sufficient. Now, surely, if these great objects distinguish natural philosophy, her professors are bound to strive to promote them: not by a few, very few, casual remarks in their treatises, as if to propitiate the favour of a religious reader; but by reiterated and glowing allusions. Why should not our scientific works be *impregnated* with such sentiments? They would not unseasonably divert the attention; rather by keeping the same topics before the mind, and yet varying the aspect in which they are contemplated, would they appropriately recommend, illustrate, and even dignify them.

But to dismiss this train of observation, and specially consider the work before us.—We can conscientiously agree with other periodicals, in according to Mrs. Somerville the highest praise for profound philosophical research in her treatise. It bears the stamp of genuineness. She has evidently worked out the formulæ, and by experimental observation confirmed the theories for herself. This book is not the compilation of one who has merely read other volumes, and with the parade of abstruse science, plagiarised from each of them. We rose from its perusal with the conviction, that in this department she must be the first woman of her age. Yet we question if it is not very inferior to her previous volume on the Mechanism of the Heavens. As purporting familiarly to unfold the connexion of the physical sciences, it has disappointed us. If obviousness of method be necessary to lucidness, then certainly this work has but few claims to it. Whilst reading it, we were repeatedly looking for some chapter of contents, (which, strange to say, there is not,) by which, as from some map of roads, we might detect our locality: and the attention thus became divided between the immediate chapter and its dependance on its predecessors.

Inasmuch as the physical sciences occupy distinct departments for investigating the laws which regulate a creation that may be

said to be their *common* property,—it is clear there must be a very essential connexion between them. Astronomy, for instance, would be imperfect, if it were not enriched with the contributions of the science of optics : and so the science of optics is under similar obligations to astronomy. The laws of light guide us in our calculations upon the place and movement of the heavenly bodies, and they in return illustrate and unfold to us its velocity. Before we can fully understand the laws which govern the water that refreshes us, we must know those which regulate the atmosphere we inhale. The oblivion of any one of the physical sciences would most seriously injure all the rest. They are the sisterhood of the muses : the withdrawal of one would induce general discordance.

It is Mrs. Somerville's object fully to establish this doctrine. As far as we can gather, (for in truth she has made no definite announcement of it,) the fact that the law of gravitation is common to *all* the sciences, is the principle of their connexion. The following paragraph—the last in the volume—may be viewed as a recapitulation of her previous argument :—

“ It thus appears that the theory of dynamics, founded upon terrestrial phenomena, is indispensable for acquiring a knowledge of the revolutions of the celestial bodies and their reciprocal influences. The motions of the satellites are affected by the forms of their primaries, and the figures of the planets themselves depend upon their rotations. The symmetry of their internal structure proves the stability of these rotatory motions, and the immutability of the length of the day, which furnishes an invariable standard of time ; and the actual size of the terrestrial spheroid affords the means of ascertaining the dimensions of the solar system, and provides an invariable foundation for a system of weights and measures. The mutual attraction of the celestial bodies disturbs the fluids at their surfaces, whence the theory of the tides and the oscillations of the atmosphere. The density and elasticity of the air, varying with every alternation of temperature, lead to the consideration of barometrical changes, the measurement of heights, and capillary attraction ; and the doctrine of sound, including the theory of music, is to be referred to the small undulations of the ærial medium. A knowledge of the action of matter upon light is requisite for tracing the curved path of its rays through the atmosphere, by which the true places of distant objects are determined, whether in the heavens or on the earth. By this we learn the nature and properties of the sunbeam, the mode of its propagation through the ætherial fluid, or in the interior of material bodies, and the origin of colour. By the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, the velocity of light is ascertained, and that velocity, in the aberration of the fixed stars, furnishes the only direct proof of the real motion of the earth. The effects of the invisible rays of light are immediately connected with chemical action ; and heat, forming a part of the solar ray, so essential to animated and inanimated existence, whether considered as invisible light or as a distinct quality, is too

important an agent in the economy of creation not to hold a principal place in the order of physical science. Whence follows its distribution over the surface of the globe, its power on the geological convulsions of our planet, its influence on the atmosphere and on climate, and its effects on vegetable and animal life, evinced in the localities of organized beings on the earth, in the waters, and in the air. The connexion of heat with electrical phenomena, and the electricity of the atmosphere, together with all its energetic effects, its identity with magnetism and the phenomena of terrestrial polarity, can only be understood from the theories of these invisible agents, and are probably principal causes of chemical affinities. Innumerable instances might be given in illustration of the immediate connexion of the physical sciences, most of which are united still more closely by the common bond of analysis which is daily extending its empire, and will ultimately embrace almost every subject in nature in its formulæ.

"These formulæ, emblematic of Omniscience, condense into a few symbols the immutable laws of the universe. This mighty instrument of human power itself originates in the primitive constitution of the human mind, and rests upon a few fundamental axioms which have eternally existed in Him who implanted them in the breast of man when He created him after His own image."—pp. 411—414.

In separately considering these subjects, Mrs. Somerville has advanced the latest improvements and discoveries. We think her chapters upon the identity of electricity and magnetism particularly interesting. Yet we cannot with perfect honesty recommend the volume. As a book of reference to the most lately ascertained conclusions it may be useful; but certainly to the beginner in science it would be perfectly unintelligible, and as a digest for one more advanced it is incomplete.

ART. VIII.—*Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. Edited from the Right Reverend Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Robert Chambers, Author of "Traditions of Edinburgh," &c. London: Longman and Co. Edinburgh: Chambers. 1834.

THE history of this book is extremely interesting, and realizes many of those fictions which have been devised by ingenious men for drawing attention to works otherwise not likely to attract notice. Bishop Forbes, one of the Episcopal clergymen at Leith, was, with the greater number of his brethren, warmly attached to the interests of the house of Stuart; and, accordingly, when Prince Charles Edward, in September, 1745, descended from the Highlands, he joined a small party of friends, who advanced to the neighbourhood of Stirling, in order to pay their respects to the representative of him whom they were still inclined to honour as their sovereign. Mr. Forbes and four of his companions were

apprehended by the civil power and thrown into prison, where they were detained until after the suppression of the unfortunate rising accomplished by the victory gained at Culloden.*

This accident, which the zealous presbyter deeply bewailed as the means of preventing him from kissing the hand of the regent, saved him from the severer penalties which were inflicted upon those who were actually engaged in the insurrection; and hence it appears that, when tranquillity was restored, the conscientious jacobite returned into the bosom of his charge at Leith, to mourn over the disappointment of his hopes and the loss of many friends, as well as to record their exploits and vindicate their characters. He steadily prosecuted his design of collecting, from the mouths and pens of the survivors of the late enterprise, such narratives and anecdotes as they could give from their own knowledge respecting that extraordinary incident. His papers, we are told, whether contributed in writing, or taken by himself from oral communication, he regularly transcribed upon octavo sheets, which in the end formed volumes; and nothing, it is added, can exceed the neatness, distinctness, and accuracy with which the whole task is performed. He took care, in particular, to see most of the individuals who had been apprehended for their concern in the prince's escape, and carried prisoners to London, an opportunity being generally afforded by their passing through Edinburgh, on their way back to the Highlands.

"The collection, which ultimately filled ten volumes, was bound in black, with black-edged leaves, and styled, in allusion to the woe of Scotland for her exiled race of princes, 'The Lion in Mourning; or, a Collection (as exactly made as the iniquity of the times would permit) of Speeches, Letters, Journals, relative to the Affairs, but more particularly to the Dangers and Distresses of ———.' The first three volumes bear the date 1747; the next three, of 1748; the seventh is dated in 1749, the eighth in 1750, the ninth in 1761, and the tenth in 1775. It thus appears that the bulk of the collection was made immediately after the close of the insurrection, when the recollections of the actors must of course have been most fresh; and this part of the collection is fortunately the most important in historical value. The latter volumes, indeed, are chiefly composed of fugitive *jeux d'esprit* upon the Whig party and the government; of letters giving obscure hints respecting the life of Prince Charles on the continent; and of other matters, which, though highly illustrative of the spirit of the jacobites, throw little light on the history of the rebellion. Perhaps the most curious and characteristic part of the work is a series of *relics* which are found attached to the inside of the boards of certain volumes; in one of which I find a

* We have followed the statement supplied by Mr. Chambers; but in a document to which we ourselves have had access, the bishop says, "We were seven in number, taken on the seventh day of the week, the seventh day of the month, and the seventh month of the year, reckoning from March." Two, indeed, were servants.

small slip of thick blue silk cloth, of a texture like sarcenet, beneath which is written, 'The above is a piece of the prince's garter.' Below this is a small square piece of printed linen (the figures being in lilac on a white ground), with the following inscription:—'The above is a piece of that identical gown which the prince wore four or five days, when he was obliged to disguise himself in a female dress, under the name of Betty Burke. A swatch of the said gown was sent from Mrs. Macdonald of Kingsburgh.' Then follows a slip of tape, with the following note of genuine *naïveté*:—'The above is a piece of that *identical apron-string* which the prince wore about him when in the female dress. The above bit I received out of Flora M'Donald's own hands on Thursday, November 5, 1747, when I saw the apron, and *had it about me*. Robert Forbes, A.M.'

This work, which had occupied or amused the simple but ardent mind of the honest jacobite about thirty years, remained nearly an equal period in the possession of his widow, before it became the property of Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton. Some time after the publication of Mr. Home's "History of the Rebellion," which, from the obvious desire of the author to conciliate the favour of the reigning dynasty, we have heard denominated "Home's Georgics," Sir Henry, we are told, was induced to turn his attention to the same subject, and actually commenced a work under the title of "An Historical Review of the different Attempts made to restore the Stuart Family to the Throne, from the Revolution in 1688 to the Suppression of the Rebellion in 1745." While employed in the pursuit of materials for this undertaking, he was informed that the relict of the late Bishop Forbes, now fallen into poverty, had a manuscript collection which might prove of use to him in the course of his projected narrative. The learned baronet soon made a bargain with the old lady, and found himself master of "The Lion in Mourning;" but having, for sundry reasons, relinquished all thoughts of completing his own literary enterprise, the interesting fragments engrossed in the ten volumes were once more permitted to fall into oblivion. The public is indebted for the selection now printed to Mr. Chambers, so advantageously known for his numerous works on Scottish antiquities, who, while on a visit to Sir Henry, in 1832, prompted him to put forth a specimen of the Jacobite Memoirs.

The editor tells us that he is prepared to find a surprise approaching to incredulity manifested respecting several of the subjects illustrated in this volume. The humanity displayed, and the regular and honourable payments made on all occasions by the Chevalier, in contrast with the license and barbarity now for the first time fully brought home to the royal army, will hardly fail to disturb some of the prepossessions of the English reader. The extraordinary outrages, the common theft—for it can be called no

less—attributed to the Duke of Cumberland, as well as his singularly brutal inhumanity, will rise so far beyond all preconceived notions, even of one who was in his own time thought worthy of being styled “the Butcher,” that he can hardly hope to see that part of the work received without controversy. He maintains, however, “that so far as the character of the collector can fortify this point, it must be held above cavil. In many parts of his manuscript, Bishop Forbes appears equally disposed to defend the government party, where they are unjustly accused, and to withdraw unfavourable statements, afterwards discovered to be false, as he was to exhibit their authenticated misdeeds.” The modern reader, moreover, must not judge of the military officers under George II. as he would judge of those in the reign of his successors. It was in regard to the former period that Swift, in his letter to the Chevalier Wogan, spoke of the British army as a body, “where the least pretension to learning, to piety, or to common morals, would endanger the owner to be cashiered.”

We have nowhere seen a more interesting or more accurate detail of the circumstances which attended the commencement of the ill-fated expedition of Charles Edward than is presented in these Memoirs. The reader traces the progress of the prince from his embarkation on the Loire, to the day when he erected the standard of insurrection in the wilds of Glenfinnan; is made acquainted with the number and the designs of his party; the difficulties he had to encounter, and the alacrity with which he met and at length overcame the most formidable obstructions. Accompanied by only eight persons, none of whom, if we except the Marquis of Tullibardine, possessed much influence in Scotland, he undertook to re-establish his father's throne in Great Britain, and thereby in some measure to change the politics of Europe.

On the 23d July, 1745, the *Doutelle*, which carried the young Adventurer, touched at the island of Erisca, one of the Hebrides, after a voyage of eighteen days from the coast of France. Two or three hours before landing, we are informed, an eagle hovered over the frigate, and continued to do so till they were all safe on shore. Before dinner the Duke of Athol—as Lord Tullibardine was called by his jacobite friends—observed the bird; but he did not choose to make any remark, lest he should expose himself to the charge of yielding to a Highland prejudice. When he came upon deck after dinner, he saw it still hovering about in the same manner, and closely following the frigate in her course; and then he could not help drawing to it the attention of the prince and his small party, who were much delighted with the appearance of the majestic creature over their heads. “Sir,” said Athol, addressing the son of James, “I hope this is an excellent

omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland."

But indications of success were not in all other respects equally flattering. Many of the chiefs attached to his cause, having been kept ignorant of his intentions, were quite unprepared for the desperate enterprise to which he now invited them. Some hesitated, and others attempted to dissuade him from an attempt so rash, and so likely to blast the prospects of his family for ever; nor was it until they found his resolution immovable, that the heads of several clans consented to risk their lives and fortunes in the hopeless attempt to overturn the government of a great nation. More than half a century having elapsed since his grandfather had abdicated the throne, the great mass of society had acquiesced in the new order of things, and many interests were already closely connected with the stability of the house of Hanover. The Presbyterian Kirk, more especially, relied for support on the principles of the Revolution; and we are accordingly enabled to account for the fact, why the ministers of the new Establishment were found among the most active partizans of the State, as well in council as in the field. Many of the preachers actually took arms and braved the hazard of battle; but the majority of them, contented with a more peaceful occupation, confined their exertions to the duty of conveying intelligence and exhorting to steadfastness. At this time, said Duncan Cameron to Bishop Forbes, "there was a *devil of a minister* that happened to be in the island of Barra, who did us a' the mischief that lay in his power, for when he got any inkling about us, he despatched away expresses with informations against us; but—as good luck was—he was not believed, or else we would have been a' tane by the neck." When Duncan spoke these words, a *devil of a minister*, he bowed low, and said to me, 'Sir, I ask you ten thousand pardons for saying so in your presence; but, good faith, I can assure you, sir, (asking your pardon,) he was nothing else but the *devil of a minister*.'

Nor were the many advantages on the side of Charles's enemies at all compensated by his own military talent or experience. Like the ancestors from whom he sprang, he was unquestionably brave and resolute; but his abilities were not of a high order: they were not such as would have conducted him to distinction at the head of an army, even though his troops had enjoyed all the benefits of regular discipline, and his officers had attained the skill of consummate tacticians. He had no system in his movements, no plan in his campaigns. Yielding to circumstances which he ought to have anticipated or contemned, his measures

varied from day to day; and even in the field of battle he was more ready to listen to advice, than to persevere in the method of attack of which he himself had approved. His principal successes accordingly were achieved in direct disobedience of his orders; or, at least, in consequence of disregarding injunctions which could not possibly be executed in the presence of a hostile force. The victory gained on Falkirk muir, for example, was owing to the firmness which Lord George Murray displayed when approaching the royal encampment; and the insignificant results which followed might be justly attributed to the absence of arrangement, and to the total want of confidence in the head which should have directed the whole.

The spirit of rivalry too, and the contemptible jealousy which burned in the breasts of the chieftains, proved a serious obstacle to the progress of discipline, and of that subordination to the dictates of one presiding mind, without which courage is useless, and zeal is only productive of mischief. Regarding themselves as independent sovereigns in their glens and islets, they permitted the rights of precedence between the leader of one sept and the patriarch of another to disturb the counsels of their prince; and rather than allow a fresh regiment to assume the post of honour, if already occupied by the troops of a more illustrious clan, they would have consented to see the former cut in pieces, or scattered before the enemy. If the Macdonalds stood in the extreme of the line, though outflanked and menaced by a superior force, the Mackenzies, or the Camerons, or the Athol men dared not presume to draw up beyond them, even were the issue of the contest to depend upon this simple movement. Some punctilio similar to this appears to have been felt as a reason why the right wing at the battle of Falkirk was not strengthened, when actually turned by a strong detachment of dragoons and militia.

There was a peculiarity too in the constitution of Charles's army, which, in the eyes of the discerning, could not fail to destroy all hope of an ultimate triumph. The men, acting in some degree as volunteers, and depending very often upon their own resources, did not hold themselves bound to extend their services beyond the limits of their own convenience, or even to adhere to their standard in all parts of the kingdom. Many might be inclined to fight within the Grampian grange, who could perceive no obligation to defend lands at a greater distance from their own hearths; while others, who might consider their attachment due as far as the banks of the Tweed, would have refused to accompany their chief into the nearest counties of South Britain. But the main defect in the Highland host was that total disregard of the ordinary rules of war, which led them on all occa-

sions to break their ranks, and engage in combat individually. Perhaps their mode of fighting, sword in hand, necessarily led to this neglect of discipline; for, as soon as a man had singled out his antagonist, his attention was rivetted to that one object, whose motions, in retreat or advance, determined his own. It appears accordingly that, whatever degree of order might have prevailed previous to a charge, it ceased the moment the Celt had fired his piece and unsheathed his claymore. Like his mountain torrent, he rushed forward with irresistible fury upon the lines of the enemy, and generally succeeded in making a deep impression; but whether he was successful or otherwise, the attempt to replace him where he had stood, and to induce him to act in concert with his comrades in the same company, would have proved nearly as fruitless as to make the stream which had dashed over the cascade return to its source.

Thus the battle of Tranent was decided in three minutes. The Highlanders, who were ably led to the attack, discharged their cumbrous muskets, threw them in the faces of the soldiers opposed to them, drew their swords, and brought the conflict to an immediate decision. The fight at Falkirk did not continue much longer, viewed at least as it affected the main body. The first rush of the Macdonalds and men of Athol threw the royal line into confusion, who instantly began to retreat; but Lord George Murray acknowledges that he could not bring back the victors to their ranks, as they actually engaged in pursuit of the dragoons, though there were three or four regiments of the enemy still unbroken, and even threatening their rear. "It is very easy to judge," says that officer himself, "that without a body of regular troops, the Highlanders have many disadvantages, by their not being disciplined, and especially their not rallying quick after an attack. Their advantages this day, as to situation and every thing else, were to their wish. Had the Macdonalds on the right, either not broken their ranks, or rallied soon after, they, with the Athol men, would have cut the whole enemy's foot to pieces; for they were close at them, and must have driven them down the hill before them, and by speed of foot, not a man of them could have got off from them."

The onset of the Highlanders succeeded in the first instance, because it carried surprise as well as terror into the opposite ranks. It was a mode of assault against which discipline had not provided any means of defence; and hence the brave men who had defeated the French in several pitched battles, and established for themselves a high reputation throughout the continent, were scattered in a few moments by a band of untrained shepherds, whose only tactics consisted in an impetuous courage. General Cope,

who had the mortification to see his whole army, including two regiments of dragoons, dispatched in the twinkling of an eye, by the furious charge of a body of men who had never worn an uniform nor appeared at a review, was immediately deprived of his command, not without certain tokens of displeasure and contempt. He consoled himself, however, by predicting that the same fate would befall the next officer who should meet the Pretender's followers in the field; and the repulse of Hawley at Falkirk, in circumstances still less honourable to professional talent, verified the accuracy of this anticipation. The character of Cope accordingly was in some degree restored at the expense of his successor, who ought to have profited by a failure, the causes of which could not now be concealed.

Not being soldiers by profession, nor accustomed to the licence which at that period disgraced nearly all the armies of Europe, the Highlanders, it was frequently remarked, were less formidable to the country through which they passed, than were the troops who were sent to protect the districts which they had invaded. When at Moffat, on their march from England, they gained by their serious habits the reverence and respect of all classes. "It was Sunday," says Lord George Murray, "and having episcopal ministers along with us, we had sermons in different parts of the town, where our men all attended. Our people were very regular that way; and I remember at Derby, the day we halted, as a battle was soon expected, many of our officers and people took the sacrament." In short, they did not belong to that description of warriors in whom the least pretension to piety or common morals was held as a disgrace. Their enterprise, though it had for its object a revolution in the government of the kingdom, was sanctified in their eyes as a crusade against profane usurpers. They viewed the crown as the righteous inheritance of the sovereign under whose banner they fought; as his inalienable property; as secured to him by the laws of God and man; and therefore not transferable to any other head at the pleasure of a faction, however considerable for numbers or power. Such sentiments, moreover, they shared with a large proportion of the British people, much better qualified than the "sons of the mist" to decide on general principles. That they were perfectly right in their conclusions no one will maintain who has studied the history of our constitution, or who has any regard for national privileges; but it is very obvious, notwithstanding, that the political maxims of the Jacobites were current among an extensive class of well-informed persons, who had reluctantly yielded to the necessity of violating the rule of succession to the throne.

The English commander, on the other hand, if we may judge

from a little document that remains, was not distinguished by any respect for religion. We allude to his will, of which the following is an extract:—"First, I direct and order, that as there is now a peace, and I may die the common way, my carcase may be put anywhere—'tis equal to me; but I will have no more expense or ridiculous show than if a poor soldier, who is as good a man, was to be buried from the hospital. The priest, I conclude, will have his fee; let the puppy have it. Pay the carpenter for the carcase box. I have hereunto set my hand and seal, having writ it all with my own hand, and signed each page; and this I did because I hate all priests of all professions, and have the worst opinion of all members of the law." Hawley, therefore, we may conclude, was incapable of feeling the lofty sentiments of piety and loyal attachment which warmed the bosom of the poor Highlander, who went to church and received the sacrament when on the eve of a battle. In consenting to lay down his life for his king, the clansman of Macdonald or Macpherson was actuated by a holy impulse, not dissimilar to that which carried the soldier of the cross to Palestine, and sweetened his death as he expired under the walls of Jerusalem or on the banks of Jordan.

Lord George Murray remarks, that on their march they had "episcopal ministers" along with them; and the anecdote already mentioned respecting Bishop Forbes, leaves no room for doubt that Charles found many adherents to his cause among the Scottish episcopalians. This class of men thought themselves ungenerously treated by King William and the first George, who imagined that the frown of government could chill an attachment which was founded on principle. Besides, their church had been deprived of her revenue and civil rank under the auspices of the Revolution; and holding, as many of them did, the doctrine of indefeasible right, it is not surprising that they espoused the interests of him whom they were pleased to denominate James III. But all the insurgents were not episcopalians, and many of these last were not jacobites, nor in any respect friendly to the views of the prince. This distinction, however, was soon forgotten, or studiously overlooked; and it seems to have been adopted as a general maxim, that no one who owned the apostolical institution of prelacy could be loyal, or worthy of confidence and protection.

From the narrative embodied in these Memoirs, it is manifest that the heart of Charles Edward sank as soon as he began to retrace his steps from Derby, and that his energy gradually diminished with his hope of success in the perilous undertaking on which so many lives were pledged. He was still desirous to push on to London, and thrust his "cousin" from the throne; but the

more reflecting of his counsellors, dispirited by the apathy of the English people, (who would not allow themselves to be deluded by theoretical notions on government,) clearly perceived that 5000 men could not penetrate to the capital, nor produce the slightest impression on the stability of an administration under which the country had enjoyed nearly sixty years of repose.

To those who mark the progress of events after the Highlanders returned into Scotland, it will appear evident that a certain despair and recklessness traced their footsteps until they reached Culloden, the scene of their final discomfiture. The gross impolicy of leaving a garrison in Carlisle, and the fruitless attempt to reduce the castle of Stirling at a moment when the Duke of Cumberland was pressing forward to attack them, prove distinctly that their "counsel for war" was not less deficient than their "strength." They ought to have retreated into their mountains, where they could have defied an army three times more numerous than that now marching against them, and where it would have been in their power to refuse battle except on their own terms. The fluctuating measures, too, which wasted their time and divided their sentiments just before the last conflict on Drummoissie muir, were evident tokens that ruin was fast approaching. Various plans were suggested and immediately abandoned; the clans were kept in motion day and night without accomplishing any purpose; and, at length, they were taken into the field to meet a disciplined force double their amount, though so completely exhausted by a long march and want of food, that many of the privates were seen dropping asleep in their ranks. The infatuation which marked all these proceedings was crowned by the folly of risking an action with regular troops, including a large body of artillery and dragoons, on open ground, where both these arms could be most efficaciously employed against them. The result, accordingly, was no other than what every military man must have expected. At the first charge, the Highlanders broke the line opposed to them, and were rushing sword in hand to attack the reserve, when a tremendous fire from cannon loaded with grape swept them off by hundreds, and rendered them an easy prey to the horsemen who assailed their flanks. Failing in this effort, they considered the engagement at an end, and left the field. The French auxiliaries made an attempt to check the advance of the conquerors, and to secure the safety of the prince who had fearlessly exposed himself amidst showers of balls, by one of which his servant was killed at his side. But, in this emergency, the native troops were useless; for having as usual thrown away their muskets when they fell upon the enemy, their only resource was in swiftness of foot. Charles, it is said, was forced

off the field by O'Sullivan, who filled the situation of adjutant-general. The Duke of Perth, who commanded the left, having at the beginning of the action observed the disorder of the right wing, rode gallantly along the whole line to see what could be done ; but, before he could return, the rest of the army had fled.

“ ‘ The greatest slaughter was in the pursuit ; for Lord Ancrum, who commanded a regiment of dragoons and Kingstons light horse, spared few or none. It is hard, if not impossible,’ writes the Rev. Mr. Innes, ‘ to say what was the precise number of the killed on either side. The best accounts of the loss in general that I have been able to get, are from a Presbyterian minister who lives within a few miles of the place. He tells me that one of the surgeons of the Duke’s army, a very sedate grave man, had counted all the bodies that lay on the field of battle as exactly as he could, and informed him that the killed on both sides amounted to about seven hundred and fifty ; of which he did not doubt but the one half were of the regular troops, and that he did not believe the number of the slain, both in the field and in the pursuit, exceeded twelve hundred.’ ”

But the barbarities which were committed in cold blood after the battle was over, are extremely disgraceful to those who directed the proceedings of the royal army. In the first instance, they would not permit any one to carry the slightest relief or succour to the wounded rebels, who were allowed to lie on the field a day and a night without receiving surgical aid. In the next place, parties of soldiers were sent to the ground with orders to knock on the head all whom they found alive, officers as well as privates. A small house, into which a number, said to be eighteen, of the maimed Highlanders had either crept or been carried, was set on fire, and every soul perished ; among whom was Colonel Orelli, a brave old gentleman who was either in the French or Spanish service. In another hut they found fourteen individuals of different ranks, more or less wounded, and setting them up in a row against the wall, they dispatched them with shot.

“ ‘ I myself was told,’ says Mr. Francis Stuart, ‘ by William Rosse, who was then grieve to my lord president, that twelve wounded men were carried out of his house and shot in a hollow which is within a very short distance of the place of action. William Rosse’s wife told this fact ; she said that the party came to her house and told the wounded men to get up that they might bring them to surgeons to have their wounds dressed ; upon which the poor men, whom she thought in so miserable a way that it was impossible they could stir, made a shift to get up, and went along with the party with an air of cheerfulness and joy, being full of the thought that their wounds were to be dressed. But when the party had brought them to the hollow above-mentioned, which is at a very short distance from her house, she being then within the house, heard the firing of several guns, and coming out immediately

to know the cause, saw all those brought out of her house, under the pretence of being carried to surgeons, were all dead men.'

"As to Mac Vee, or Cameron, his history is a singular instance of constancy and great courage. He was taken in some part of my Lord Seaforth's country, and some letters were found upon him, writ in French, without either direction or subscription. He was brought to Inverness, where General Blackney then commanded, being in September or October 1746, and was put into a vault in the bridge of the said town, in order to make him confess who gave him said letters, or to whom he was conveying them; but this proving ineffectual, he was carried to the cross, where, being stripped naked, he was lashed by the drummers of both the regiments then at Inverness, from heel to head. In the interval between the lashes given by each drummer, he was always asked to confess; but to no purpose, for confess he would not. I myself saw him carried from the vault he was kept in, a second time, in order to be lashed; but by what accident this second lashing was prevented I cannot tell. However, it is certain Mac Vee made no confession; for he was sent back again to prison, where he died miserably of cold and want, after lying there some weeks.—It is remarkable that while he lay in the prison in the greatest misery, he was desired by some people to save his own life by making a confession; but he answered that his life signified nothing in comparison of those his confession might destroy. None durst go nigh him, while in the pit, with any necessary; and when they threw down a pound of meal, which was all the allowance given to any of the prisoners, it was found untouched, he being sickly, full of sores, and most barbarously struck by one of the soldiers with the butt end of his gun in the breast, of which he complained as long as he lived. At last, when carried to the Tolbooth, one there said to him that he was a great fool not to discover what he knew; to which he gave a noble return—'You are the fool; it signifies nothing what they can do to me (let them do the worst), in respect of what could be done to those from whom I had and to whom I was going with the letters; their deaths would be a great loss, but mine will be none.' His father and he had considerable effects, and all were taken; and the poor father was begging in the town that very time, but durst not say he was his son. A charitable person, when he died, sent word that if they would allow the body to remain unburied one hour, a coffin and grave clothes should be sent; but that was refused. Being carried to the grave by two or three beggars, a soldier went and thrust his bayonet several times into the body, to try, as he said, if the rebel was dead."

This resolute undaunted man, who had received a thousand lashes, had been thrust into a cold noisome pit, denied the common necessities of life, bruised, beaten and insulted, displayed a greatness of character unequalled by the highest officer in either army. The consciousness that he possessed a secret on which depended the lives of others, rendered him indifferent to the hazard which threatened his own, and even to the most excruciat-

ing tortures that infuriated ruffians, clothed with despotic authority, could inflict upon him. It is, indeed, not a little remarkable, that, in reference to the events now before us, tokens of heroism and even of talent are multiplied in proportion as we descend in the scale of society; and we discover in rustics, who followed the mere instinct of natural sagacity, a presence of mind and a readiness of resources, the want of which must have been very obvious in some of the principal commanders. For example, when Charles resided at Moyhall, the seat of the chief of the Macintoshes, a stratagem was devised by Lord Loudon to seize the young pretender, and thereby put an end to the contest. To effect this object, he put himself at the head of seventeen hundred men; and, leaving Inverness at midnight, he proceeded on his march over the wild country which intervenes. Some suspicion of such an attempt being entertained by Lady Macintosh, she directed a trusty blacksmith, named Fraser, to keep watch on the muir through which any force from the neighbouring town must pass. This zealous retainer, taking with him four companions well armed, formed an out-post for the protection of his master's dwelling; and, while patrolling backwards and forwards, he spied the head of Lord Loudon's column advancing towards Loch-moy. Fraser instantly fired his piece, an example which was immediately followed by his associates, and, in the meantime, shouted out the names of several of the clans, as if they had been hard at hand, entreating them to commence the attack upon the royal army. His lordship, who thought himself entrapped, immediately began his retreat, and made his way back to Inverness in the greatest disorder, imagining that there was at least three thousand men at his heels commanded by the prince in person. In this manner did a common craftsman baffle the design of an experienced general, and prevent an assault on a defenceless mansion. The prince, it ought to be mentioned, would have escaped; as a little boy, who had been employed as a messenger, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of Loudon's soldiers, with whom he encountered in the dark, and crossing the country by a narrow path, reached Moyhall while they were yet "five quarters of a mile" from it. Charles would have had time to mount and provide for his safety, even if the blacksmith had not so adroitly frustrated the intentions of his enemies.

Had the Earl of Cromarty or the Duke of Perth possessed half the ingenuity of Fraser, the result of their expedition against the same Lord Loudon would have proved very different from what it really was.—But there was no Hoffer nor Miranda in the army of Charles Edward—no partizan leader, who at the head of such men and in such a country would have proved invincible,

The nobles who perilled life, fortune, and title for their prince, the son of him whom they regarded as their legitimate sovereign, were full of courage and honour; but while they despised danger they knew not how to avert it, except by means which tended to render their situation more hopeless. They held themselves ready to give man for man in the field, forgetting that the balance must soon turn against them, and that, with such irregular bands as they commanded, the campaign ought to have been converted into a war of posts.

The fidelity and resolution of some persons of very inferior rank are only to be equalled by the sufferings to which they submitted, and by the relentless barbarity with which they were persecuted. For instance, it was resolved by some humane ladies to further the escape of Mr. Nairn, a wounded gentleman, who was confined in a damp cellar in Inverness. In the prosecution of this object, not unattended with danger even to females, they employed the good offices of Anne Mackay, a poor woman from one of the western islands, to whom the plan was communicated with due caution. Anne entered into their views, and succeeded, first, in getting clothes conveyed to Nairn, and then, by decoying the sentry from his station, in opening the door of the prison and setting him at liberty. Upon being brought before the commanding officer, who insisted upon knowing who had befriended the captive, she gave answers so extremely vague that no one could discover her meaning. She was offered ten guineas if she would tell; but she rejected the money. Then a soldier's wife was instructed to ply her with drink, in the hope that when intoxicated she would divulge the secret, but she refused the liquor; at last, she was sent to the guard-house, where she was compelled to remain standing on her feet two days and a night, without being allowed either to sit down or recline; but, though this harsh usage brought on a disease in the limbs from which she never recovered, she would not betray the trust reposed in her.*

As the insurgents were studiously identified with Episcopals, it was esteemed a duty on the part of the loyal to burn their chapels and destroy their prayer-books. Bishop Forbes asks whether it will not be looked upon as a romance in after ages, that Englishmen should have been employed in destroying places of worship in which their own liturgy was used every Sun-

* Note by Bishop Forbes. "Leith, September 13, 1755. Anne Mackay was with me, when I read to her the five preceding pages; and she declared all concerning herself was very exactly narrated, only it should be ten in place of five guineas offered by Leighton. She told me that, after getting out of prison, the soldiers so beat and bruised her son, of seventeen years of age, that he died three days after."—R.F.

day throughout the year; and not only so, but that they made the bibles and prayer books accompany each other in the flames. One clergyman complains that Lord Ancrum, at the head of his regiment, came three miles off his road to pillage his house and his "poor undeserving books, not sparing three bibles and several common-prayer books." At Bamff, too, we are told, the army destroyed a fine chapel belonging to the Episcopal congregation, cutting down the roof, burning the seats, books, pulpit, and altar, and breaking the organ in pieces. And this, it is added, was their constant practice all the way they marched, with this difference, that in country places they stayed not to take any thing out, but burned houses, bibles, prayer-books, and all; as at New Durn, Clynhill, Keam of Duffus, and many others. "And many, both officers and soldiers, have since declared that all this was done at the instigation of the Presbyterians, and was indeed a genuine new edition of their father Knox's first reformation."*

At Inverness, General Hawley recommended that all the gates of the town should be shut, in order that no rebel might escape, and that the Episcopal chapel, with the seditious preacher, as he was pleased to call him, in the heart of it, should be burnt forthwith. General Husk stated his opinion that the meeting-house should be taken down, and the timber given to the ovens, as there was a great scarcity of fuel. The latter expedient was finally adopted; and, when the chapel was demolished, the soldiers went to the clergyman's wife with the books, cups, flagons, paten and gown, saying that they were come to give her the first offer, as they were her own. She was, however, advised not to make the purchase, for they would take her money and soon afterwards return and deprive her of the plate, as they had done in other places. In a few weeks they burnt the Episcopal chapels at Tombæ, Shanvel, Robiston, Rossary, Tulluch, Horrie, and Kimmundie.

When the military executions upon the unhappy Episcopalians were completed, the law began its ravages, which were much more severely felt; because, instead of throwing down places of worship, which a little money might have replaced, the worship itself, if directed by a native clergyman, was visited with a severe penalty. No sooner did parliament meet, than an act was passed in which it was provided that from and after the first day of September, 1746, every person exercising the functions of a pastor or minister in any Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George and the royal

* This statement is given on the authority of the Rev. George Innes, of Forres.

family by name, shall for the first offence suffer six months imprisonment, and for the second be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations for life. Every house in which five or more persons, besides the family, or five persons, if the house were not inhabited, should meet for public worship performed by a pastor or minister of the Episcopal communion, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the act; and no letters of orders, except such as had been given by some bishop of the church of England or of Ireland, were allowed to be registered from and after the said first of September.

The injury done to the Episcopal church in Scotland by the persecution of the clergy, would not probably have been great nor of very long duration, had it not extended likewise to the laity of that communion. But the act further provided, that "if after the 1st of September any person should resort to an illegal Episcopal meeting-house, and not give information within five days of such illegal meeting to some proper magistrate, he should be subjected to fine or imprisonment." It also declared that "no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the sixteen peers of parliament, or of voting at such election; and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of parliament for any shire or borough, or of voting at such election, who after the first of September should, within the compass of a year, have been twice present at divine service in any Episcopal meeting in Scotland not held according to law."

In this state of things, some of those clergy who, though steady and zealous Episcopalians, had always professed themselves not Jacobites, feeling it their duty to render their chapels *legal* meeting-houses, repaired to the proper magistrates, took the oaths to government required by the statute, and got their letters of orders registered before the 1st day of September. But this compliance availed them nothing; for in May 1748 the former act was amended, when it was declared that "no letters of orders not granted by some bishop of the church of England or of Ireland, should from and after the 29th September following, be sufficient to qualify any pastor or minister of any episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same had been registered before or after the 1st of September, 1746; and that every such registration, whether made before or since, should, after the said 29th of September, 1748, be null and void."

This act was directly levelled against the *religion* of the Scottish Episcopalians, for it precluded them from the privilege of political repentance. As such it was felt by the bishops in parliament, not one of whom ventured to support the bill, whilst

some of them, especially Sherlock, Maddox, and Secker, spoke strenuously against it, as a flagrant violation of all the leading principles of Christian freedom. This amendment, however, as it was called, passed through the Commons with little opposition; but in the peers it required great management on the part of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who at length got it passed by a majority of five. In this way the clergy who complied with the law were subjected to the same persecution which was directed against their non-juring brethren; and one of them, who had during two years regularly prayed for King George by name, was actually imprisoned six months, for no other offence except that of having more than five persons in his chapel. Others who refused to pray for the sovereign by name, were, with a greater show of reason and justice, visited with a similar punishment; and several, who, in the discharge of their professional duty, had exposed themselves to the still severer penalties of the act, took refuge on this side of the Tweed, or even in foreign countries.

The cause of episcopacy in the north was materially affected by this unmerciful legislation. The law had associated that form of religion with disloyalty to the existing government, and thereby, in fact, entirely proscribed it, inasmuch as the profession of it, in connexion at least with the indigenous Communion, was rendered incompatible with the enjoyment of political privileges in some most essential points. No person holding office under the crown in any department, whether military or civil, could venture to be present in a chapel where the liturgy was read by a native clergyman; and, in fact, we have seen that every individual who attended such meetings, and did not give information to a magistrate, was liable to be fined and imprisoned. Many of the nobility, accordingly, discontinued their public attendance, and either procured chaplains from England and Ireland, or read the service themselves in their respective houses. Before the insurrection in 1745, there were sixteen Episcopal congregations in Edinburgh, and about two hundred north of the river Tay; the greater part of which were dispersed; many of the chapels were burned or pillaged; and the poor ministers compelled to seek subsistence and protection among the more devoted adherents of their church. In some places, the magistrates had been accustomed to frequent Episcopal meeting-houses arrayed in the insignia of their office, giving all the countenance which it was possible to bestow upon an ecclesiastical body which had ceased to be established; but, after the penal laws of 1746 and 1748 were enacted, every one, who wished to be esteemed a friend of the House of Hanover, deserted the Scottish bishops and abjured at once the divine right of kings and of prelates. It is unnecessary to

observe that, under the malign influence of such severe statutes, the number of Episcopal chapels rapidly diminished in every district of Scotland. Divine service was performed in the most private manner, in remote mansions, and sometimes even under the shelter of a wild wood; for, though the civil power, generally speaking, showed no zeal in executing laws which were a disgrace to the age and parliament whence they issued, yet when informations were lodged, they could not refuse to proceed against the offenders. The accession of George the Third, however, who respected even the prejudices of the non-jurors, marked the beginning of a more lenient era. No alteration, indeed, took place in the state of the law till the year 1792, when Scottish Episcopacy was once more permitted to raise its head above the pressure of direct persecution, and to receive within its pale, without incurring any stigma, all who retained any regard for primitive forms.

Mr. Chambers, in his Preface to these Memoirs, speaks of the "extraordinary outrages, and the common theft, attributed to the Duke of Cumberland." It is probable that he alludes to the depredations committed in the house of Mrs. Gordon at Aberdeen, whose statement of her losses is recorded by Bishop Forbes. This lady was a sister of Mr. Thomas Bowdler, of Bath, a name well known to all the lovers of piety and learning; and the particulars now mentioned are contained in a letter written by her to her sister Jane. From the details, which she gives at considerable length, it is manifest that the duke was privy to the disgraceful transaction, and even profited by it; but the principal actor was the renowned General Hawley, who entertained so deep an aversion to priests and lawyers, as being very dishonest persons, and who left in his will so very minute directions about his "carcase box." Mrs. Gordon, it should seem, was desired to give up her house for the accommodation of the hero of Falkirk; a requisition which it was in vain for her to oppose on any ground, even though she urged that she was comparatively a stranger, and had no place to lay her head. To prepare for her new visitors she locked up all the valuable articles belonging to her establishment;—

"But the very morning after they came, before I was out of bed, General Hawley sent two messengers to command me to send him every key I had; and so I did, still thinking that when he had satisfied his curiosity, he would send them to me again: but, about six o'clock in the afternoon, he sent one of his aide-de-camps to me, (whose name is Wolf,) who, after telling me rudely enough that he had a great deal of trouble to find me out, said that he was come to let me know that, by the duke and General Hawley's orders, I was deprived of every thing I

had but the clothes on my back. Do not wonder that I thought this an uncommon hard sentence, for I am very sure I never either said or did any thing that could offend any of them, or any of the inhabitants of the place. The gentleman told me that indeed the General had been very strict in his inquiries about me, but could not find any thing to lay to my charge. The next day there was a petition read to the duke, setting forth the cruelty of this sentence, and desiring that at least I might have the clothes belonging to myself and my child, with my provisions, with what I could make plainly appear belonged entirely to me of other people. It was said he seemed quite amazed at it, and said he would take care that I should not be robbed; and indeed the same gentleman came to me again, and said the duke had ordered that the things should not be taken from me, so I thought I might depend on this message. But General Hawley, who lived in my house, took care to prevent that; for he packed up every bit of china I had, which I am sure could not be bought for two hundred pounds, all my bedding and table linen, every book, my repeating clock which stood by the bed in which he lay every night, my worked screen, every rag of Mr. Gordon's clothes, the very hat, breeches, night-gown, shoes, and what shirts there were of the child's, twelve tea-spoons, strainer and tongs, the japanned board on which the chocolate and coffee-cups stood, and put them on board a ship in the night time, directed to himself at Holyrood-house at Edinburgh.

"The flutes, music, and my cane, he made presents of. I had five pound and a half of tea, seven loaves of fine sugar, half a hundred of lump, seven pound of chocolate, a great stock of salt-beef, pickled pork, hams, pease, butter, coals, peats, ale, verme jelly, rice, and spice, some cheese, brandy, rum, sago, hartshorne, salop, sweet-meats, Narbonne honey, two dozen wash-balls, with many things which it is impossible to mention, all which he kept for himself, nor would he give me any share of them; even my empty bottles he took. The morning he went away, which was Tuesday the 8th, he took the blankets and pillows of the beds, even the larding pins, iron screws, the fish-kettle, and marble mortar,—in short, he has left nothing behind but the beds without coverings. The chairs and tables, my writing tables, the corner cupboard, and Mr. Gordon's desk, he has broke as much as can be; and though he had the keys he has taken off the locks, and taken the part of it that was at the bottom for holding his account-books, to pack part of the china in; in short, a house so plundered I believe was never heard of. It is not six hundred pounds that would make up my loss; nor have I at this time a single table-cloth, napkin or towel, tea-cup, glass, or any other conveniency. The only worldly comfort I have had under my misfortunes has been that my friends did not know the ill usage I have met with, for, as they were at too great a distance to help me, I thought it a happiness that they were not feeling with me; and till the Duke and General were gone, and I found that they really had taken every thing that was possible to carry away, I hoped it would not have been quite so bad as I find it. All the Episcopal meetings are pulled down; the altars, pulpits, and seats, were employed to heat the ovens."

Hawley appears to have been the principal thief, and also to

have secured the greater part of the booty for himself; but it was proved that "the best tea equipage, packed up in part of the mahogany bureau, was directed to the Duke of Cumberland at St. James's, and that the set of coloured table china was directed in the same manner." "Mr. Dunlop, the watch-maker in Spring Garden, owns that he has since mended the repeating clock for General Hawley. The clock was bought by Mr. Gordon of Dunlop, which was the reason of his knowing it again."*

Lord John Russell, in his *History of Modern Europe*, has expressed some doubt as to those barbarities which popular report in Scotland alleges to have been perpetrated by the Duke of Cumberland after his victory at Culloden. It appears, however, from the very authentic evidence collected by Bishop Forbes, that these outrages have been in no respect exaggerated. On the contrary, the violence and cruelty inflicted upon the poor Highlanders and Episcopalians are found to have actually exceeded the most appalling descriptions which had reached the ears of those who heard the least favourable version of the story. The murders in cold blood which were perpetrated on the field, the day after the battle, were indeed sufficiently revolting; but they were not to be compared in point of real atrocity with the miserable condition of the prisoners, who were thrust into dungeons without food, clothes, or any one to dress their wounds, or who were crowded on board ships like cattle, where hundreds of them perished under a combination of sufferings scarcely surpassed in the black-hole of Calcutta.

To insure accuracy, Bishop Forbes took a narrative from the mouth of every person whom he could meet with, who had participated to any extent in the events which he has recorded. This precaution necessarily gives rise to a certain degree of repetition, inasmuch as the same facts enter into the testimony of all the witnesses: but this disadvantage is amply compensated by the certainty which has been thereby obtained, in regard to all the main occurrences related in these *Memoirs*. The slight discrepancy in dates and subordinate circumstances which may be occasionally detected in the evidence of his highland friends, did not, in the estimation of the Bishop, diminish the reliance which he himself was inclined to repose on their good faith. Nor will the most sceptical reader of these extracts from the "*Lion in*

* Note by Bishop Forbes. Leith, January 9, 1760. "This day I despatched all the fore-mentioned papers to Mr. Robert Lyon, for Mr. Bowdler, by a private hand sailing for London."

Mourning" discover any good reason for calling in question the historical grounds on which they rest, or for charging the right reverend compiler with a too easy credulity.

Mr. Chambers is not without fear that "in fixing the historical "evidence of so dark a tale," some blame may be attached to him for reviving, or for running the risk of reviving, animosities which it were as well to leave asleep. But, in his own defence he remarks, that, besides the abstract value of truth, "there may be some use in showing how liable even an improved system of government, like that of the Brunswick family, is to fall into the worst errors of that which preceded it, and how liable the people are to be disappointed in their most sanguine expectations of political perfection." The cruelties which followed Culloden, and the domineering and unconstitutional violence with which the country in general was then treated, may stand, moreover, as a good offset to the tyrannical barbarity of the latter Stuarts; for, though the former were less infamous in degree and duration, they had also less excuse from the age in which they took place. And, he concludes, "it is but just, when the faults of one party were so much insisted upon, that the sins of the other should not be altogether overlooked."*

The most interesting portion of this work is that which respects the "Prince's Wanderings and Escape." In this, as in all the former chapters, there is a considerable variety of diaries and declarations, all agreeing in substance, though differing in some of the minuter details. The first in order is the journal of Captain O'Neil, who accompanied Charles Edward from Culloden, till the period when the latter committed himself to the care of Flora Macdonald; when his "hard fate and the prince's safety" obliged him to share no longer the misfortunes of that illustrious "hero, whose grandeur of soul and intrepidity, with a calmness "of spirit peculiar to himself in such dangers, increased in those "moments when the general part of mankind abandon themselves "to their fate." The second is the journal of Ned Burke, who after attending the Adventurer as a guide, and resisting the temptation of £30,000, drudged out the remainder of his days as a chairman in Edinburgh. The third in order is the Narrative of Donald Macleod, taken by Bishop Forbes from the mouth of the old Highlander himself, when, in August, 1747, he visited Leith on his return from captivity in London. Then follow the narratives of Miss Flora Macdonald and of Captain Donald Macdonald; the former of which was written from her own dictation

* Note prefixed to the Section entitled "Barbarities after Culloden."

at Edinburgh, by Dr. Burton, and the latter was received at Leith in a similar manner by Bishop Forbes.

The anecdotes preserved by the more humble attendants of the unfortunate prince are extremely interesting, and expressed too in the most simple language. Ned Burke, a native of the isle of Sky, had a share in the fight of Culloden, as well as in the honour of conducting his commander off the ground, and indicating to him a place of safety. When Charles was at Killdun house, intelligence was conveyed to Stornaway, "upon which a drum beat, and upwards of a hundred men convened to apprehend us. However, the Mackenzies proved very favourable and easy; for they could have taken us, if they had pleased. We were then only four in number besides the prince, and we had only four hired men for rowing the barge. Upon the alarm Ned Burke advised that they should take to the mountains, but the prince said, 'How long is it, Ned, since you turned cowardly? I shall be sure of the best of them ere taken, which, I hope, shall never be in life.'" Some time after, they went to South Uist, and took refuge in the mountains of Coradale, where they stayed three weeks. One day the prince seeing a deer ran straight to him, fired off hand, and killed him. Edward Burke brought home the deer and made ready some collops; then comes a poor boy, who, without asking questions, put his hand among the meat, which the cook (Edward Burke) perceiving, gave him a whop with the back of his hand. Charles, observing this, said "O man, you do not remember the Scripture, which commands us to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. You ought rather to give him meat than a stripe." The prince then ordered some clothes for the boy, and said he would pay for them; which was done accordingly. The prince added more, saying, "I could not see a Christian perish for want of food and raiment, had I the power to support them!" — "Now," says Ned Burke, "gentlemen and ladies, who read this, believe it to be a true and genuine short account of hardships that happened, and what the author saw; but for brevity's sake I have not made mention of many wants the prince suffered, the many ill-dressed diets he got, the many bad beds he lay in, with all which he cheerfully and patiently put up."

Donald Macleod, though not originally attached to the rebel army, proved in the end not less devoted to his cause than was honest Burke. Being well acquainted with the coast and accustomed to navigate the small craft in which the Hebrideans convey themselves from one island to another, Donald was selected as a useful attendant on the steps of the fugitive prince. He

was desired to go to Boradale a few days after the defeat at Cul-loden, and when he arrived there the first man he saw was Charles Edward in a wood, all alone. The latter, making towards the Celt, asked him if he were Donald Macleod of Guatergill in Sky? "Yes," said Donald, "I am the same man, may it please your majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure with me?" "Then," said the prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress; I therefore throw myself into your bosom, and let you do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man and fit to be trusted."

When Donald gave this part of his narrative to Bishop Forbes, he wept sore; the tears came running down his cheeks, and he said: "Wha de'il could help greeting when speaking on such a sad subject?" He was not aware of the more elegant terms in which the Roman poet expressed a similar sentiment:

" Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssei
Temperet a lacrymis!"

In reply to Charles the intelligent boatman spoke as follows; affording another proof that the wisdom and courage of that era shone forth with the greatest lustre in the persons of the lowly: "Alas, may it please your Excellency, what can I do for you? for I am but a poor auld man and can do very little for myself!"—"Why," said the prince, "the service I am to put you upon, I know, you can perform very well. It is, that you go with letters from me to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod. I desire, therefore, to know if you will undertake this piece of service; for I am really convinced that these gentlemen, for all that they have done, will do all in their power to protect me." Upon hearing this, Donald was struck with surprise, and plainly told the prince that he would do anything but that. It was a task he would not undertake, if he should hang him for refusing. "What!" said Donald, "does not your Excellency know that these men have played the rogue to you all together! And will you trust them for all that. Na you maunna do't." Then Donald informed the prince that Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod were actually in search of him at the head of their militia, and not more than ten miles distant.

It was then resolved to put to sea; for which purpose Donald took care to buy a pot for boiling porridge, or the like, when they should happen to land; and a poor firlof of meal was all the provision he could make out to carry along with them." There were in the boat, besides Charles himself, the Captains O'Sulli-

van, O'Neil, and Macdonald, a clergyman of the Church of Rome, and Donald Macleod, who acted as master and pilot. The rowers were eight in number, among whom was Murdoch Macleod, the son of Donald, who, though only fifteen years of age, chose to bear a part in the troubles and dangers of the period. He was placed at the grammar school of Inverness; but no sooner had he learned that a battle was about to be fought, than, providing himself with a claymore, dirk, and pistol, he left his books and took his chance in the field of Culloden. After the defeat he found means to trace the footsteps of the prince, and followed him from glen to mountain; "and this was the way," said Donald, "that I met with my poor boy."

They had not rowed far from the shore when a violent tempest arose, accompanied with much thunder and lightning. When the prince saw the gale increasing still more and more, he wanted much to be at land again; saying, "I had far rather face cannons and muskets than be in such a storm as this." But Donald would not hear of that proposal at all, assuring the prince that it was impossible for them to return to the land again; for, as the wind was against them, the boat would be dashed upon rocks and go to pieces. He then asked Donald what he had a mind to do? The other replied, "since we are here we have nothing for it but, under God, to set out to sea directly. Is it not as good for us to be drowned in clean water, as to be dashed in pieces and drowned too?"

"After this all was hush and silence; not one word more amongst them, expecting every moment to be overwhelmed with the violence of the waves, and to sink down to the bottom. To make the case still worse they had neither pump nor compass, nor lantern, along with them; and the night turned so pitch-dark that they knew not where they were for the most of the course. This made them afraid of being tossed upon some coast, where the militia were in arms to prevent the prince's escape. But," to use Donald's words, "as God would have it, by peep of day we discovered ourselves to be on the coast of the Long Island; and we made directly to the nearest land, which was Rushness, in the island Benbecula, where, with great difficulty, we got on shore and saved the boat. They had run nearly a hundred miles in eight hours. I asked Donald" (says Bishop Forbes) "if the prince was in health all the time he was with him. He replied that the prince would never own he was in bad health; though he and all that were with him had reason to think that during the whole time the prince was more or less under a bloody flux, but that he bore up most surprisingly, and never wanted spirits. Donald added, that the prince, for all the fatigue he underwent, never slept above three or four hours, at the most, at a time; and that, when he awoke in the morning, he was always sure to

call for a chopin (quart) of water, which he drank off at a draught; and that he had a little bottle in his pocket out of which he used to take so many drops every morning and throughout the day, saying, if any thing should ail him, he hoped he should cure himself, for that he was something of a doctor. And, faith," said Donald, "he was, indeed, a bit of a doctor; for Ned Burke happening once to be unco ill of a colick, the prince said, 'Let him alone, I hope to cure him of that;' and accordingly he did so, for he gave him so many drops out of the little bottle, and Ned was soon as well as ever he had been."

Charles and his companions were often reduced to great straits. He, O'Sullivan, and O'Neil, had but six shirts amongst them; and frequently "when they stripped to dry those that that were upon them, they found those they were to put on as wet as the ones they had just thrown off. Upon a desert island in which they took refuge, they discovered a quantity of good dried fish, of which they resolved to make the best fare they could. As they had plenty of brandy and sugar along with them, and found very good springs upon the island, they wanted much to have a little warm punch to cheer their hearts. They luckily stumbled upon an earthen pitcher which some fishermen had left, and this served their purpose very well for heating the water; but the second night, by some accident or other, the pitcher was broken to pieces, so that they were obliged to drink their punch cold."

Donald was asked if the prince ever gave any particular toast when they were taking a cup of grog, or any similar beverage. He replied that, on such occasions, his royal highness very often drank to the Black Eye; by which, said the pilot, he meant the second daughter of France, and I never heard him give any particular health but that alone. When he spoke of that lady, which he did frequently, he appeared to be more than ordinarily well pleased. When Donald was in like manner interrogated, whether he ever heard the prince mention that he had any trust to put in the King of France for assistance, he answered, that when Charles Edward spoke of the King of France he always expressed great affection, and declared that he firmly believed his majesty had his cause much at heart, and would, he hoped, do all in his power to promote it. When the prince at any time talked on this subject, he was wont, says Donald, to add these words: "But, gentlemen, I can assure you, a king and his council are two very different things."

On the tenth of May, the fugitives left the cold remote islet on which they had passed four nights, with the intention of landing on Scalpay; but the sight of numerous cruisers, which were sent out to capture the son of the chevalier, compelled them oftener than once to shift their course. Next day they fell short

of bread, but having some meal on board, the men, who were now very hungry, proceeded to make drammach or crowdy with salt water and to lick it up. No dish, perhaps, could be less inviting than oatmeal drenched with sea water; but the prince, observing to them that it was a kind of food he had never seen before, desired to taste it. His appetite, a good deal sharpened by fresh air and abstinence, was easily reconciled to the homely fare; he ate of it very heartily, and Donald remarks, "that never any meat or drink came wrong to him; he could take a share of every thing, be it good, bad, or indifferent; and was always cheerful and contented in every condition."

One day, coursing up and down Loch Boisdale, the communicative pilot asked the prince, if he were once come to his own, what he would do to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod for their unkind behaviour. "Oh, Donald," said the young aspirant to the British throne, "what would ye have me do to them? Are they not our own people still? They are not quite to blame for what they have done. It is altogether to the power which President Forbes had over their judgment in these matters. Besides, if the king were restored, we should be as sure of them for friends as of any other men whatsoever."

About the middle of June, Charles Edward was so closely beset that it became necessary to have recourse to stratagem in order to accomplish his escape. Two ships of war lay at the mouth of the Loch, and five hundred soldiers were already within a mile and a half of the spot where he was concealed. He therefore resolved to dismiss all his attendants except Captain O'Neil, who, as we shall see anon, had the presence of mind to introduce him to Flora Macdonald. Meantime we will pursue a little farther the history of Donald Macleod, who was taken prisoner about ten days after he had separated from the prince. Being brought before General Campbell, who commanded in those quarters, he was asked if he had been along with the young Pretender? "Yes," said Donald, "I was along with that young gentleman, and I winna deny it." "Do you know" said the General, "what money was upon that man's head?—no less a sum than *thirty thousand pounds sterling*, which would have made you and all your children after you happy for ever!" Donald's reply was given in these words, "What then! *thirty thousand pounds*—though I had gotten it, I could not have enjoyed it eight-and-forty hours; conscience would have gotten up upon me; that money could not have kept it down; and though I had gotten all England and Scotland for my pains, I would not have allowed a hair of his head to be touched if I could help it." This noble

sentiment roused for a moment a corresponding feeling in the breast of the General.—“I will not say that you are in the wrong,” was his first observation; but he added, “you are now in the king’s mercy, and if you will not declare every thing you know of this matter, here is a machine that will force you to declare.” Donald, who had no secret to keep, gave a narrative of past events and escaped the torture. But he was detained a prisoner on board a sloop of war, where he and his fellow captives were very roughly used. They had their quarters assigned in a dark part of the ship, where they were not allowed the light of a candle of any kind, from the first day of August, 1746, to the 9th April, 1747. When they were brought opposite to Tilbury Fort upon the Thames they were transferred to another vessel, where they lay for months together in the most deplorable state of misery, “their clothes wearing so off them that many at last had not a single rag to cover their nakedness.” Here they were treated with the utmost barbarity and cruelty, with a view, as they suppose, to pine away their lives, and by piece meal to destroy every man of them; and, indeed, the design had too great success, for many of them died. Donald Macleod said he had reason to think that not less than four hundred men died on board three ships opposite Tilbury Fort, among whom were the sixty or seventy Grants of Glenmoriston, who, by the persuasion of the Laird of Grant, had surrendered themselves and delivered up their arms at Inverness. He said that finer and stouter men never drew a sword, and only one or two survived the miseries of this confinement and returned to their own country.

Bishop Forbes relates that when Donald and a friend were talking of the barbarous usage they themselves and others had met with, they used to say “God forgive them! But God let them never die till we have them in the same condition they had us, and we are sure we would not treat them as they treated us; we would shew them the difference between a good and a bad cause.”

When it became necessary to have the prince removed to a greater distance from his enemies, Miss Flora Mac Donald was induced to conduct him, under the disguise of a maid servant and the name of Betty Burke, to the house of her mother, now united a second time in marriage to Macdonald of Armadale, in the isle of Sky. They embarked from South Uist in a small boat, attended by one servant, Neil Mackechan, father of the celebrated Marshal Macdonald Duke of Tarentum. They had not rowed from shore above a league when the sea became rough and at length tempestuous; upon which the royal handmaiden, who was recommended to the lady of Armyudale as an excellent spinner, enter-

tained Flora and the boatman with several songs. Charles, little accustomed to the long petticoat, though he had often worn the philibeg, appeared a very awkward female. One of the damsels in Sky, struck with his unseemly gait, declared she "had never seen such an impudent looking woman in her life, and was sure she was either an Irishwoman or a man in woman's dress." Flora gave him several hints as to the management of his garments, particularly in crossing the mountain rivulets, when the prince either shewed his limbs too freely, or allowed his gown to drag in the water. When Charles took leave of this heroic lady he saluted her, and said, "for all that has happened yet, I hope we shall one day meet in St. James's."

Upon reaching the mainland, the adventurer was received by Macdonald of Boradale, who had lost a son at Culloden. When he entered the house seeking protection and saw the mother of the young man who had recently lost his life under his banners, he went up to her, and with tears in his eyes asked if she could still endure the sight of one who had been the cause of so much distress to her and her family. "Yes," answered this Roman mother, "although all my sons had fallen in your Royal Highness's service!" After lurking in the Highlands till the middle of September, Charles was received on board a French ship, and took his final leave of a country in which during fourteen months he had suffered much anxiety and many privations. His numerous escapes were almost miraculous: and in his cause, too, the mean-minded became exalted; the faithless acted upon principles of honor; the robber proved kind and considerate; boys acted like heroes; and women suffered like martyrs. But in return, many of the great let themselves down till they were within reach of the most unworthy motives which spring from selfishness, envy, resentment, and deceit; and, doomed to fall, they neglected, in too many cases, to fall with dignity.

No one can read these Memoirs without being struck with the resemblance between the adventures of Charles II., after the battle of Worcester, and those of his grand-nephew in the Scottish Highlands. The Miss Lane, who figured in the former case, was the counterpart of Flora Macdonald in the latter; and it is well known, that the merry monarch found it necessary to assume the garb of a servant, and appear as the groom of the lady to whose zeal and presence of mind he owed his escape. Nor was the fidelity of the English boor less conspicuous than that of the Hebridian boatman. The person of the king had become known to no fewer than forty individuals, not one of whom could be tempted to betray him. Even the waiter at an inn who recognized

his countenance, kept the secret, notwithstanding the high reward which was offered for his apprehension.

In these days, too, of ascending democracy, it is gratifying to observe the reverence which was displayed by the old Jacobites for the claims of sovereignty, the legal transmission of the crown, and even for the personal reliques of the Royal House, which they delighted to honour. As a philosophical speculation, the doctrine of divine right may be untenable; it may also be denounced as a pernicious absurdity, inconsistent with all the privileges of social life; but, nevertheless, as a barrier against the inroads of popular fury and ambition, it may be regarded as, at least, a harmless prejudice. The veneration, indeed, which some of the non-jurors bestowed upon apron strings and little pieces of printed linen may excite a smile of contempt; though it might be confessed that such political superstition is at once more amiable and less dangerous than the rage for change and neglect of authority, which mark the times wherein our destiny is thrown. The pride of living under a monarch who could boast of being the descendant of a hundred kings, is more noble than a churlish enmity against all ancient institutions, a clamour for cheap government, and a preference of republican equality.

ART. IX.—*A Voyage round the World, including Travels in Africa, Asia, Australasia, America, &c. &c., from 1827 to 1832.*
By James Holman, R. N. F. R. S. &c. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1834.

NEVER did we open any Work more cumulated with paradox than that now lying before us. Mr. Holman has the misfortune of being stone-blind, and *therefore* he is beset with an insatiate passion for Travelling: as he projected a voyage of pleasure, he chose the Slave-coast for his destination: and in order to promote the recovery of his health, he fixed upon an abode under the proverbial death-climate of Sierra Leone.

There are many obvious circumstances which “fright” all criticism “from its propriety” in the estimate which it may attempt to form of these pages; and we shall for the most part content ourselves with an endeavour to abridge their narrative, which is very far from being devoid of interest. Its few sins are chiefly of a kind, which may be remedied by a little amputation;

and if we omit some incidents, and soften others which are coloured rather too strongly, we may perhaps succeed, as we wish to do, in leaving a favourable impression of the writer.

On July 1, 1827, Mr. Holman embarked at Woolwich on board the good ship *Eden*, Captain W. F. W. Owen, Commander, who had been appointed Superintendent of a new settlement about to be established on the Island of Fernando Po; which a reference to any map of Africa will shew to be situated in the Western bend of the Bight of Biafra. We may pass rapidly by Northfleet, the Downs, and even the Levee of his present Majesty, (at that time Lord High Admiral) at Plymouth. We shall land neither at Madeira nor at Teneriffe; nor shall we dwell upon the respective excellences of Tinto, Sercial, or Malmsey; nor describe the properties of the Orchilla weed at St. Iago; albeit that plant "belongs to the Class Cryptogamia and Order Algæ of the Linnean system, and to the Class Algæ and Order Lichenes of the Natural system." This information, and much more *similis farina*, may be learned without the trouble of crossing the Tropic of Cancer, and therefore we shall anchor at once "in 14½ fathom water off the town of Sierra Leone, shortly before midnight, on Sunday the 2d of September." How much Chronological obscurity would have been escaped, if all writers had accustomed themselves to the laudable habits of log-book precision!

The first settler who came on board, on the morning after the arrival of the *Eden*, was the agent-victualler of the Colony; his main object was to obtain a secret supply of medicines; for although, as in professional duty bound, he assured all his customers that brandy and water and cigars were infallible remedies for the fever, (how much is expressed here by the definite article!) he felt some not unreasonable misgiving of his favourite pharmacopœia, which was justified by his demise within a week. Deaths and Tornados, indeed, appear to have been the daily and almost the sole object of contemplation during Mr. Holman's stay at Sierra Leone.

The Sherbro Boollams, whose territories adjoin the North of this Colony, have long evinced themselves very faithful allies of the British; and thirty years ago their Chief prevented a dangerous invasion, by refusing free passage to the hostile Tribes who meditated attack. As an acknowledgment of this important service, he was invited to Freetown, and solemnly crowned there by the title of King George. Upon his death, in 1826, an interregnum of many months ensued; but the maintenance of the British interest being deemed especially necessary in this Court, it was determined that a Commissioner should be despatched, in order,

in the first instance, to secure the election of one Macaulay Wilson, a man of considerable abilities, who had been educated in England, and was the nearest relative of the late King; and afterwards to negotiate a Convention, by which the sovereignty of Boollam was to be ceded to Great Britain under certain stipulations. Without that arrangement, the suppression of the Slave-trade appeared impossible; for Dealers might in a few hours transfer themselves and their cargoes from Sierra Leone, without the reach of British Law.

Lieutenant Maclean, the officer selected for this service, appears to have executed his diplomacy with considerable adroitness. The chief opposition which he was expected to encounter, was likely to arise from the Mandingo headmen, all of whom are covertly or openly engaged in the Slave-trade; but the principal of these Settlers, Dalmahoumedii, a man of large property, was either gained over, or dissembled his enmity. He entertained the Commissioner with a dinner dressed in the European manner; drank wine freely, although he was a Mohammedan; and permitted such of his eighty-five wives as were present (forty-five of them having been wedded in one day) to partake of the same beverage.

During the Election and Coronation of a King, a period which for the most part exceeds a fortnight, all crimes, excepting murder or an attempt at murder, may be committed with impunity. It does not surprise us, therefore, that the population of Yougroo (the Rheims of Boollam), which in ordinary seasons does not exceed 500, or 600, souls, was swelled to as many thousands by the influx of all the idle and worthless of the neighbouring nations, who were willing to profit by this "sleep of the law." Many persons, especially Minstrels or Bards, had walked upwards of 400 miles from the interior.

The Kings of Boollam, hitherto, when about to expire, had been hastened out of the World by their loving subjects, who sacrificed two human victims over their graves. Through fear of "a palaver" with Sierra Leone, this custom had been first violated in the person of King George, who was allowed to die a natural death, after he had attained, as was said, more than one hundred years. John Macaulay Wilson was elected his successor without opposition; the Boollam Country was declared to be in the palm of his hand, and the scales of justice to hang upon his finger. The speeches which announced his inauguration were long, pointed, sonorous, complimentary and congratulatory. Certain mysterious ceremonies were celebrated in the depths of the Bush, from which the uninitiated were excluded, and which, therefore, of course, Lieutenant Maclean cannot describe; and afterwards, while the natives paid homage, the Minstrels performed a concert

"upon their several instruments, some of which were very ingenious and musical. Those in particular, who had come a long distance from the interior, executed with spirit and taste some very beautiful airs; much finer, indeed, than any native music I had yet heard. They accompanied their instruments with extempore recitatives in praise of those Chiefs whom they knew. I was, of course, included, as they expected that I would be inclined to reward them handsomely. Each Minstrel of any repute had a person attached to him by way of Fool or Jester, several of whom acted their parts very well, and strongly reminded me of Shakespeare's Clowns."—vol. i. p. 81.

In spite of this progress in at least one Art, Lieutenant Maclean represents the Boollams to be a nation of thieves, idlers and drunkards, among whom, notwithstanding the great expense which had been lavished for the attainment of the object, not a single convert to Christianity remained at the time of his visit. The soil is eminently rich and fertile, and the climate healthy. After six days' residence and a triumph over numberless evasions and objections, the Envoy obtained a ratification of the Treaty which he was instructed to negotiate, and took possession of the Kingdom of Boollam in the name of his Britannic Majesty. We wish that he had introduced us more fully in detail to the secrets of the Black Congress and its Protocols.

Mr. Holman was present at the first crim. con. trial, which proclaimed the growth of civilization in Sierra Leone, and he reports at length the speech of the Plaintiff's Counsel. The Defendant, alas! was a Preacher in one of the Independent Chapels, and a married man in advanced life. The frail fair was a free Negress; the facts were proved mainly by the evidence of another victim of the hoary sinner's licentiousness, and the damages awarded were fifty pounds; too small a sum as a punishment for the crime, but an ample price for the favours of a middle-aged Negress with a large adult illegitimate family.

Sierra Leone was first colonized in 1787, by about 400 Blacks and sixty Whites, the latter chiefly women of an abandoned character. The present population consists of about 15,000 souls, distributed through twelve Parishes. Of these, not more than 110 are Europeans, two thirds of whom are under thirty years of age, the rest are liberated Africans. The Capital stands at the entrance of the river; it is laid out with regularity, and the streets are spacious, extending two miles in length along the water side, and one in breadth from the beach to the hills.

"The houses of the Governor, several of the respectable merchants, and some of the natives, are built of stone. There is a church also, on a very magnificent scale; indeed, so ambitious was the design of this

building, that the Colonial Government do not appear to have been able to afford the expense of furnishing the interior, and have accordingly run up an ugly brick wall in the centre, for the purpose of appropriating one half of it to religious duties, and the other to public offices. The church, as it was built, was evidently too capacious for the congregation that was likely to attend the service of the Established Religion, particularly as a great portion of the population consists of Dissenters, who have men of their own colour and way of thinking for preachers. I have heard some of their black Divines, but cannot say that I was much edified by their discourses."—vol. i. p. 116.

Mr. Holman proceeded on his voyage on Oct. 5th, and while coasting by Cape Mesurada he is naturally tempted into an episodic account of the American settlement of Liberia, which lies under its Eastern side. His materials, as he honestly tells us, are chiefly derived from Pamphlets which he procured in Sierra Leone; and he employs them with the most perfect simplicity, not in any way deducing from their use, the obvious inference of the possibility of obtaining information from Fire-side travelling. After one or two experiments on less favourable spots, the district now called Liberia was first settled by the Agents of the American Colonization Society, in December, 1821. The territory is formed by a peninsula twelve leagues in extent, in no part more than one league in width, and occasionally contracted to half that breadth. Monrovia, the chief town, stands on the S. W. bank of a river, about two miles within the extremity of the Cape. Having cleared the brushwood, and established themselves in the skeletons of twenty-two dwelling houses, the Colonists almost immediately became involved in a long and disastrous war with the Natives. We have not room to detail the hostilities with King George, the alliance with old King Peter, or the useful armed mediation of King Boatswain, who swore, that unless the Deys allowed the Americans to repose in peace, he "would quiet them effectually," as he had done once before, "by taking their heads from their shoulders." The military force of the infant Colony consisted of thirty men capable of bearing arms; their arsenal provided forty muskets, but no flints and little ammunition; and six pieces of artillery, only one of which, being mounted, was serviceable. By incredible exertions, however, and with the aid of some seasonable supplies, adequate means of defence were, ere long, provided. A Martello tower was built; the ordnance was planted at advantageous points, covered by stockades rendered musket-proof, and mutually connected by a pallisade; so that when King George advanced, in defiance of the menaces of King Boatswain, he met with a severe repulse, in which he was supposed to have lost several hundred men.

Notwithstanding their triumph, and the receipt of a friendly message from Prince Tam Bassa, a Chief of some distinction, the hopes of the settlers were not at this moment very highly elevated. Seven children were captives in the hands of the natives, and it was discovered that, exclusively of rice, there remained only fifteen days' provisions in the Store, and that an hour's engagement would bring their ammunition to an end. The fortunate arrival and the generous spirit of an English Trader ("Captain Brassey, of Liverpool, who, unsolicited and without prospect of remuneration, nearly exhausted his own stores,") relieved their pressing necessity, and enabled the Colonists, after his departure, to achieve a second and a still greater victory than that which they had already gained over the Deys. But a new distress awaited them; three of their little garrison were wounded, and neither surgeon nor surgical instruments were to be procured for their assistance; a dull penknife was the only lancet, and a piece of priming wire was the only probe which could be used, and the sufferings in consequence "were indescribably afflicting."

A second English vessel, however, which lay in the offing, had been attracted by the cannonade, and not only afforded immediate assistance, but so far succeeded in negotiating with the Deys as to procure their agreement to an unlimited Truce. The chief drawback upon the prospect of improvement then arose from the hopeless debility to which the Agent by whom the settlers were commanded was reduced. He was already dying, when his health was restored by the prescription of a French Quack, accidentally touching on the coast, who took the wise precaution of re-embarking immediately after he had administered the dose. The Agent struggled for two days under the influence of a *spoonful of calomel*, and, when he had dismissed it from the system, speedily regained his former health!

After the Colony had surmounted these first difficulties, its progress was rapid. In 1827 it extended nearly 150 miles along the coast, and a considerable distance into the interior, having already established eight trading stations. It could bring into the field 500 able-bodied troops; and the entire population, excepting the Governor, consisted of liberated Africans, or their children freeborn in the Settlement.

During the few intervals which occurred between meals, in a short stay at Cape Coast, Mr. Holman acquired some intelligence concerning the sanguinary War with the Ashantees, of which Mr. Bowdich has been the Historian, from individuals who had been personally engaged in it. It is not unnecessary to state the precise opportunities which were afforded for these communications, for we learn that the employment of each succeeding day

resembled that of the one which had gone before; that Mr. Holman breakfasted with Captain Hutchinson about seven o'clock, repeated his breakfast with the Governor at nine, sat down to a *relish* at one, and finished the evening by a meat-tea at six. In the fatal Battle of Essamacow, in which Sir Charles M'Carthy was killed, some great negligence must have occurred in the armourer's department. One of the only two surviving officers used to mention that the last three kegs which he opened in order to supply his troops with ammunition, which was failing, were found to contain macaroni; yet, among the valuable booty which became the prize of the savage conquerors, were not less than ten kegs of ball-cartridges. How formidable was the enemy with whom we had to contend may be estimated from the subsequent account of the Victory of Dodowah, which avenged the defeat at Essamacow, and in which our loss is said to have been *comparatively trifling*, not amounting to more than 800 killed and 1600 wounded. One of the spoils taken on this occasion was a head carefully enveloped in two wrappers of parchment, (the innermost of which was inscribed with Arabic characters,) and a final covering of tiger-skin, the Ashantee emblem of Royalty. A somewhat hasty conclusion was drawn that this relic was no other than the head of Sir Charles M'Carthy, to whom it was understood the honours of a Royal Funeral had been paid; and under that belief it was immediately shipped and despatched to England. After its departure, some prisoners disclosed that the head belonged, not to the English Governor, but to the Ashantee King, Osay Tootoo Quamina, and that it had been carried into the Battle (as the boiled bones of our own Edward used to precede the host destined against Scotland), in conformity with a prevailing usage.

We may terminate this portion of our subject with the following account of Ashantee warfare.

"In the first place, we must suppose them to be encamped, with the intention of advancing to attack their enemy. They commence their operations by cutting a number of footpaths for a single person only to make his way through the bush; these paths are cut parallel, equidistant, and just within hearing. By these numerous paths they all advance in Indian file, until they arrive in front of the enemy, when they form in line, as well as circumstances will admit. Their arms and accoutrements consist of a musket without a bayonet, the lock of which is covered with a piece of leopard's, or some other skin, to protect it from the weather; a pouch tied round their waist, containing the powder, in about twenty or thirty small boxes of light wood, each having a single charge; a small bag of loose powder hanging down on the left side; and in addition to this, a keg or barrel of powder is carried for each party to replenish from when required. Their shot is langrage, composed of pieces of iron, lead, iron-stone (broken in small pieces), &c.

&c., and is carried loosely in a bag. The last of these materials is most generally used, as it is procured with facility, being found lying in great quantities on the surface of the earth. They load their muskets with a large charge of both powder and shot. In their buckskin belts they carry from six to twenty knives of various lengths, together with a cutlass or bill-hook, the former for cutting off heads, and the latter for clearing their way through the underwood. On arriving near the enemy, they cut a path transversely in front of those before mentioned, in which path they form their line, within twenty or thirty paces of the enemy, having a little brushwood in front for their protection. They then immediately commence firing through the intermediate bush. So soon as one of either party observes an opponent fall, he rushes forward and seizes him by the throat, when with great dexterity he separates the head from the body by means of one of his knives, and runs off with it to lay it at the feet of his captain. After the action is over, the captain collects all the heads that he has received, puts them into bowls, and causes them to be presented to the chief of the army."—pp. 228, 229.

Fernando Po appeared in sight on October 26. It presents very picturesque scenery in a circumference of about 120 miles. The Portuguese, on its first discovery in the latter part of the fifteenth century, established a Settlement upon it, which they afterwards exchanged with the Spaniards for Trinidad. Having been long neglected, it was recolonized by Spain in 1764, but was again abandoned after a few years occupation, in consequence of repeated disputes with the natives, to whom, until the expedition which Mr. Holman accompanied, it was altogether relinquished. The objects which induced the British Government to form a Settlement upon it in 1827, were the convenience which its site was likely to afford for checking the Slave-trade, in the very centre of which it is placed; its advantages as a depôt, from which communication might be maintained with Central Africa; and a hope that it might eventually supersede the necessity of any longer occupation of those graves of Europeans, Cape Coast Castle and Sierra Leone.

A friendly traffic was soon opened with the inhabitants, to whom the greatest attraction, as usual, was iron. The King of Baracoute, who paid the Eden an early visit, was hugely delighted with its live stock, among which both his Majesty and every member of his suite especially distinguished a cow, handling its tail, plucking out its hairs, and shaking it with signs of the most unfeigned pleasure and astonishment. The King's Brother capered with excess of joy when the ship's Band began to play; and the whole party was dismissed in much good humour, after a fitting distribution of presents. To the share of the King were apportioned six fishing-hooks, and an entire iron hoop straightened for the nonce. His brother received half as much; and each minor

Chief, after some little squabbling, was contented with about a foot's length of the same material.

When the intercourse had been once established, it proceeded according to the received habits of incipient Commerce. There was much thieving on one side; some flogging on the other. Contrary, however, to the custom of other wild Islanders, the Chiefs appear neither to have stolen in their own persons, nor to have protected robbery in their inferiors. Whenever a hue and cry was raised, the missing article was restored after sufficient time had been allowed for its discovery; and one delinquent, who jumped overboard with an axe, narrowly escaped with life, after a most severe beating. He was tied hand and foot to a tree, and the knife of one of the Chiefs was at his throat, when Captain Owen succeeded in making his executioner understand that he by no means wished for the infliction of so extreme a punishment. It was observed afterwards that many of the natives had lost one of their hands, some of them both—a mutilation which was suspected to result from the severity of their Penal Code.

The Fernando-Poians are represented to be a very harmless and inoffensive race, and (the Esquimaux excepted) “probably the most dirty people existing under the Sun;” for, with the exception of very occasional sea-bathing, they were never known to wash themselves. A new coating of clay and palm-oil seemed to answer the double purpose of dressing and cleansing. One Chief, (Chameleon, as he was named by the sailors,) a pre-eminent Dandy, frequently changed the colour of his skin, and “was in the habit of scenting himself.” The Women (who, as might be expected, are introduced by an apostrophe to “inartificial, unsophisticated, simple, barbarous and unadorned” Nature) are declared to be “fraught with peculiar interest.” Nevertheless, in their personal appearance they are by no means attractive; their faces resemble those of baboons, and their bodies are yet more scarified, tattooed, be-plastered and be-oiled than those of the men.

The general appearance of the Island is rocky and volcanic. One mountain (Clarence Peak) at the North-eastern extremity rises behind the spot chosen for the Settlement to the height of 10,655 feet above the level of the sea. The Southern part is the most mountainous. The soil, so far as it was investigated, was principally red clay, nine or ten feet in thickness, incumbent upon sandstone, in which fragments of lava are embedded. Luxuriant woods clothe the whole face of the country, even to within 300 or 400 feet of the highest summits. The timber is of great variety; the Indian-rubber tree (*Siphonia elastica*) is indigenous. Yams, plantains, a species of black pepper, the eddoe (a vegetable known in the West Indies as a substitute for spinach), and other

edible plants, are among its produce; and it is believed that nutmegs and cloves are to be met with. Monkeys are abundant, and are a favourite table delicacy. The only domestic animal is a very small red and white cur dog, which the natives eat. The seas afford great varieties of fish, better adapted to European appetites; and two species of turtle, the green and the hawksbill, frequent the shores.

On Christmas day a procession was formed from the entire Ship's Company, attended by Drums, Fifes and Bugles, which paraded the boundaries of *Clarence*, cheered two Proclamations issued by the Superintendent, hoisted a flag, and fired a feu-de-joie, to celebrate the formal occupation of the Settlement in the name and on behalf of George IV. Divine Service was then performed both on shipboard and on shore; and, *more Anglico*, the day concluded by a dinner given to the Officers of the Establishment by their Commander in the first house which had been erected on the Colony.

Towards the end of the following month, Mr. Holman embarked on board a schooner employed on a cruise for the prevention of the Slave-trade in the mouth of the river which enters the Bight of Biafra between the Camaroon and Cape Formosa. At Old Calabar, which was the first place of importance in his voyage, he was indulged with an introduction to *Duke Ephraim's* Harem.

"There were about sixty queens, besides little princes and princesses, with a number of slave-girls to wait upon them. His favourite queen, the handsomest of the royal party, was so large that she could scarcely walk, or even move; indeed they were all prodigiously large, their beauty consisting more in the mass of physique, than in the delicacy or symmetry of features or figure. This uniform tendency to *en bon point* on an unusual scale, was accounted for by the singular fact, that the female upon whom his majesty fixes his regards, is regularly fattened up to a certain standard, previously to the nuptial ceremony, it appearing to be essential to the queenly dignity that the lady should be enormously fat. We saw a very fine young woman undergoing this ordeal. She was sitting at a table, with a large bowl of farinaceous food, which she was swallowing as fast as she could pass the spoon to and from the bowl and her mouth."—p. 363.

The Duke himself was a veteran slave-dealer; he possessed, and freely distributed some excellent Champagne, and exhibited with considerable pride a well-furnished wardrobe of fine clothes, although his ordinary costume was limited to a cotton cloth wrapped round his waist, and a white beaver hat edged with broad gold lace. His Palace, besides the Queen's Square and a mud hovel which is his own favourite residence, contains an excellent

wooden apartment called the *English House*, because it was sent out in frame, with carpenters to erect it, by Mr. Bold of Liverpool, formerly a merchant at Old Calabar. Within this State portion of the Ducal Château are arranged European furniture, mirrors, pictures, a quantity of cut glass, and a large brass arm-chair, weighing 160 pounds, with an inscription recording it to be a present from Sir John Tobin.

At Bonny, Mr. Holman was admitted to the honour of a *morning* audience by King Peppel, his Majesty making it a point to get drunk with Membo (palm-wine) at a stated hour every afternoon. The inhabitants of this district pay divine honours to the Guana, and on one occasion, when an animal of that species had been killed on board an English vessel, they suspended all trade, and sentenced the Captain, in a grand palaver, to the payment of 500 bars before they would consent to its renewal. Once in three years they sacrifice the handsomest girl who can be found in their territories as a peace-offering to the Jhu Jhu, or Evil Spirit, in order to avert the danger which, through his influence, besets vessels in passing the bar of their river. The victim is made to walk to the extremity of a plank, from which she is plunged into the water, and soon devoured by sharks. Happily the distinction is much coveted, for it is believed that the devoted Virgin becomes the bride of Jhu Jhu, and that she obtains the height of bliss according to Old Calabar notions; that is, according to their own description of the Paradise to which they affirm her to be translated, that she gets "large house more big than any in Liverpool, plenty copper-bar, plenty rum, plenty clothes."

Human sacrifices are common also at Funerals. At the obsequies of Duke Ephraim's brother, three men and three women, having been first stupified by intoxication, were hanged and placed in the Prince's grave; and a seventh, a young and favourite wife, reserved for a more horrible destiny, was thrown alive into the pit, which was immediately closed over the whole.

A series of original autograph Calabar Correspondence fell into the possession of Mr. Holman during a second visit which he paid to that river. All the letters were addressed to trading Captains on commercial subjects, and we shall select two from the mass, omitting those of Duke Ephraim, of Antega Ambo, and of Tom Duke.

"Dear my good friend Captain Halmaga Sir I have send you this letter to let you know that I send you 1 Goat and I send my Dear John to send me that Rum you promised me yeseday and I thank you to let me know what Hour you want me to come down to take my Trust.

"I am your Best friend

"King Eyo Honesty at Old Creek Town"

"My friend Captain Commins if you please send me that Rum I been beg you and thank you for lettles Beef too if you got any.

"Toby Tom Narrow."—p. 398.

King Eyo of Creek Town possesses a larger English house (furnished likewise by Mr. Bold) than Duke Ephraim, but he is more restricted in his conjugal establishment, having only twenty wives in all. The Duke occasionally sends for five-and-twenty of these ladies at a time, "just to entertain him." He is a great eater of foo-foo (pounded yams), which he rolls with his hands during meals into balls averaging two inches in diameter; but a wooden image, "the Doctor," which according to established custom is always carried about in his suite, frequently *taboos* various articles of food. At the time of Mr. Holman's visit he was forbidden to eat beef and fowls, but as the prohibition did not extend beyond himself, he did not scruple to order those delicacies to be sacrificed as offerings to the Evil Spirit, according to a precept of the native Creed, which teaches that "God is a good man, and will not hurt them; but the Devil is a bad man, and it is therefore necessary to appease him."

On June 3d, Mr. Holman bade farewell to Fernando Po with the intention of proceeding for Sierra Leone in any vessel which might be destined to the Brazils. Soon after crossing the Line he fell in with a Dutch Galliot bound for Rio de Janeiro, and, in spite of his helpless condition, he at once fearlessly transferred himself to the care of foreigners and total strangers, few of whom possessed even a small share of broken English. Fortunately, however, he found a Countryman in a fellow-passenger.

On his arrival at Rio, Mr. Holman proceeded up the country in company with Captain Lyon, who had the charge of a large establishment at Gongo Soco, belonging to the "Imperial, British, Brazilian Mining Company." Heat, cold, thirst and precipices; ticks, jiggers, and other bloodsuckers of the brushwood, were encountered without a complaint; and we leave Mr. Holman in safety at the end of his first volume enjoying comfortable quarters under the roof of the Government House at Gongo Soco. There is much no doubt which is highly creditable to him in his energy and his cheerfulness; but we greatly doubt whether he has not mistaken his path. Under his peculiar affliction, to know how to resign with grace is far better than to strive for that which can be attained at best only in degree and most imperfectly. Whenever Poker Pictures or single-stringed Concertos shall obtain any value beyond that afforded by their triumph over difficulty, a blind traveller may hope to enjoy a more than comparative repute. Till that time he must be content to re-

member that his unhappy privation presents an insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of more than a subordinate station in the line which he has chosen; for that there are certain pursuits for which Nature loudly and distinctly proclaims the necessity of full organic powers, and warns all who undertake them,

“*Nec SURDUM nec TEIRESIAM quenquam esse DEORUM.*”

- ART. X.—1. *Outline of a System of National Education*. London: Cochrane and M'Crone. 1834. 8vo. pp. 350.
2. *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia; addressed to the Count de Montalivet, Peer of France, Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs*. By M. Victor Cousin, Peer of France, Councillor of State, Professor of Philosophy, Member of the Institute, and of the Royal Council of Public Instruction. Translated by Sarah Austin. London: Wilson, Royal Exchange. Dublin: Wakeman. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes. 1834. 8vo. pp. 333.
3. *The Church Establishment inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity, and the well-being of the Community, a Discourse delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, Moorfields, on Sunday, March 16, 1834. To which is added, a Copy of the Petition to Parliament from the Members of the Congregation*. By W. J. Fox. London: C. Fox. 1834. 8vo. pp. 15.

OUR readers, we hope, will not be frightened, although they may have some cause. We are only going to say a very few words by way of postscript to the enormous article inflicted upon them in our last number; first offering two or three remarks upon the volumes, of which we have given the titles; and then just alluding to the state in which the question of National Education is now placed.

The “*Outline of a System of National Education*” appears to be written by one of those marvellously shallow, and marvellously conceited theorists, who are now becoming a “pretty considerable” pest. We cannot express or feel any boiling indignation at the offensive tendency of the book; because, even while it awakens our spleen, we are compelled to smile at its helpless imbecility. It belongs to that school by which either truisms the most obvious and common-place, or fallacies the most rotten and puerile, are set forth with an elaborate display of technical phrases, and a formal travesty of logical precision. Principles which might supply fuel for unextinguishable laughter are ar-

rayed in "good set terms," the most priggish and pedantic in the world.

The author, however, we are happy to say, has the honesty and the courage to speak his mind. He "*goes the whole hog*," without wincing or equivocating. He is a sweeping, unsparing, comprehensive reformer, who kindly takes under his care the whole rising generation of the kingdom, rich and poor, and, we suppose, male and female.

We shall quote a few of his propositions in their naked beauty; being grieved, at the same time, that we must deprive our readers of the benefit and amusement to be derived from his reasonings.

"I propose then, first, that in each county some common be enclosed, the larger the better; or where that is not possible, some estate be purchased; and that on it a large school or schools be built, in which the children of the county, from the age of five and upwards, may be instructed, and maintained, and clothed, at the public expense."—*Outline, &c.* p. 18.

"The school-house should be built solidly, and without ornament; not to please the eye of visitors, but to ensure the health and comfort of its inmates; *yet of fine proportions*. We should early accustom the child to beauty. The Scuola di San' Rocco, at Venice, possesses some of the best of Tintoretto's pictures. I would, though it is a vain wish, that the walls of the dining halls could be adorned with the finest pictures of the greatest masters, consecrated to great men; and those of the school-room, with others on subjects connected with science and the arts, as the School of Athens by Raphael, &c."—*Ib.* p. 20.

"The children should be received into the school at five years of age; for the first ten years none should be admitted *above* that age."—*Ibid.* p. 21.

"II. That the children be kept at school till the age of (17)?"—*Ib.*

We cannot be surprised at this note of interrogation; because, from the subjoined paragraphs it would appear that the vast majority of the *élèves* of our philosophical educationist must be kept at school, not merely till the age of seventeen, but during the whole period of their mortal lives; and that still, although they may die at a very advanced period, their training will be incomplete.

"We must avoid these errors of half-education. The child must be retained at school, not only till he can read, but read with profit to himself; not only till he can comprehend opinions, but has been taught how to form them, and to judge of their truth and error:—*till the habit and the love of good are so deeply and so firmly rooted in him, that he is firm against all the fallacies of appetite and the covert attacks of selfishness;—till, in a word, his reason begins to claim over the rest of his powers its fair supremacy, and to build up his morals into morality, his acquirements*

into knowledge, and the chance joys of his happy temperament into a calm and soul-deep beatitude."

The following remarks upon the *dress* of the future hopes of England are so important, so useful, so characterized by sound sense, and acute discrimination, and profundity, and truth, that it would be a crying injustice not to give them entire.

"III. That they be clothed decently. The materials of their dress, though not expensive, may be tasteful, and its shape elegant.

"These seem small matters, '*hæ nugæ in seria ducunt.*' Life is made up of trifles, and trifles ever recurring have no little influence on character.

"We clothe our charity boys in a drugget, with which no gentleman would carpet the room of a servant. Can we hope that the child should grow up with any generous or noble thought, whose first feeling is, that he is an object of interest only as he is an object of expense? Whose mean parish livery at each moment presses upon him the withering consciousness that he is degraded below the free ranks of man? Even the dirty urchin, who eats his half-meal in vagabond freedom, prefers his tatters to this livery; even he, wretched as he is, taunts this object of parish bounty, and his most cutting sneer is the truth—'out, charity boy!' Yes, they are charity boys; they wince under no taunt, they smile before the contempt to which they are accustomed: therefore is a change most necessary. Man, if he is the noblest of God's works, may also be the most degraded; but woe to those who so degrade him! They it is who blaspheme the Deity, treading under foot his earthly image, and who violate his sanctuary, desecrating it to all mean and profane uses. Yet these men prate of their humanity! They would better prove their wisdom, did they, following the ancient practice of a not uncivilized people, rather expose these victims of their bounty to the mercy of heaven, than nourish them up without self-respect, and the feeling and the love of virtue.

"'But change his dress, and the parish youth is still a charity boy.'

"True; but we first respect ourselves, because others respect us. As a general rule it may be asserted, that the Pariahs, the despised classes of society, are always of low and debased minds, and this because they are Pariahs.

"Now, is not much of the odium against the charity-boy owing to his dress? Give him a costume lively, agreeable, picturesque, and would not the feeling towards him be changed? Would he not, meeting with love and respect from others, in return love others and respect himself? In all sea-port towns, are not the children of the gentry all eager to enter the navy? The mid's dagger and pretty coat form half the attraction. Of the poor to become cabin boys? And have not the neat shirt-collar, the tight vest, the curled lock, and the loose trowser, some share in their wish?

"It is, besides, desirable that our National School educate not only the sons of the labouring class, but the sons also of tradesmen and gentlemen. The dress, which is of course uniform, must therefore be one which neither excites the derision and contempt of the richer youths, (that would

spread discontent and disunion throughout the school,) nor leads to any odious comparison in favour of the dress of home."—*Outline*, &c. pp. 25—27.

For the rest, that the reader may learn how the pupils are "to be *well* and *suitably* educated;" how they are to be drilled and taught to dance; how "*children are very apt to pilfer, particularly eatables*;" how morals are to be instilled by sundry new and miraculous methods; how "*learning is historical, knowledge scientific*;" and how the members of the next generation may become prodigies of perfection in ability and virtue, we must refer him to the work itself, if he has now any appetite for its perusal.

Of course, no human being will feel surprise that a sage, like the one before us, whose practical wisdom, whose enlarged and enlightened views, whose calm and majestic dignity of mind, our few extracts will make sufficiently manifest, should look down with sarcastic incredulity and ineffable contempt upon things so poor, and pitiful, and obsolete as the doctrines and the ethics of Christianity; that in his awful eyes humility is an abomination; that

"Besides this of humility, there are other precepts which corrupt our civil and political morality. These are, *obedience to the powers that be, and patience under injuries*."—*Outline*, &c. p. 259.

that

"Christian patriots hold neither the character nor the nobility of those of the olden world. And that little Athens, in its short life, has produced for Humanity more and greater names than Christian Europe in its career of centuries."—*Ib.* p. 265.

and that

"Our next generation should be otherwise taught, though many generations must pass away ere a high moral, and a noble spirit animate our people."—*Ib.* p. 266.

To discuss such trash seriously would be to confer upon it an honour most undeserved; garnished though it be with a multitude of long citations from foreign writers, and, more particularly, from the metaphysicians of Germany. Yet even this book is among the signs of the times. And it is serious, that there are men among us, of some energy and talent, who entertain almost similar sentiments, although they do not put them forth in so ridiculous a shape; and who nourish almost similar wishes, although they do not think the time as yet quite ripe for declaring them.

Of Mrs. Austin's translation and abridgment of M. Cousin's report, we would speak in other terms. It is not inferior to the preceding labours of that very clever lady. Its execution is equally happy; but we doubt much whether, from the nature of the

design, the undertaking will become equally popular. Mrs. Austin, we apprehend, will learn from experience, how much easier it is to import thoughts than to transplant habits; how much more feasible to translate words from language to language, than to transfer institutions from country to country.

The preface, although it holds out a sort of challenge, shall not betray us into controversy. When Mrs. Austin has extended and deepened her acquaintance with the actual relations and entanglements of the whole question, she will find that the objections, with which she has grappled, to the introduction of the Prussian system, or any similar system of state-education, into England, are not the *real* objections forcibly and clearly stated;—and that to the great and insurmountable impediments which practically present themselves in the British empire, she has not even alluded.

The style, however, is temperate and peculiarly pleasing; and with the following observations we heartily concur:—

“ It seems to me, too, that we are guilty of great inconsistency as to the ends and objects of education. How industriously have not its most able and zealous champions been continually instilling into the mind of the people, that education is the way to advancement, that ‘ knowledge is power,’ that a man cannot ‘ better himself ’ without some learning! And then we complain, or we fear, that education will set them above their station, disgust them with labour, make them ambitious, envious, dissatisfied! We must reap as we sow: we set before their eyes objects the most tempting to the desires of uncultivated men, we urge them on to the acquirement of knowledge by holding out the hope that knowledge will enable them to grasp these objects:—if their minds are corrupted by the nature of the aim, and imbibed by the failure which *must* be the lot of the mass, who is to blame?

“ If, instead of nurturing expectations which cannot be fulfilled, and turning the mind on a track which must lead to a sense of continual disappointment, and thence of wrong, we were to hold out to our humbler friends the appropriate and attainable, nay, unfailing, ends of a *good* education;—the gentle and kindly sympathies; the sense of self-respect and of the respect of fellow-men; the free exercise of the intellectual faculties; the gratification of a curiosity that ‘ grows by what it feeds on ’ and yet finds food for ever; the power of regulating the habits and the business of life, so as to extract the greatest possible portion of comfort out of small means; the refining and tranquillizing enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art, and the kindred perception of the beauty and nobility of virtue; the strengthening consciousness of duty fulfilled; and, to crown all, ‘ the peace which passeth all understanding; ’—if we directed their aspirations this way, it is probable that we should not have to complain of being disappointed, nor they of being deceived. Who can say that wealth can purchase better things than these? and who can say that they are not within the reach of every man of sound body and mind, who, by labour not destructive of either, can procure for

himself and his family food, clothing and habitation?'—*Preface*, p. xvi. —xviii.

There is also, we apprehend, much truth in the subjoined statement:—

“There are two or three other points which I would fain recommend to the peculiar attention of the reader. One of the most important is the absolute necessity of securing a constant supply of well-trained school-masters. *Time and experience have, it is to be supposed, nearly removed the illusion of ‘mutual instruction’ as a substitute for the instruction communicated by a mature to an immature mind: as an auxiliary in certain mechanical details, no one disputes its utility.*”—*Preface*, p. xviii.

Still, as to the main end for which Mrs. Austin has undertaken this translation, we are so far from believing it likely to be attained, that we think the publication may have an effect quite contrary to the one intended. Upon ourselves at least the deliberate perusal of M. Cousin's Report in an English dress has only produced a still stronger conviction of the inapplicability of the Prussian scheme to a country circumstanced like our own. For when we come to section the second, upon primary instruction, we light at once upon a difference quite conclusive.

“TITLE I.—*Duty of Parents to send their Children to the primary Schools.*—This duty is so national, so rooted in all the legal and moral habits of the country, that it is expressed by a single word *Schulpflichtigkeit* (school-duty, or school-obligation). It corresponds to another word, similarly formed and similarly sanctioned by public opinion, *Dienstpflichtigkeit* (service-obligation, i. e. military-service.)”—p. 23, 24.

A people, which has learnt to prefer “military conscription” to “voluntary enlistment,” will, of course, not be very squeamish as to compulsory education, or any other sort of compulsion under the sun.

We turn, however, to the question of education in its actual state among ourselves.

The government has made another grant of 20,000*l.* and all parties have been thankful; and the nation will be well repaid. The progress of popular education, upon its present footing, is satisfactory. In the late examination at the schools of the National Society in London, nothing, we believe, could be well more gratifying than the success of the efforts which have been made for training masters and mistresses, or than the accuracy of the information which the children displayed. Some enlargement in the sphere of instruction might still perhaps be desirable; for, although we perfectly agree with M. Cousin, where he says, p. 287, “let solidity rather than extent be aimed at in the course of instruction; the young masters” (and learners too, we would add.)

" must know a few things fundamentally, rather than many superficially; vague and superficial attainments must be avoided at any rate;" we must yet repeat our persuasion, that a contracted scope of education has a tendency to contract not only the mind which acquires, but the knowledge which is gained of the few acquirements themselves; and that, if more things were learnt, every one of them would be learnt better.

Still, our main concern is, and must ever be, the religious instruction of the people, and the connection of the education of the country with the Established Church of the country. Here, the possible imputation of bigotry shall not prevent us from expressing our apprehensions. At present, the Lord Chancellor and his colleagues evince no desire to tear the business, or the superintendence, of instruction out of the hands of the clergy; but whom or what can we trust? Our hope is gone—utterly, irretrievably gone—of strength or firmness in the actual ministers of the crown. The external pressure of Dissenters and Utilitarians,—persons more powerful than themselves, because more decided in their opinions, and more strenuous in the prosecution of their purposes,—will force them onward, we begin to think, to their own and to the country's destruction. Miserable men! why will they not make a stand while there is yet time? But to return,—Mr. Roebuck, on the 3rd June, made his annual motion, that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the means of establishing a system of national education. He talked, as a matter of course, about "*the slavish bigotry and intolerance that prevail at present in the national schools*;" and he would educate all the children of the country, from the highest to the lowest, upon a far nobler and more philosophical model. Lord Morpeth half agreed and half disagreed with the honorable mover; and, although he proposed an amendment, "could not conceal his opinion, that there was somewhat too *stiff, distinct, and separate*, in the system of education pursued at these schools, excellent as it was, for any *final arrangement that could deserve the name of national*. Some plan would be necessary that should fill up the voids, and imperceptibly fuse into some more general and comprehensive system, the valuable parts of those which were now in operation. He would not contend for any particular catechism, or for any work proceeding from human hands; but he did propose to himself that those who were admitted to such schools should have open and unlimited access to the entire contents of the sacred volume."

This is precisely the sort of language which men, who are clever in a small way, and who pique themselves on their liberality, are in the habit of talking. "*Too stiff, distinct, and separate*," "*final arrangement*," "*would not contend for any particular catechism, or*

for any work proceeding from human hands." What does Lord Morpeth mean? Does his Lordship exactly know his own meaning? Has he ever thought of the inferences and concessions which his propositions involve? Is the church, instead of being "*stiff*," to be so pliant and accommodating as to embrace all tenets as eagerly as its own? or are all kinds of dissent to be philosophically "*fused*" together into some new and wonderful concoction of doctrines and discipline? and when the fusion takes place, and the precious amalgam is produced, what is to become of the established religion of the empire?

The result of the debate was, that Lord Althorp, slightly modifying Lord Morpeth's amendment, proposed a resolution, which was adopted by the House, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the education of the people in England and Wales, and into the application and effect of the grant made last session for the erection of school-houses, and to consider the expediency of further grants in aid of education." No pledge was given, which could commit the ministers to the Benthamites; nor would the House accede to Mr. Roebuck's proposition, that the word "*national*" should be inserted in the resolution; but still,—ungrateful that we are,—sundry and sharp misgivings shoot across our minds.

The more narrowly we inspect and watch the process of speculations and events, the more painfully are our suspicions awakened as to the effect which the new fangled projects of our system-mongers will exert upon Christianity. There is a vast deal said in praise of Religion and her ministers; but the respect paid to them is couched in very vague and unsatisfactory expressions. Once for all, let it be understood, 1st, that we want *positive, established, acknowledged forms of religion*:—and not vague indefinite *sentiments* of religion; which, of themselves, are sure to evaporate, in the heat of business and passion, like an unconfined and volatile ether, or an aromatic distillation without a vessel to contain it:—and, 2ndly, that Religion must be recognized, not on the ground of its *utility*, or *political expediency*, on any bearings which it has upon our *social* relations; but on the ground of its *individual necessity*, and its *spiritual truth*.

On both these accounts, while we would by no means denounce M. Cousin's plan as *anti-religious*, we shall not be deterred from saying, that we are very far from contented with the tone in which he speaks of religion. Mrs. Austin says,

"It has been asserted by some persons, with an ignorance which, if it be sincere, is so shameless that it almost deserves to be confounded with dishonesty, that the tendency of the system recommended by M. Cousin is *anti-religious*. To this, every page of the book is an answer.

Indeed, were I to express a fear on this head, it is, that it is far too religious for this country; that the lofty, unworldly tone of feeling, the spirit of veneration, the blending of the love of God, and of the Good and the Beautiful, with all the practical business and the amusements of life, is what will hardly be understood here, where religion is so much more disjoined both from the toils and from the gaieties of life. To me it appears that there is not a line of these enactments which is not profoundly religious. Nothing, it is true, is *enjoined as to forms or creeds*; but, as M. Cousin truly says, 'the whole fabric rests on the sacred basis of Christian love.'—p. xv.

Christian love is, of all things, the most beautiful; but it is just for the sake of Christian love that we would insist upon a "sound *form*" of Christian "words." But let M. Cousin speak for himself.

"We must neither deliver over our committees into the hands of the clergy, nor exclude them; we must admit them, because they have a right to be there, and to represent the religion of the country. The men of good sense, good manners, and of consideration in their neighbourhood, of whom these committees ought to be, and will be, composed, will gradually gain ascendancy over their ecclesiastical colleagues, by treating them with the respect due to their sacred functions. We must have the clergy; we must neglect nothing to bring them into the path towards which everything urges them to turn,—both their obvious interest, and their sacred calling, and the antient services which their order rendered to the cause of civilization in Europe. But if we wish to have the clergy allied with us in the work of popular instruction, that instruction must not be stripped of morality and religion; for then indeed it would become the duty of the clergy to oppose it, and they would have the sympathy of all virtuous men, of all good fathers of families, and even of the mass of the people, on their side. Thank God, Sir, *you are too enlightened a statesman* to think that true popular instruction can exist without moral education, popular morality without religion, or popular religion without a church. Christianity ought to be the basis of the instruction of the people; we must not flinch from the open profession of this maxim; *it is no less politic than it is honest.*"—p. 125, 126.

"*The popular schools of a nation ought to be imbued with the religious spirit of that nation.* Now without going into the question of diversities of doctrine, is Christianity, or is it not, the religion of the people of France? It cannot be denied that it is. I ask, then, is it our object to respect the religion of the people, or to destroy it? If we mean to set about destroying it, then, I allow, we ought by no means to have it taught in the people's schools. But if the object we propose to ourselves is totally different, we must teach our children that religion which civilized our fathers; that religion whose liberal spirit prepared, and can alone sustain, all the great institutions of modern times. We must also permit the clergy to fulfil their first duty,—the superintendence of religious instruction. But in order to stand the test of this superintendence with honor, the schoolmaster must be enabled to give adequate religious

instruction; otherwise parents, in order to be sure that their children receive a good religious education, will require us to appoint ecclesiastics as schoolmasters, which, though assuredly better than having irreligious schoolmasters, would be liable to very serious objections of various kinds. *The less we desire our schools to be ecclesiastical*, the more ought they to be Christian. It necessarily follows, that there must be a course of special religious instruction in our normal schools. Religion is, in my eyes, the best—perhaps, the only—basis of popular education. I know something of Europe, and never have I seen good schools where the spirit of Christian charity was wanting. Primary instruction flourishes in three countries, Holland, Scotland, and Germany; in all it is profoundly religious. It is said to be so in America. The little popular instruction I ever found in Italy came from the priests. In France, with few exceptions, our best schools for the poor are those of the *Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne* (Brothers of the Christian doctrine.)—p. 289.

“I am not ignorant, Sir, that this advice will grate on the ears of many persons, and that I shall be thought extremely *dévo*t at Paris. Yet it is not from Rome, but from Berlin, that I address you. The man who holds this language to you is a philosopher, formerly disliked, and even persecuted, by the priesthood; but this philosopher has a mind too little affected by the recollection of his own insults, and is too well acquainted with human nature and with history, not to regard religion as an indestructible power; *genuine Christianity, as a means of civilization for the people*, and a necessary support for those on whom society imposes irksome and humble duties, without the slightest prospect of fortune, without the least gratification of self-love.”—p. 291, 292.

Now, although these declarations are most true and consolatory as far as they go, we confess that we cannot read them without an unpleasant impression, that the author is *striving* to write religiously, and to gain credit for the effort, and yet wishing to shew, nevertheless, that he is religious as a statesman and as a philosopher, and not so “extremely *dévo*t” after all. There is much about the public services rendered by religion to the state; and, in return, the support due from the State to the Religion which consolidates and consecrates its institutions: but about man’s personal need of a faith in Christianity, in order to his spiritual interests and his final salvation, there is not a syllable.—Religion is recommended almost entirely upon the low, miserable, utilitarian ground.

It is never without a painful uneasiness that we see the utility of Christianity put forward in the van of the battle. Of the utility of Christianity we have, indeed, no shadow of doubt; and we think that this utility may be fairly urged as an argument in behalf of its truth. All religion is useful as far as it is true, and true as far as it is useful. Even Paganism is true, wherever Paganism is useful. All religions are useful, where they coincide

with Christianity; but where they deviate from it, they are injurious to that public and private happiness which Christianity promotes.

Yet all these are but incidental and collateral points. As reasons in support of Christianity, they are *nothing*. Its utility for time is as a drop of water to the boundless ocean of its truth for eternity. It is to be defended, not simply as *the religion of the country*: if a philosophical Deism were the religion of this country to-morrow, we should defend Christianity and its necessity in the work of education as earnestly as now.

Yet the same *general*, or *political*, or *philosophical*, or *sentimental* way of speaking about religion is becoming far too prevalent. Mr. Bulwer thus proclaims *his* sentiments in language not altogether without its beauty, notwithstanding the deplorable shallowness and indistinctness of the thoughts:—

“Ambition—Glory—Love—exercise so vast an influence over the affairs of earth, because they do not rest upon the calculations of reason alone; because they are supported by all that constitutes the ideal of life, and drink their youth and vigour from the inspiring fountains of the heart. If religion is to be equally powerful in its effects—if it is to be a fair competitor with more wordly rivals—if its office is indeed to combat and counterbalance the Titan passions which, for ever touching earth, for ever take from earth new and gigantic life—if it is to

‘Allure to brighter worlds, and lead the way,’

—it must call around itself all the powers we can raise; to defeat the passions, the passions must feed it; it can be no lukewarm and dormant principle, hedged in and crippled by that reason, which, in our actions, fetters nothing else. It has nothing to do with rationalism; it must be a sentiment, an emotion, for ever present with us—pervading, colouring, and exalting all. Sensible of this, the elder propagators of all creeds endeavour to connect them, equally as love and glory, with the poetry of life. *Religion manes from a nation, as poetry vanishes from religion. The creeds of states, like their constitutions, to renew their youth, must return to their first principles.* It is necessary for us at this time to consider deeply on these truths; for many amongst us, most anxious, perhaps, to preserve religion, are for ever attempting to attenuate its powers. *Rationality and Religion are as much contradictions in terms as Rationality and Love. Religion is but love with a sacred name, and for a sacred object—it is the love of God.* Philosophy has no middle choice; it can decide only between scepticism and ardent faith.”—*England and the English*, vol. i. pp. 321, 322.

A far greater man than Mr. Bulwer has slipped into a somewhat similar strain, when describing the celebrated institution of Mr. Fellenberg at Hofwyl:—

“There is one other subject which is ever present to their minds; I

mean a pure and rational theology. Mr. Fellenberg is deeply imbued himself with the sense of religion; and it enters into all his schemes for the improvement of society. Regarding the state of misery in which the poorest classes live, as rather calculated (if I may use his own expression) to make them believe in the agency of a devil than of a God, his first care, upon rescuing those children from that wretchedness, is to inspire them with the feelings of devotion which he himself warmly entertains, and which he regards as natural to the human heart, when misery has not chilled nor vice hardened it. Accordingly, the conversation, as well as the habits of the poor at Hofwyl, partake largely of religious influence. *The evidences of design observable in the operations of nature, and the benevolent tendency of those operations in the great majority of instances, form constant topics of discourse in their studies, and during the labours of the day; and though no one has ever observed the slightest appearance of fanaticism or of superstition (against which, in truth, the course of instruction pursued is the surest safeguard)* yet ample testimony is borne by all travellers to the prevailing piety of the place. One of these has noted an affecting instance of it, when the harvest once required the labourers to work for an hour or two after night-fall, and the full moon rose in extraordinary beauty over the magnificent mountains that surround the plain of Hofwyl. Suddenly, as if with one accord, the poor children began to chaunt a hymn which they had learnt among many others, but in which the Supreme Being is adored as having 'lighted up the great lamp of the night, and projected it in the firmament.'—*Appendix to Mr. Brougham's Letter*, p. 99.

This is a touching incident, very finely told. But, alas, nothing at all resembling it is likely to occur in our crowded cities, where there are no mountains to behold, and where the young and poor too often find occupations in the evening very different from admiring the moon. Natural Religion, such as this, which in its practical influence is extremely feeble always and every where, can have no power whatever in places, from which man has excluded nature. It is one subordinate proof of Christianity, that nothing else than a revealed and positive creed is sufficient, *in the slightest degree*, to fix the principles or restrain the passions of human beings, whenever they are congregated in dense and fermenting multitudes.

Not so thinks the reverend gentleman, whose discourse we have joined with the anonymous "Outline," and Mrs. Austin's translation. He is implacably at war with creeds and liturgies:—

"What," he asks, "what more is there throughout the New Testament, than the broadest and simplest principle as the basis of truth; and the utmost latitude of choice in worship, so that prayer was but the heart's desire, and thanksgiving the grateful melody of the soul? Such an attempt is alike false to the nature of man and the nature of Christianity. It is a total mistake or perversion of that in which religion consists. Christianity is *too fine and ethereal* an essence to be

thus exhibited in a hard, *defined, tangible* form; crystallized as it were; and presented to the senses; instead of pervading the mental and moral constitution, as do the great and viewless influences of the material universe. When, and where, did the great teacher, who best knew how to teach, bring forth creeds and articles, containing abstract propositions by dozens and hundreds?"—*The Church Establishment*, &c. p. 7.

These poor and flimsy cavils are too threadbare to need exposure; yet we fear that minds, which *cannot*, surely, be deceived by their sophistry, suffer themselves to be caught by their treacherous liberality.

In a word, there is not one among these extracts,—some of which, as M. Cousin's, lead only to political religion; some, as Mr. Brougham's, only to natural religion; some, as Mr. Bulwer's, only to the most vague and fantastic superstitions,—which surveys Christianity in its right aspect, and "renders unto God the things that are God's." Nor do we scruple to re-affirm that almost all we hear, and almost all we read, and almost all we see, assure us more and more that there is no security for the sound religion of the country apart from the ecclesiastical establishment of the country; and yet, not only that an attempt will be made to divorce and force asunder the National Education from the Established Church, but that National Education will be used as an instrument to strike the first blow at the Church Establishment. For is there no danger? It is, we solemnly believe, the very danger to be apprehended. A Commission of Inquiry as to the Revenues of the Church in Ireland is already set on foot. Of course, a surplus will be found:—it is the object of the commission to find a surplus. And what is to be done with it? The ministers,—more especially Lord Brougham,—deny, with an extraordinary vehemence of adjuration, any intention or disposition to bestow the minutest fragment of it upon the Catholic Clergy. But it is to be devoted to the purposes of an indiscriminate education, open to all sects alike, and putting all sects on an equality. Such is our conjecture; and we know that, as to ecclesiastical funds, both Irish and English, it is the wish and hope of the Dissenters. Mr. W. J. Fox, the Unitarian divine, the oracle, we understand, of Miss Martineau, in language, *imposing* from its rhetoric, but *contemptible* in its logic, says:—

"If the legislature should apply to the purposes of a strictly national education an adequate portion of the fund now wasted on no earthly purpose of usefulness, we may indeed anticipate an era of true glory for our country. After the claims of the present life-possessioners are satisfied, there is nothing which can fairly impede so righteous an appropriation. Providence endowed the nation with this noble inheritance. Theology is

too divided to possess it for national purposes. What claim, then, is there to which that of National Education is not paramount? This would, indeed, be an establishment of Christianity in the only sense in which Christianity can consistently be established. Instruction, free instruction, might be brought home to every door. In fact, *it should be obligatory*; giving the parent the option, of himself, or by private instruction, of educating his child in preference."—p. 12.

The discourse is entitled, "The Church Establishment inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity, and the *well-being* of the Community."

We should be glad to quote more of it, and show that it contains some fine strong language, some extremely clever images and illustrations; for the Sectarians know the value and the power of style, and scorn the bald jejune stuff, which some of us Churchmen call simplicity and adaptation to the vulgar understanding. As to its argument, however, nothing in the world can be so unfair or so preposterous; as to its exhibition of Scriptural doctrine or ecclesiastical polity, nothing in the world can be so so outrageously mistaken.

But we must stop. We have only room to extract part of a petition appended to the Sermon, which was presented to the House of Commons from "the Protestant Dissenters of *both sexes*, assembling in South Place Chapel, Finsbury, of which the Rev. W. J. Fox is Minister." We do entreat our readers to weigh and digest the extracts well; to bear in mind that one main object of all the Dissenters is the spoliation and subversion of the Church under the pretence of instruction for the people:—and to recollect, that we are beset by active and intriguing enemies, governed by vacillating coquetting ministers, and sometimes embarrassed by timid compromising friends.

"That the adoption of Christianity as a State Religion has impaired the purity, and impeded the progress, of its principles; has promoted despotism, persecution, and bloodshed; has brought suspicion and contempt upon the character of its Ministers, and contravened its beneficent object of advancing "Peace on earth and good-will amongst men."

"That the investiture of any sect with exclusive political privileges is utterly at variance with the spirit of the Christian religion; obstructs the intellectual and moral improvement of the people; is detrimental to the public peace and the harmony of social intercourse; invades the civil rights of individuals, and tends to subvert the liberties and prosperity of the nation.

"That the appropriation by the Episcopal Church of the funds which the pious munificence of our ancestors set apart for the relief of the poor and the spiritual culture of the entire population, is totally inconsistent with the accomplishment of those purposes, and deprives the

community of its intended heritage of gratuitous and universal instruction ; your Petitioners, therefore, respectfully submit to your Honourable House that, in the present state of religious opinion and of society, the most legitimate application of those funds, after due provision for their present recipients, would be the establishment of a wise, liberal and comprehensive plan of National Education."—pp. 14, 15.

ART. XI.—1. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University.* By Adam Sedgwick, M. A., F. R. S., Woodwardian Professor, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Deightons: London, Parker. 1833.

2. *Thoughts on the Admission of Persons, without regard to their Religious Opinions, to certain Degrees in the Universities of England.* By Thomas Turton, D. D., Reg. Prof. of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Dean of Peterborough. London: Rivingtons; Parker. 1834.

3. *On the Admission of Dissenters to reside and graduate at the Universities.* By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons and Stevenson. 1834.

4. *Some Remarks on the Dean of Peterborough's Tract.* By Samuel Lee, D. D., Reg. Prof. of Hebrew, &c. Cambridge: Deightons. 1834.

5. *A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Turton, D. D.* By Connop Thirlwall, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Deightons: London, Rivingtons. 1834.

6. *Remarks on Mr. Thirlwall's Letter.* By William Whewell, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1834.

7. *A Letter to Earl Grey on the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities.* By W. Sewell, M. A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

8. *Extracts from Examination Papers.* By W. Selwyn, M. A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

WE half reproach ourselves with neglect, as we refer our readers to the eloquent address which we have placed at the head of our article.

We are conscious, that to many, if not to most of them, it has become familiar, and that by them it has been long since read with

pleasure and with profit. The reputation of its author has always been great in the scientific world; but the part he has recently taken in a question of vital importance has given to this address a peculiar interest; and can we now say, that its perusal has been attended with unmingled delight? do we not now feel that it has been mixed with anxiety, as we have dwelt upon the passing and the past? and have we not with tenfold eagerness desired to look into the gloomy future?

Had we noticed this address when first it appeared, with what different feelings should we have dwelt upon that glowing language, in which the studies of the University are so nobly set forth! We should have placed our readers, where imagination has already placed us, in that Chapel of the monuments of the illustrious dead, amidst a youthful and rapt congregation, listening with profound attention to the words of one, who has ever possessed, and, what is still better, has ever deserved, their affectionate esteem; and who is the ornament as well of the University as of his College. And we should have pointed out the preacher as one, who, although greatly zealous in the pursuit of scientific truth, valued far higher than all other, religious truth; and who would have sacrificed his very existence, rather than that, through his means, any one of those whom he addressed, should have wandered from, or wavered in his attachment to, the pure faith of that Church whose doctrines he was then inculcating. And yet, it is with grievous disappointment we confess it, how fallible our judgment would have been, when we find it admitted, that in a moment of disappointment he lent his name to a scheme, nay, was one of its authors, which might have for its result the destruction of the Church of which he is a member and a minister; and the promulgation of which scheme has thrown into present wrathful contention the University, the peace of which he so recklessly endangered, has greatly interrupted the studies of its youthful members,* and has been the fruitful cause of a schism, which has split into adverse factions the college to which he belongs.

The evils produced by that ill advised petition are tremendous; it is the first step to the separation of Church and State. And that separation implies the downfall of them both, the consequent destruction of religious knowledge, first among the lower classes, and then the upper; and lastly, it will be followed by the lowering of infidelity over the land.

These latter awful consequences, we admit, are dependent upon the abolition of an Established Church; but, we assert, that once

* We observe that neither the Members' Prizes nor the Chancellor's Prize for the best English Poem have been awarded this year.

having thrown open the doors of the Universities to Dissenters of every class, and having modified the discipline and lectures to suit their various creeds—for modification there must be, or the scheme will be ineffectual—having placed the Churchman and the Dissenter upon an equal footing during their under-graduateship—how long, we ask, can the Universities refuse to continue their equality when they have taken their degree? how long will the members of the Church of England retain the exclusive right of election to Fellowships and College Offices? can we not hear, and have we not already heard, the outcry raised for the emoluments of the Universities, and can we not almost foresee a remodelling of our Colleges; a separation of Fellowships from Livings for the use of Dissenters; an Arian Tutor here, an Unitarian there, maintaining without disguise their heterodox opinions, and spreading around them a baleful influence, under which Christianity, like a sickly flower, can but droop and wither?

But let it not be for a moment supposed that we charge the Professor and his friends with designedly attempting to bring about such a crisis: far from it, for we doubt not that the Professor hopes that of his project good may come. The present evil arising from it, he must admit, unless upon him a moral blindness has descended; and doing evil that good may come, has justified the deeds of the Inquisition.

We speak harshly, but we believe that we speak the truth, and this is not the hour for an honest man to conceal either his opinions or his thoughts; and we address ourselves chiefly to Professor Sedgwick, because his name alone gave to the Cambridge Petition the pernicious power it possessed.

And now a few words with regard to the other petitioners. Among the names, we indeed recognize some, who stand in the foremost rank of science and of literature. But these are few in number, and joined with them there is the Rump of a restless faction, (we rejoice to see it so powerless,) which, from its effect and action, may be rightly termed the disturbing force of the peace of the University. In the whole list there is the name of one only, who, from his practical experience in the education of a large college, is qualified to give a correct decision upon the effects of such a measure.

The Dissenters, and those of the Church who adopted their views of the question, gladly availed themselves of the support which the Cambridge petition gave them, and magnified into an undue importance the names which they so miserably mispronounced. The names served a political purpose, and are henceforward valueless; otherwise we might think it our duty to denude them of their plumes, and to ascertain the true weight at which

they ought to be estimated; but we leave them with a remark gathered from experience, that minds which are totally engrossed by scientific pursuits are ill fitted to judge of questions affecting the social interests of man, and that he who may be able to comprise in algebraical formulæ the oscillations and currents of the ocean, yet may signally fail in his attempt to include in a system the discordant and jarring opinions of the religious world. But we turn away from these considerations and the unpleasing thoughts which gave rise to them; and while we leave to another opportunity any discussion, perhaps retrospective, on the studies of the University of Cambridge, we will preface by a few brief remarks an extract from the address, and see how ably Professor Sedgwick pleads against himself.

We have previously alluded to the place in which the address was delivered, and we now add that the opportune day was that upon which is held the annual commemoration of the benefactors of Trinity College.

After an elegant passage in praise of holy rejoicings and thanksgiving, we are introduced to those who have been the ornaments of their college, their country, and the world; to "Bacon, whose prophetic spirit was enabled to climb the Pisgah of science;" to Newton, "who, after having achieved by his single arm the conquest of the natural world, was not puffed up, but gave to God the glory;" to Ray, "who saw the finger of God in the whole frame-work of animated nature, and within these walls taught the listeners to comprehend the meaning of those characters he himself had first interpreted;" and to Barrow, "the learned and the wise, the inventive philosopher, the manly reasoner, the eloquent and single-minded Christian moralist;" and to many other illustrious men, "whose very names time would fail the preacher to tell, who having had their minds braced by the studies of this place, and their hearts sanctified by the wisdom from above, devoted themselves to the high and lofty office of extending the empire of truth."

And then he thus proceeds:—

"And surely the happiness we enjoy, and the names we this day commemorate, require something more from us than the gratitude of the lips—something more than a formal and heartless ceremonial. We are here met at our annual commemoration, *where these mighty men have met before; we are worshipping at the altar where they worshipped; we are treading on their ashes and looking on their tombs*, and every thing around us is sanctified by their genius.

"Circumstances like these have ever exerted a powerful influence on generous natures. If heathen men have felt them, and made them the topics of exhortation and the mainsprings of national honour, how much

more ought they to affect us who are assembled as a Christian brotherhood. We believe that the glorious names we commemorate are not those of men who have perished without hope; but that having fought the good fight in this life, they have received a crown of glory in the life that is to come. They seem to speak to us from their tombs, but with no earthly voice, encouraging us by their example, and telling us to be of firm and of good cheer in this our pilgrimage,—that beyond the dark portal to which we are all hurrying, there is a land of promise—and that treading in the steps where they have trodden, and guided by the heavenly hand which guided them, we ourselves may reach that land, and dwell with them in everlasting glory."

Dull and sluggish must be the current that runs through the veins of him, whose life's blood is not warmed by this eloquent appeal, and valueless the wisdom he has gotten within his college walls, if it partake not of the spirit here described, and if it make not him listen, with longing earnestness, to the voice of them who summon him from the pursuit of things temporal only, to the contemplation of those which are eternal.

And now let us ask, on what does the forcible application of these energetic sentences to the student mainly depend? Can we for a moment think that they were spoken merely to excite them to increased diligence in the acquisition of knowledge? Can we indeed suppose that the mighty names referred to were brought so strikingly before the imagination of the hearers only to captivate them by the hope that they, too, in this life, might obtain honour and distinction, and that lasting glory may also rest upon their tombs? These motives, high as they may be, are neither worthy of the man that urged them, nor of the place in which they were uttered. The force of the application is this, that at the altar at which the mighty men alluded to have worshipped—under the same sacred roof where they offered up their prayers to heaven—at the very same altar, with the very same prayers, and the same unity of religious faith, the pious student still may bend his knee, and with unshaken confidence in the doctrines of his church, may, through the mysterious atonement of the blood of Jesus Christ, with humble confidence send up to the throne of mercy, in the sublimest form of prayer, the humble accents of a chastened mind. Nor is the force of the application diminished by the consideration that these noble thoughts may not greatly influence the minds of some inattentive and possibly profligate hearers. For at least they have not yet the excuse so readily laid hold of by the self-convinced but unrepentant spirit—the excuse, that no certain guidance to religious knowledge is offered by their teachers, no beacon fixed to light them to virtue, or to guard them from vice; but that being carried backward and forward by various doc-

trines, hearing this doubted and that disbelieved, dissatisfied and wearied by conflicting opinions, they have at length sought refuge in indifference. Happily these excuses and flimsy arguments can not be used, so long as an uniform system of religious education is firmly adhered to, so long as the doctrines of our Church, and none other, are taught in our Universities in purity and without disguise.

And here we are led to the subject which has mainly brought us to notice the Sermon of Professor Sedgwick—the admission of the Dissenters to certain degrees in the Universities. Our readers may be aware that at Cambridge, neither the matriculation oath, nor the usage in the different colleges, has precluded Dissenters from receiving their education at that ancient seat of learning. Against them, however, the doors of Oxford have been always closed. What effect, then, their admission under the present restrictions to reside with students educated in the principles of the Established Church has had, can only be gathered from evidence afforded from the former University.

The advocates for the measure have laid great stress upon the fact of their being so admitted; and no evil being alleged to have arisen from their residence with the other students, it has been confidently asserted, that under no circumstances whatever can evil arise. We assert that the altered situation in which a Dissenter will find himself, should this ominous plan receive the sanction of the legislature, will produce an evil of vast and everlasting importance both to Church and State. And we say that the argument derived from the residence of Dissenters in the University in former times, has no real weight in the question, and never ought to exert the shadow of an influence on any mind. The number that has been admitted being exceedingly small, their compliance with college discipline general, their attendance at the chapel regular, and themselves being in no way distinguished from their fellow-students, they have passed unnoticed, and thus possibly no evil consequences may have been introduced by them; indeed some distinguished members of our Church have been so much struck with this, and have such reliance on the truth of the doctrines they profess, that they would even avail themselves of the opportunity afforded of such a commingling of the Dissenters with the youth of the Church, and would willingly seize upon it as a salutary means of correcting that bitter and destructive feeling which Dissenters seldom fail to express in an undeviating hostility to the Establishment. But again we repeat, the experiment has never been fairly tried, even in the case which is least likely of all others to decide the truth of the question; and

the effect of the extreme case, the converting of the Universities into a religious Babel, is with regard to them one of pure hypothesis only. But the extreme case *has been* put to the proof by the Dissenters, and, as we shall be able to show from Dr. Turton's excellent pamphlet, the system founded upon it has failed—failed, if it be granted that religion is after all the true aim of education; but it has signally failed, if, when pure Christianity was the sole object, that object was not attained. But even if it be granted that no evil can arise, nor has arisen, from the admission of Dissenters to the Universities merely for the purpose of receiving their education, and upon the condition of their absolute conformity with the discipline of the place—a position which we by no means think the advocates for the measure have a right to assume—yet the whole nature of things will be altered, when, armed with an act of parliament, the Dissenter enters a college, the discipline of which he is empowered to disobey, and which he enters not by an act of favour, but by right. Can any one be so grossly ignorant of the human heart as to suppose that to such a one the emoluments of the college can offer no allurements? or that there can be no heart-burning manifested, when to a fellow-student are allotted substantial rewards, while on the Dissenter is conferred the barren title of a degree? He will quit the University more embittered than ever against the Established Church; he will rush to the movement party, and the clamour which first gained him his degree will again be raised; and, rendered powerful from success, will not cease to be heard, so long as any distinction between Churchmen and Dissenters be suffered to exist.

En avant is the motto of the Dissenters, and nothing will satisfy them but the destruction of the power of the Church; and, as they are wise after the way of the world, they see no means so efficient as that which, as this does, introduces them into the strong holds of the Establishment.

We now turn the attention of our readers to Dr. Turton's pamphlet. We could wish that it was in our power to borrow more largely from it even than we shall do, and we take this opportunity of thanking him for an argument which appears to us unanswerable.

The high situation which Dr. Turton now holds in the University of Cambridge, rendered the expression of his sentiments on the subject of the admission of Dissenters to degrees, a duty, from the performance of which he could not flinch. The esteem with which he is regarded, and the confidence placed in him that he would not suffer his judgment to be biassed by party views, made his opinion to be universally welcomed,

We proceed to show in what manner he has come to a decided conviction that a permanent injury to the cause of the Church will be the result of the admission of Dissenters to academical degrees. Declamation he has avoided; appeals to the passions of the party with whom the Regius Professor of Divinity might be supposed to be attached he has neglected; speculative theories on the future he has laid aside; but has argued as we should have expected his philosophic mind would have argued, from direct experiment only.

After having declared his habitual distrust of theories, and being the more confirmed in his distrust by the knowledge that a theory must be bad indeed, which does not become plausible when recommended by ingenious and eloquent men, he proceeds to say, that when he found that a bill had been brought into the House of Commons, which, if passed into an act of parliament, would make it "lawful for all his Majesty's subjects to enter and matriculate in the universities of England, and to receive and enjoy all degrees in learning conferred there (degrees in divinity alone excepted,) without being required to subscribe any articles of religion, or to make any declaration of religious opinions respecting particular modes of faith and worship," he then sought whether in our country any similar plan of proceeding had been adopted, and if so, what was the result. Dr. Turton found that such a plan had been tried for a time long enough, and on a scale large enough, to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, to the unbiassed mind, the principle for which he contends. The nature of the proof may be seen in the following abstract from the narrative contained in Dr. Turton's pamphlet.

Dr. Doddridge, to whom the Christian world is greatly indebted, was for more than twenty years at the head of an academical establishment for the instruction of young men; the constitution of the academy was "perfectly Catholic," by which is meant, that students of any sect of religion were admissible. The principle object of this academy was the education of students for the ministry; but young men of fortune having other views were also admitted.

Although he was himself a believer in the Trinity and the atonement, Doddridge admitted to his house and his academy young men holding Arian and Socinian sentiments.

Let us now see the consequence of this admission. The increased number of Doddridge's pupils rendered it necessary for him to appoint an assistant; the names of four of these assistants are mentioned, and of them three were Arians at the least.

And now we ask why did Dr. Doddridge appoint assistants who differed from him so widely and so materially; who differed.

ferred, too, not on a point of church government, not upon a point of abstruse doctrine, but upon a point of faith, on which we as Trinitarians firmly believe that the salvation of man's immortal soul depends? While we cannot help regarding this conduct of Dr. Doddridge as weak and unworthy of him, we can readily ascertain that the cause of his so acting arose from the admixture of persons of various religious creeds. And we ask whether there be no fear of a similar result occurring at our own universities, should this obnoxious bill become the law of the land?

The mode of lecturing may be very naturally expected to participate of the spirit which actuated the appointments.

In his lectures, Doddridge laid down an

"Ample statement of the evidences of Christianity, and then entered into a copious detail of what were, or, at least, what appeared to him to be the doctrines of Scripture. In so doing, he stated and maintained his own opinions, but never assumed the character of a dogmatist. He represented the arguments and referred to the authorities on both sides. The students were left to judge for themselves; and they did judge for themselves with his perfect concurrence and approbation."

Such is the account given by Dr. Kippis, in his life of Doddridge, of his preceptor's mode of lecturing.* Can we doubt for an instant what must be the necessary effect of such a method on the sanguine and ardent imagination of youth? Can we expect that they were likely to gain from it those fixed principles of religion so absolutely necessary for the ministry.

Let us hear from Dr. Turton the results of this system of religious education.

"As to the effects of the system of education upon the divinity students, it is well known to have been a subject of lamentation to all, whether Churchmen, or those Dissenters who have held with Dr. Doddridge the doctrines of the Trinity and the atonement, that the results of the plan of instruction pursued at Northampton should have been so disastrous. There was a vagueness and indecision of language in the discourses of the young ministers who had been trained in that seminary, which made it a matter of uncertainty whether they really had any positive opinions at all on some of the most momentous points that can occupy the attention of mankind; while the faith of many others being shaken by the debatable form in which every doctrine was presented to them, they exposed to danger the faith of entire congregations committed to their charge."

At the death of Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Ashworth, a Trinitarian, was appointed to succeed to the vacant tutorship, and Mr. Clark, an Arian, was continued as sub-tutor. During their regime, the well known Dr. Priestley was admitted a student of the Northampton academy, at a time when to use his own words, "the academy

* Dr. Kippis was an Unitarian.

was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, the students being equally divided upon every question of much importance." Some of these questions are mentioned, and he then states that all their topics were the subject of continual discussion. "Our tutors were also of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with great modesty."

Were not the question of such vast and eternal importance, we could almost smile at the naïveté of the writer, who can instance such a system of things as being "peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth."

Dr. Turton does not, however, think it right to use his own language in condemnation of this system; and we shall here follow his example, and quote part of the extract which he has made from a Memoir written by the late Mr. Robert Hall.

"The celebrated Priestley speaks of the state of the academy while he resided there, with great complacency; nothing he assures us could be more favourable to the progress of free inquiry, since both the tutors and the students were about equally divided between the Orthodox and the Arian systems. The arguments by which every possible modification of error is attempted to be supported were carefully marshalled in hostile array against the principles generally embraced; while the Theological Professor prided himself on the *steady impartiality with which he held the balance betwixt the contending systems*, seldom or never interposing his own opinion, and still less betraying the slightest emotion of antipathy to error or predilection to truth. Thus a *spirit of indifference to all religious principles* was generated in the first instance, which naturally paved the way for the prompt reception of doctrines indulgent to the corruption and flattering to the pride of a depraved and fallen nature."

It ought to have been mentioned, that in 1751 this establishment was removed from Northampton to Daventry, and that the appointment of the head tutor was placed at the disposal of the trustees of Mr. Coward, Mr. Coward having bequeathed a considerable estate for the education of dissenting ministers and for other religious purposes. And by the will it was directed that the said students be well instructed in the true Gospel doctrines, according as the same are explained in the Assembly's Catechism.

In 1781, Mr. Coward's trustees, "still," says Dr. Turton, "I suppose, with a view of taking care that the students should be well instructed in the true Gospel doctrines," placed Mr. Belsham at the head of the institution.

Let us see what was the mode of lecturing adopted by Mr. Belsham, who, "at that period," says Dr. Turton, "does not appear to have abandoned the doctrine of our Lord's pre-existence." Mr. Belsham thus writes:—

"Now the plan which to the author appeared most eligible for conducting the minds of his pupils on this inquiry, was to form a collection of all the texts in the New Testament which in any way related to the person of Christ, and to arrange them under different heads, beginning with simple pre-existence and advancing through the various intermediate steps to the doctrine of the proper Deity of Christ. Under each text was introduced the comment of one or more learned and approved Trinitarian, Arian, or Unitarian Expositors, in the commentator's own words, and in general without any additional, or at least doctrinal, comment of the compiler's own, as it was his wish to leave the texts thus expounded to make their proper impression upon the minds of his pupils."

"The first consequence of this mode of conducting the lectures was to himself very unexpected and mortifying. Many of his pupils, and of those some of the best talents, the closest application, and the most serious dispositions, who had also been educated in all the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine, to his great surprise became Unitarians."

Can we require a better proof of the fatal result of a scheme of religious instruction, in which "the balance is to be held with steady impartiality?" but its condemnation shall be read not in our words, but in those of the theological tutor of Homerton, Dr. T. P. Smith, who, on Mr. Belsham's mode of lecturing, thus writes:—

"To throw down before a company of inexperienced youths a regular set of rival and discordant expositions, appears to me to have been a method not well calculated to lead into the path of convincing evidence and well-ascertained truth. It might excite party feeling, wordy disputation, unholy levity, and rash decision; but so far as, either from the theory of the case or from experience, I am able to form a judgment, I could not expect a better result except in rare cases indeed."

And now we would ask any parent or guardian, to whom religion is of consequence, whether he would choose to place his son or ward within the influence of a system of education so pernicious in its results as that to which we have now been referring? A system not existing for a brief period, but extending itself and its baleful consequences over a time not less than sixty years, and which thus has been fairly tried. A system which has been condemned not by Churchmen only, but by Dissenters also, by those Dissenters too who are the just pride of their body, and who can be mentioned only to be honoured. Can Churchmen and Dissenters be really in union to introduce into our own Universities the latitudinarian principles which rendered ineffective the religious education of the Daventry academy? Will not the former agree with, and the latter admit the force of, the following declaration of the Dean of Peterborough?

"The non-conformist tutor of the Daventry academy was required by

the will of the non-conformist Mr. Coward, to instruct the students committed to his care in the principles of religion as laid down in the Assembly's Catechism. I therefore conclude that, even the non-conformists themselves being judges, there is nothing wrong in Christians, by whatever name they may be designated, teaching, in their own seminaries of education, the principles of religion as laid down in such formularies as, after due inquiry, they conscientiously believe to contain the truth. This is what I claim for the members of the Church of England.

"Again, many non-conformists have described the effects which have arisen and cannot but arise from a continued residence, in the same place of instruction, of young men widely differing from each other in theological sentiments—as highly injurious to the cause of religion. An entire agreement with these non-conformists, in this matter, I take the liberty of avowing on the part of the members of the Church of England.

"Lastly, to avoid the evils consequent upon the plan of education last-mentioned, non-conformists of different denominations have founded academies, in each of which, to youths of their own communion, those principles of religion alone are taught which are in agreement with their own peculiar views. *For the members of the Church of England I claim the same privilege.*"

And here we cease to make extracts from Dr. Turton's admirable pamphlet, and here we would wish to conclude our remarks upon it; but the main argument used, we must still notice, since it has provoked the attack of more than one powerful opponent. The Hebrew Professor, Dr. Lee, and Mr. Thirlwall of Trinity College, have each assailed the lofty position of the Dean of Peterborough; but the former seems never to have apprehended at all the aim of the pamphlet of the dean; while the subtle irony of the latter has been chiefly employed in deriding the discipline and depreciating the value of the religious education of the University. The "startling novelties" put forth by Mr. Thirlwall on these subjects have placed him, with regard to his superior, in a situation of great perplexity; and should he finally resign his tutorship, another reason will be afforded us for condemning the agitation of a question which has rendered useless to the students of his college the acquirements of this able, perhaps unequalled, scholar.

With gentleness of language, but with merciless argument, Mr. Whewell has shown the futility of the reasoning brought forward by Mr. Thirlwall; but we can only refer our readers to the pamphlets themselves to be convinced as we have been. Mr. Thirlwall has asserted, that upon looking through the Cambridge collection of Examination Papers, the occurrence of even a single question on any point of doctrine is a most rare exception to the general practice; thence inferring, that, as the lectures must correspond in some degree with the examinations, no opposition to the presence of Dissenters at those lectures could reasonably be made.

Mr. Selwyn, on the contrary, affirms that no point, either of controversy or of doctrine, is neglected; and our recollections certainly incline us to agree with him, and the extracts he has made from the Examination Papers do not warrant the conclusion of Mr. Thirlwall.

And now we would wish to address a few words to Professor Lee, who, after having made some remarks upon Dr. Turton's statement of the evil consequences arising from the attendance of Churchmen and Dissenters upon the same theological lectures, thus proceeds :

"Now I can find no such provision in this bill; on the contrary, it provides that degrees in divinity shall not be claimed under it, which seems to take for granted that no theological course of reading will be either given or required."

What! a clergyman of the Church of England—nay, a dignitary of the Church—a king's professor too—can he look so lightly upon religious education as to leave it a matter of doubt whether it be given or not? Can he look with complacency on such a system? Can he really urge its adoption?—a system which must place the children of his dissenting brethren for three years, and years the most perilous—the years when the spirits are most buoyant, the judgment least strong—almost beyond the very pale of religion. Is there not in all this something very strange, very monstrous?

In the picture which Dr. Turton has drawn of the evils arising from the system adopted at the Daventry Academy, the evils are exhibited in gigantic dimensions. The truth of the delineation has been admitted by his opponents, while they deny the faithfulness of the representation with regard to the Universities. We need not thank them for admitting that which it would be a hardihood indeed to deny, and we shall not be induced by their candour to give up one jot or tittle of the argument of the Dean of Peterborough. We allow that he has taken an extreme case, and we are sure he has done wisely in so choosing his ground. We, too, have assumed that the destruction of religion in the Universities will be the ultimate consequence of the admission of Dissenters; because we can see no hope that the question of admission, if granted, will rest as the present advocates of the measure say it will do; because we foresee that whenever any young men among the Nonconformists become distinguished among their fellow-students in the public examinations, another change must be effected in our collegiate establishments, and Fellowships must be awarded them. Their talents and their situation will then give an influence which will draw to their colleges the Dissenters of their own sect; claims to a share in the tuition cannot be re-

jected, and the deformities of the Daventry system will be horribly realized.

But the advocates of the measure have said, that this is but a fanciful chimæra, and a state of things which it is impossible ever should occur. We wish we could believe it. For a moment we will; and then we will tell the Dissenters—and we speak from experience—send not your children to a place of education where the hope of reward is not the stimulus of exertion, and where religious instruction is positively denied them. 'The love of fame is a mighty incentive to human exertion, but the desire of obtaining the "glorious privilege of being independent" is a noble one too, and without the hope of this happiness being offered to their grasp, many of the brightest characters which adorn the universities of our land would never have been numbered among their members. Yet, under the proposed system, the Dissenter will be excluded from the influence of this latter motive; and, without this incentive, we from experience declare, that the education of the Dissenter will be to him profitless. Profitless, however, it will not be suffered to remain; other consequences must and will follow.

And here we conclude our remarks upon this great, this vital question—a question which must never be degraded into one of party politics, but ought to be viewed as we have viewed it, as one of religion only. And we urge its consideration upon all to whom the powers of thinking have been given—whether Churchmen or Dissenters—upon all who hold the principles of pure Christianity; for in this question the very existence of Christianity in this country is at stake. It has been pronounced to us that the Christian religion can never fail; and we have seen it overcome the bigotry of the Jew and the contemptuous persecution of the Roman, and survive the darkening superstitions and frightful tyranny of a false and usurping church; and, under all circumstances, for our own country will we indulge hope. But we can also point to other climes over which the standard of the Cross once waved triumphantly. Need we say how dejectedly and solitarily the Christian, if such there be, walks there now? But what were the causes of this lamentable change? Let history tell. The reign of vice, the growth of infidelity, the neglect of God's word, the falling off from Christ—causes which we fervently hope may never spread their influence over our native land. The ravages of foreign conquest would not have been permitted, unless there had been also the canker of internal corruption. Divine Providence has never abandoned a Christian country, unless that country had first tampered with its Christianity.

ART. XII.—*Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for 1833.* London: J. G. and F. Rivington.

IT is with no common feelings of solicitude, that we make the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge" an object of discussion:—nor would any consideration have tempted us to the task, but a keen and growing sense of the necessity, upon this, as upon other very important matters, of giving a clear and explicit statement of things as they exist. Nor let any of our readers wonder, that we rank among very important matters the proceedings of this Society; for to the interests of the Christian church, and even the general wellbeing of mankind, we can discern nothing more important, when we consider the transcendent value, and glory, and holiness, of its design, the number and respectability of its subscribers, the vast extent of its transactions, the great amount of its accumulated funds, the progressive increase of its resources, and the close and anxious attention which is paid to all its operations. Yet, if it be much that many thousands of persons, the most dignified by their character, and the most influential from their station, have interested themselves in its prosperity; if it be much, that the income of the last year has exceeded the sum of 74,000*l.*, and that the expenditure has been scarcely less; if it be much, that the diffusion of its spiritual benefits is stretching over the globe, and that the circulation of its books and tracts is to be reckoned by millions; if it be much, that these united causes have made the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge the first association of the religious world, there is still another circumstance which now invests it in our eyes with an even stronger interest than any, or than all, of these remarkable distinctions. It has become an epitome and mirror of the Church of England; the several parties, into which the church is divided, have lately chosen to gather and array themselves upon the platform of its room in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and they can be more accurately marked from their concentrated position, and the smallness of the stage. The conflict of British Theology will, in all probability, be fought upon its arena; and as the issue is in the Society, so, we think, will the issue be in the national church. On this account it is, that we turn with a peculiar intensity of emotion to the past history and the present state of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

It will be our endeavour to regard measures rather than men, things rather than persons; to separate matters of primary and permanent, from minute details of passive and subordinate interest; and also to observe the utmost candour and impartiality in our re-

marks. We confess, however, that we write with a High Church bias ; and let that bias be taken into account.

Our limits preclude us from referring at any length to the foundation and origin of this Society above a century ago. It is matter of notoriety, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge held from its beginning an orthodox and distinctive character. Such a character was attributed to its publications ; such a character was attributed to its members ; and, whether in affection or in obloquy, whether as a theme for eulogy or for dispraise, such a character was attributed to the Society itself. From its possession of such a character, its friends were more especially its friends, and its enemies were more especially its enemies. Other societies were founded upon other principles ; as, for instance, the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society. From the reason of the thing, then, we should have expected, and from actual experience we know, that one class of religionists would forward their subscriptions, and affix their good wishes, to either of these last-named associations ; and that the other class of religionists would attach themselves to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Nor can it be denied that, in point of fact, while the Society promoted Christian Knowledge in a wide and Catholic spirit of Christian charity, it still promoted it in accordance with the views of the High Church section among the members of the Establishment : and from that section in return, chiefly, if not entirely, it derived the sinews of its strength ; it flourished from their donations ; it was fostered by their bequests ; it augmented and consolidated its resources from their liberality. In a word, from its very commencement, and for a long series of years, this Society was a High Church Society, and its funds were High Church funds ; because contributed by High Church men ; and, to whatever extent its objects were peculiar and exclusive, contributed for High Church purposes. Such is still the case to a considerable degree ; but some alterations have occurred, and still more are likely to occur, we will not yet inquire whether for the better or the worse, from a diversity of causes which are sufficiently obvious. Within, new shades and modifications of opinion crept into notice : without, the march of events, the novel channels of secular instruction, and the rapid development among the people of intelligence and intellectual activity, were thought to demand that a fresh vigour should be infused into the exertions of this great Christian body, and that its designs should be placed upon a wider basis. It has happened also that an irreconcilable dissension arose in the Bible Society ; and, in consequence, many of its most valuable members seceded from the rival association, and threw themselves into the arms of the Society for promoting

Christian Knowledge. Hence, of late, there has been a prodigious influx of subscribers, coming partly as the reward of past utility, partly from the general growth of religious sentiments, and partly from the schism which had broken out in another quarter. It was plain, that several of these latter accessions would be actuated by feelings and motives somewhat different from those of the original members ; and, besides, that some temporary disturbance would be the natural result of this almost plethoric fulness, flowing, as it were, into the veins of the Society ; as also from the ever increasing magnitude and multifariousness of its undertakings.

Hence a new æra seemed to open upon it. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has been met on its own ground by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. In the standing committee a liberal and middle party gradually assumed the lead, desirous, like all new parties, to organize new schemes : the old party, whose authority was displaced or impaired, could not enter cordially into their views ; and, between them, that section of the church, which had hitherto despaired of pressing its own peculiarities of doctrine, began to think that its opportunity was come, and that there was “ a tide in its affairs, which should be taken at the flood.”

Thus, mainly out of the success and grandeur of the Society, sprung up some potent elements of confusion and derangement. Thus schisms have arisen, and disputes have grown hot ; the large room has been turned into a theatre for angry controversy ; and to an unconcerned spectator it might have been a curious and not uninteresting sight to observe the violence of human passion only restrained from intemperate ebullitions by the kindlier strength of Christian impulses. Even now, although the atmosphere has been lulled into a comparative calm, the storm may burst out at any moment, and shake the Society to its centre ; and its managers, we should conceive, can have a position not much more comfortable, than if they sat upon a barrel of gunpowder, into which the dropping of one casual spark might cause an instant and universal explosion.

The blame of this disturbance we are not inclined to lay at the door of any individuals ; for the disturbing forces, we imagine, have been engendered by circumstances far too wide and various for individual control : and the disorder itself may have been an evil inseparable from some concomitant good, and more than counterbalanced by the good. But, having made these admissions, we shall proceed to offer our opinions very freely upon the actual position of the Society, and the parties which it contains.

Our task, however, is no easy one. There are so many mat-

ters under turbulent discussion in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, so many conflicting hopes and sentiments, so many sections and intersections of party, that to fling ourselves into the midst of its proceedings, is almost to throw ourselves into the mazes of an inextricable labyrinth. It becomes extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to cast our statements into any order, which may be conveniently and comfortably followed; and which, at the same time, may give a full and accurate, as well as a clear and simple exposition, of the attitude of things in this great and venerable association. The best plan which we can devise is, to consider, first, the views and objects of the Society; and, afterwards, its machinery and arrangements for carrying them into effect; taking under either division, as we proceed, a survey of the constitution, the wishes, and the interests, of the several parties, as well as we can.—In looking at the *views* and *objects* of the Society, it may be well to consider both the *extent* to which these are carried, and the *principles* on which they are pursued.

As to the *extent*, however, we shall say but a very few words; and those few will be spoken with reluctance. Probably, indeed, we should have preserved an absolute silence, but from a wish thus early to point out one unfortunate circumstance, which will accompany us, we fear, throughout all our observations, and which, we think, may afford a key to many of the misunderstandings and inconveniences which have lately troubled the Society. We mean a deficiency on the part of the directors, in general, and as a body, of that clearness of perception, or that strength of will, without which it becomes impossible for them to mark their own views with a precise and vigorous outline: a want of that firm, but calm, sagacity, which, while it takes for its operations a bold and generous sweep, would yet mould them into a determinate form, and bound them by a defined, though mighty, circumference. They sometimes seem to us like men, who are anxious to do a great deal, and yet have never asked themselves the question what exactly it is which they have to do. Hence, in some instances, their schemes have the appearance of disorderly confusion; their conduct has been exposed to a charge of inconsistency; and they have begun with creating alarm in one party, only to end with producing disappointment in the other.

For let us illustrate our position by an example taken from the *extent* to which the managers of the Society are pushing the prosecution of its objects. In its name, and its origin, and its constitution, the Society is “for promoting *Christian Knowledge*,” and the very first of its standing rules is, “that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge do *strictly confine* itself to the designs expressed in its name.” But a committee has lately been

attached to the Society, of which we are told, "the committee were instructed *not* to *confine* their operations to such works as would come *strictly* within the meaning of the words, *Christian Knowledge*; but to extend them to any branch of literature, which *they* might consider useful in promoting directly, or *indirectly*, the great designs of the Society." The formation of the new committee might be very proper; we now urge no objection on that score: but we do complain that we find these things in the same report, and that this incongruity between the rule and the transactions is suffered to continue. Either the one should be rescinded, or the wings of the other should be clipped. For what more, we ask, could be done, if the Society were *solicitous* to stultify its own order and its own proceedings? or what can be more palpable than this egregious, and almost ludicrous, contradiction in terms? Then, again, the new committee, which proceeds, as we shall see more at large in another stage of our remarks, "on the principles of trade, and not as in the Society's ordinary operations," and which may "pursue the same method to an *unlimited extent*," now starts away from the Parent Association with a most eccentric and erratic course, and now suddenly returns, not merely into the same orbit, but into actual collision; and furnishes, at one moment, "The Bible Lesson Book," and "Family Sermons;" at another, (we take three consecutive titles almost at random,) "The Natural History of Birds," "Outlines of Grecian History," and "Easy Lessons in Money Matters." "Easy Lessons in Money Matters!" and very serviceable lessons, we doubt not; and, as might be expected from the distinguished talents and station of the most reverend author, very excellent of their kind. But, really, if such precepts are to be comprised in the catalogue, on the ground that they are useful to the people, we cannot see how any imaginable exclusion can be defended; or what line can be drawn; or where the Society is to stop; or with what departments of science, domestic, culinary, and peptic, it may not concern itself; or, in short, why the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge may not publish a cookery book.

We are not arguing, be it observed, that the purposes of general literature and education may not, legitimately and advantageously, be connected with the promotion of Christian Knowledge; but we insist here, and we shall insist elsewhere, upon the necessity of revision and reconsideration, and the adoption of some specific plan for reconciling and harmonizing the Society with itself.

But the *principles* on which the Society pursues its objects are, in our opinion, of far greater consequence than the *extent* to which it carries them. It is much to ascertain, whether the prose-

cation of its views may properly include the very amplest range of exertion, or whether some of its late operations must be regarded as being at variance with the first of its general rules, and therefore as transgressing the utmost latitude of allowance, compatible with the present form of its constitution; but it is far more,—since the title of the Society sufficiently declares its aim, and since it is admitted on all hands as a fundamental axiom, that *no nobler object than the promotion of Christian Knowledge can be conceived by the mind of man*,—to examine by what standard, and in conformity with what sentiments, the diffusion of this knowledge is to be regulated.

We come, then, to the truism, that a Society which undertakes to promote Christian Knowledge, like any other Society, which undertakes to promote any other department of knowledge, undertakes to promote it, not in a loose, slovenly, indefinite manner, but in conformity with the soundest principles of the science with which it deals. True, its publications are elementary; but there is quite as strong a necessity, every one knows, that the *principles* inculcated in elementary publications should be accurately correct, as if they extended through the minutest ramifications of theology, and dived into its profoundest depths. Christian Knowledge, then, is to be promoted in strict accordance with the soundest doctrines of Christianity; and, of course, as the Society is supported exclusively by members of the establishment, in accordance with sound doctrine, as recognized by the Church of England.

And here we are met on the threshold by that great and serious difficulty, which, if we would grapple fairly with any one question relating to the Society, it is impossible to evade. What is meant by sound doctrine, as recognized by the Church of England? Can a definition be given, in which all the members of the Society will agree? or are they divided among themselves by differences of opinion? and are these differences such as to preclude any *common* line, in which the Society can proceed? and, if such they are, can the Society take two or more lines, adapted and adjusted to two or more parties? or, if that course be impracticable, to what party is it to adhere, and what line is it to take?

Let us first take the supposition, that the differences are wide and of vital moment, and that some one determinate line must ultimately be chosen. "But which?" This is an enquiry which can hardly admit of doubt. It may be, that both parties will assert with equal skill the excellence of their respective theology: but we should still deny, that the two parties stand, in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, upon equal grounds. The one

party may contend, that its publications ought to take their tone from the majority for the time being; and the other party may echo the declaration, from a conviction that they now possess the majority, and a determination to exercise that power to keep it, which is within their grasp. And it is absurd to suppose that a superiority of numbers will not make itself felt on whichever side it may exist. There are, however, many reasons, which persuade us, that a mere numerical majority for the time being is not the *first* or *only* thing to be considered—although a very potent consideration it must always be—in determining the line of doctrine to be adopted by a Society. For, if such a principle be recognized, the essential features of a Society may be changed by a sudden rush of new subscribers, and the Unitarians ought now to be the Administrators of Lady Hewley's charities. Besides, a perpetual struggle for the mastery becomes of perpetual occurrence; every meeting must be a renewal of disputes, while the name of every fresh candidate will be scrutinized and canvassed with a suspicious jealousy, and a system of *black-balling* will infallibly be pursued, which may tend to dry up the main sources of the prosperity of the Association. Such, too, must be the result, if ever it be understood that the Committee is to represent the different shades of opinion discernible among the members; and so represent them, that the numbers in the Committee shall bear an exact proportion to the numbers in the body at large. But no: the representative principle is not applicable to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; or, at least, it must be modified by other principles, less prolific of feuds and fluctuations in their practical effect; and, if the Committee are the representatives of any thing, they must rather be the representatives of the known and unswerving doctrines, in which, originally, the Society was organized, and its funds were accumulated. The nature of those doctrines we have already seen. And therefore any one of the older members has a right to say, as some have in substance said: "This Society has been formed upon certain principles; and, as members of this Society, our first duty is to maintain them. For who are they, who have been the nursing-fathers of this Society? Whose care has nurtured its resources, and in whose lap have its interests been cradled? Who are they, that have fostered its infancy? Who are they, that have brought it to the present pinnacle of exaltation and influence? No where would I abandon the distinctive tenets of the orthodox party in the Church of England; but, least of all would I abandon them *here*;—here, where I seem to stand amidst the glorious monuments, which that party has reared; here, whence the blessings of their benevolence have been shed, under the gracious protection of Almighty God, into

the hearts of millions of human beings. Are all these things to be forgotten, as if they had never been? "Shall all these labours, all these honours die?" Shall there be no recurrence to the history of the Society? Is the Society to have no *past*? Is the to-day of the Society to have no connection with its yesterday? and its to-morrow no connection with its to-day? Let us speak and act, as if the distinguished prelates, the learned divines, and the pious laymen, who constituted this association, were now the witnesses of our words and actions; let us *not* act, or speak, in a manner, which, besides being a departure from the soundness of Christian doctrine, would be a dishonour to their memories, and a breach of faith in the employment of their bequests."

Such might be the language of men, who would proceed, in their filial reverence, as if there stood before them the shades of Bishop Compton and Dr. Thomas Bray. Such language might well be held, upon the hypothesis which we have assumed, that the differences are irreconcilable, and therefore that a decision must be made between antagonist opinions.

Many, indeed, may say that every man's guinea is as good as his neighbour's; that all, if admitted as subscribers to an equal amount, must be admitted to have an equal voice; and that it is absurd to suppose, that such distinctions can be recognized in the same Church, as to bind down a Society to any specific course, which favours one party at the expense of another. But we reply, that, *if* the distinctions exist, they must be recognized. For it seems, in truth, the most untenable of all theories, that two lines can be taken by which both parties will be satisfied.

Yet some would, perhaps, tell us, that, upon the supposition of wide and vital differences, these same differences must exist in the Church of England itself, which yet manages to contain, and suit, both parties alike. But the cases are not parallel. If the Church were about to put forth a new set of homilies, or an enlarged exposition of its tenets, then the Church would be placed in nearly the same position, in which the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge is placed at the present moment. But the Church is not called upon, as a body, to assert, or explain, its doctrines and discipline afresh; the differences are mainly raised about the interpretation of the articles, which are already embodied in its creed. The Church rather acts through her several ministers in their several localities; and these several ministers, although subordinate to the ecclesiastical canons, and subject to episcopal jurisdiction, have yet in their own sphere a distinct agency and discretion. But a Society must act as *one*, in its collective and corporate capacity: and therefore it is, that far stricter and more complete unity and congruity of operations

must be required in a religious Society; than in the general body of the Church. It becomes impossible for a Society to proceed long upon two principles at once: and therefore it is, that the points of difference, if ever they are brought to an extreme issue, will probably be contested in some place, like the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, opened to all parties, almost as a field of combat. In the Church a hundred differences of opinion may exist for years almost without clashing: on the floor of the same Society they must soon meet with a ruder or more tempered shock. Or, if a Society, in the hope of preventing the collision, *should* try two lines of publication, and frame two sets of tracts, then, very shortly, *more than two* would be found necessary: all sorts and shades of sentiment would claim to make the Society their organ; and the relative proportions of time and money, to be expended on the peculiar views of several parties, would become matter of controversy; and, under almost every aspect, more evils and annoyances would result, with a less counterpoise of benefits, from an attempted *olio* of opinions, than if two or more separate Societies were formed, acting in honest competition, and each placed upon its own independent footing.

But, if it be allowed that no single Society can advance with energy and success upon a *plurality* of principles, there comes another supposition, which as yet we have not entertained; namely, that one middle line may be taken, which moderate Churchmen will immediately support, and to which the members of all parties, with the exception of a few violent individuals, will, in time and by degrees, become assimilated and conformed: And thus we are brought to the point, which—although the preceding topics will be seen, before we conclude, to have been relevant and essential to our argument,—is, in reality, the most knotty and most prickly, as well as the most interesting and most important, of the whole discussion.

At once we say, that, if such a policy could be steadily and successfully pursued, we should hail its success with almost transports of satisfaction. It would not merely confirm the welfare of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; but might be the harbinger of a new and brighter epoch in the Church of England. And, when we look around us, and consider how much of virtue and prudence that Church contains among her sons; and how many young ministers are rising up, who unite all the soundness of the one party, with all the activity of the other, we may not be altogether confident, but we should deem it a crime and a folly to despair.

On the other hand, the work is intricate; the difficulties are enormous; the instruments at hand are not the most plastic,

and ductile, and manageable of materials; and a middle course, as it is called, may be pursued in a manner, which, if it does not ensure failure, will, unquestionably, neither command success, nor deserve it.

In the first place, a middle course may be no course at all. Instead of treading its own path with dignity and certainty of step, it may be running after the variety of stragglers in every possible direction. Instead of bringing others over to itself, and procuring their adhesion; it may go in quest of opposite opinions, and after walking part of the way with one system, may suddenly cross the road to walk the rest with its antagonist. A policy, like this, is *itself crooked, instead of keeping others straight*; instead of bending to circumstances a little, and so swaying them much, it is the very sport of every gust of accident, and, literally, blown about by every wind of doctrine. Instead of bringing the two extremes to any approximation, it is itself driven alternately from side to side—a mere shuttlecock between the vigorous battle-doors of adverse factions.

In the second place, a middle course, if it disdains subserviency or craft, may displease both the parties, which it aims to conciliate. Or, perhaps, we should say "*all the parties*," rather than "*both the parties*." For as some would divide the members of the Society into three parties, others would divide them into four, or a larger number: some would divide them into the Orthodox party, the Evangelical party, and the Liberal or Middle party; others would distribute them, like the Deputies in the French Chamber, into the Right—the Right Centre—the Left Centre—and the Left.

Yet, again, if men seek to trim the balance by their cleverness as tacticians, the result may be still more lamentable. For, make what division we may, it is clear that the more determined advocates, on either side, consider the theological tenets of the Society, and therefore in some degree of the Church of England, to be involved. They do, and will regard it, as a matter of controversial divinity, in which the truths of the Gospel are at stake; and no error will be found so fatal, no view of the matter will be found ultimately so false, as an attempt, on the part of the Standing Committee, or the Middle Party, to treat it as a matter of dexterous management, or prudential expediency. Any such policy, in itself not a high-minded high-principled policy, will assuredly break down, to the injury of the Association, and the discredit of its authors.

They who *desire* changes in the theology of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge will proceed upon the Irish plan pursued by O'Connell, and recommended by Lord Anglesea, and will

"agitate, agitate, agitate," as long as there remains any hope or chance of effecting them. We take it for granted, that these parties are anxious for the diffusion and triumph of their peculiar tenets. The contrary supposition would do them wrong. Whatever a man's religious sentiments may be, it is a libel upon him, and not a panegyric, to suggest, that he has not a desire to see them widely and progressively prevalent; or that, having the desire, he will not take the most efficacious measures within his reach to attain his object. For religious truth is a matter of importance so unspeakable and so sacred, that, if a man be indifferent whether his views of it are received or rejected, we are compelled to suspect that he cannot be in earnest about religion at all.

A belief, then, that the aims of one party are as elevated as of the other, and their designs as pure, and their motives as conscientious, is itself our assurance that they will not rest satisfied, while principles, which they deem erroneous, preponderate and give the tone in a society to which they belong.

But then they who are of other sentiments must be strenuous to defend them, just in proportion as it may be reasonably anticipated that they will be honestly and strenuously attacked. And thus, if serious and fundamental differences do really exist, there must be a perpetual struggle for the mastery in those points of difference, until there is given to one side or the other a fixed, decided, and acknowledged predominance.

So at least think, and will think, the members of the older party in the association, who are opposed to all changes in the tenor of its theology. From a combination of unhappy circumstances, and for the most part, we verily believe, from a train of mutual misconceptions, they are already estranged from the men who have been, and may be, and ought to be, and would wish to be, cordially and cheerfully, their associates and fellow labourers. Some of them, we fear many of them, have peopled their imagination with dark and hateful phantoms. They have conceived a party composed of men, who once belonged to them, and are now betraying them; who turn their backs upon their friends, and throw out a wretched leer of invitation to their enemies; whose dislike is as pusillanimous, as their affection is equivocal; who mistake cowardice for moderation, and compromise for prudence; who are led, while they affect to lead; who have no inherent strength, because no consistent stability; who catch, however, a temporary, and casual, and pernicious power from the curious equipoise of opposite sides; who seem to have weight, because a feather may turn the balance, where the heavier contents are equal in both scales; but who have no proper influence, because they depend upon assistance, which is given, not from love, but

from the mere convenience of the moment; who are the dupes of their own artifices, the fools of their own tactics; never successful, but in the cause of their adversaries,—the tools and instruments of men to whom, throughout their previous lives, they have been always opposed.

But why do we present a picture such as this? Because we believe it to be correct? God forbid! We are thoroughly persuaded in our hearts, and we speak without one particle of hidden meaning, that it is a vision made up of unreal apparitions. But we are also persuaded, that if some smothered, or only half smothered, emotions could have vent, they would utter almost such language as we have ventured to employ: and we have employed it, because there can be no harmony until the whole truth be known, no renewal of broken amities until the present heart-burnings are quenched by a few words of frank and reciprocal explanation; and the society cannot proceed with comfort until the minds of many estimable men, which are now darkened with these gloomy figures, shall be disabused of their erroneous impressions.

But the members of the middle party, and the standing committee in general, will declare that they have been studiously solicitous to remove doubts and errors, and that all future misapprehensions must be wilful, be the source or current what it may; inasmuch as they have been at particular pains to show, that their intention is to carry forward the views and objects of the society on the theological principles recognized from its foundation; and, in the way of change, or extension, merely to organize new and improved means for the facilitation of their accomplishment. It may, therefore, save trouble to pursue the discussion with a more peculiar reference to this latter department of the inquiry.

As to the present *machinery* and *arrangements* of the society for carrying its objects into effect, it may for most of our readers be superfluous to observe, that there is the general Standing Committee, of which the province and authority do not seem to be very exactly defined; there is the Tract Committee, for the purpose of superintending the religious publications of the society; there is the Foreign Committee, for the translation of the Bible and its subordinate accessaries in the work of religious instruction into a variety of languages, and their diffusion throughout the globe; there is the Committee in the Strand, for the purposes of general literature and education; there must, perhaps, be a Financial Committee, if the society is next to become its own bookseller; there are the District Committees in the country; and there are gentlemen employed in separate and independent tasks, as, for in-

stance, Messrs. Lonsdale and Hale, in preparing a new edition of the Scriptures, with notes and expositions.

When we look more closely at this large and diversified horizon, several anomalies and discrepancies emerge upon it to our sight. The Foreign Committee, for instance, seem to belong to a new and different society, engrafted upon the old; for the subscribers are admitted without ballot, and although their subscriptions may be equal, or superior, in amount, to those of the usual contributors, they will not thereby become members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Strand Committee, again, is not, properly considered, so much a branch of a religious and charitable society, which undergoes a certain and calculable loss upon the mass of its transactions, and therefore which requires not merely a capital in the first instance, but a steady and perpetual supply of subscriptions; as a large trading association or company, speculating in new productions upon the chance of profit or loss, according to the success or failure of its publications. Waiving, however, these considerations, let us turn to the Tract Committee, with which we have a more immediate concern; and, that our notions may be more correct, let us take a rapid glance at some of the meetings and occurrences which preceded its institution.

For some time, the sober and business-like character of the ordinary meetings of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," had been exchanged for scenes, somewhat painful and indecorous in their immediate aspect, and yet menacing worse evils for the future than the inconveniences which they inflicted at the moment. Not merely were objections frequently made to particular tracts on the list of the society, or certain passages in particular tracts; but these objections were frequently introduced by long and declamatory speeches. It was felt, or feared, that some members, who held peculiar views of Christian doctrine—and men not, perhaps, the most discreet, and learned, and experienced of their party—fluent and prodigal of words, and bitten with the *cacoe!hes loquendi*,—were anxious to turn a religious association into something like a debating club, and, if they could not effect their ostensible objects, at least have the pleasure and the glory of exhibiting *themselves*. Moreover, proposals to change or modify the composition of the standing committee were made by other persons, considerably different in the *calibre* of their minds, as well as in the general estimation. Mr. Benson moved that a part of the committee should go out in rotation at specified times; and thus that an infusion of new blood should be constantly poured into its arteries. Mr. Hill moved, at a subsequent meeting, that several additional members should be intro-

duced, with a view of rendering the constitution of the committee less exclusive than heretofore. In the fate of these propositions the liveliest anxiety was manifested. The Standing Committee resisted them both, and with success. The committee, however, seemed in some measure to admit their principle; for, at the meeting in April, a notification was given to the subscribers, that a Tract Committee was to be appointed, composed of members whose names were read, and who had been selected from *all* parties, carefully and by design. Three bishops were also mentioned as referees. The notification was judged to be informal without the previous sanction of the society; and Mr. Campbell then stated, that, in order to obviate any irregularity, he would bring forward a distinct motion on the subject, at a special meeting, which was afterwards appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the 2d of May.

There never, probably, was a notice which occasioned so much interest or agitation in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Hopes and fears were equally excited. On both sides the newspapers took up the matter; and on both sides it seemed to be considered as "*the beginning*" of a series of extensive and important changes; whether by "*the Record*," which hailed it by anticipation as a triumph in itself, and the herald of wide and brilliant improvements; or by the "*John Bull*," which deprecated it as the first step to dismemberment and subversion. But, besides these two extremes of sentiment, many men had their doubts and disquietudes on quite independent grounds. They discerned sundry obvious advantages in the proposed plan; but they also saw, or imagined that they saw, the danger of in fact committing the theology of the association to seven arbiters, who, however respectable by character, and station, and acquirement, yet maintained various and perhaps conflicting, opinions.

The second of May arrived; and they, who were present at that memorable meeting, will not easily forget it. Members crowded to Lincoln's-inn Fields from all quarters of the country; and the rooms were overflowing long before the business of the day commenced. A large proportion of the episcopal bench were present; and many may still remember with a smile the somewhat *naïve* explanation which was given of some little confusion which had been heard, while the archbishop was reading the prayers: "May it please your grace, there are three more bishops waiting at the door, and they cannot get admittance."

After a kind and Christian exhortation from the president, warning the assembly against a repetition of the violent intemperance which had created scandal and annoyance in a previous meeting, Mr. Campbell opened his motion with a speech which

struck even men of the most opposite sentiments as being remarkably lucid in its details and able in its argument. We write simply from personal recollection; but, as far as it serves us, we should say, that the object of the Reverend Gentleman was to show, that the proposers and advocates of a Tract Committee were not so much innovators, as renovators; that the plan, in its main features, was either a recurrence to old usages, or an adoption of former recommendations; that the division of labour was always good in principle, and that in the existing case it was absolutely indispensable to the practical operations of the society; that complaints had been loud and frequent as to the inefficiency of the society's publications; that more spirit and power must be thrown into them, in order that they should keep pace with the intelligence of the age; that, whatever misrepresentations might have gone abroad, there was no disposition to fling overboard the orthodox divinity which the society had always upheld: but, at the same time, that vast and incalculable benefits might result from an attempt to reconcile and harmonize various parties and various opinions within the pale of the Establishment, in proportion as it would be a sad, a lamentable, a pernicious spectacle, to exhibit to infidels, to Dissenters, and to the country at large, that the Church of England was so split and rent by intestine divisions, that its adverse sections could not act upon the same committee in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

In conclusion, Mr. Campbell, seconded by Mr. Tyler, proposed his motion to the effect—for we only pretend to give the *substance* of proceedings, and not any accurate report—that a Committee be appointed, having for its province to consider and revise the tracts and religious publications of the society, composed of the seven following members:—the Rev. Hugh James Rose, the Rev. Dr. D'Oyly, the Rev. Mr. Ward, the Rev. Mr. Lonsdale, the Rev. Dr. Dealtry, the Rev. Mr. Baker, the Rev. Mr. Cunningham; and that there should be a reference to the three following bishops:—the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bangor, and the Bishop of Chester.

Dr. Spry then proposed an amendment, to the tenor of which, as it appears, Messrs. Campbell and Tyler had previously assented,—limiting the powers and jurisdiction of the Committee, placing a more direct authority in the hands of the Episcopal Referees, and increasing their number to *five*, by the added names of the Bishop of Gloucester and the Bishop of Lincoln.

On the other events of the morning we have no room to expatiate; as, for instance, on the uncompromising remarks of the Bishop of Durham; on the piteous cries of adjournment to the Freemasons' Hall, by which they were interrupted; on the immi-

rent danger in which the assembly was placed, of having to walk through the thoroughfares of London, headed by the archbishops and bishops, in a procession which might have astonished the staring multitudes in the streets, scarcely less than the sudden re-appearance of a Canterbury pilgrimage; or the descent of Mr. Campbell and Dr. Spry to another room for the purpose, we must not say of "fighting their battles o'er again," for contention there was none, but of explaining the nature of the motion and the amendment, to the throng, who, before listeners, but not hearers, had been huddled together at the door-ways and on the stairs. It is enough that the result was highly gratifying. The motion, in its amended shape, was carried with hardly a dissentient voice, and hardly a hand held up against it; and a meeting, over which, from its first announcement, there had hung the threatening indications of a coming tempest, passed off amidst the calm and the sunshine of an almost perfect concord.

But, while we repeat our gratification at the result, we would prevent future errors, of which the consequences might be deplorable, by stating, without a particle of ambiguity or concealment, the causes which produced it. Ingenious arguments and conciliatory language may unquestionably have done something; but, of themselves, they could no more have dispelled the rising symptoms of hostility, than the progress of a hurricane could be arrested by a whisper.

Vain would it have been to talk about the necessity for a division of labour; and the impracticability that so large a body as the Standing Committee, and one so occupied with the other transactions of the society, should examine, with the requisite minuteness, the literary and doctrinal merits of its publications, and decide upon contested passages in the tracts. For it would have been answered,

"We quite acknowledge the utility and the value of a division of labour; but there is another principle which it is altogether as essential to keep in view, namely, the *unity of design*. If we look only to the internal constitution of this proposed committee, it seems formed of elements which cannot assimilate or work together. But we must go farther. We must look at the society as a whole, and its various committees as parts of a whole. We must take care that they do not clash one with another. We must take care that 'they all speak the same thing.' We must take care that the future proceedings of the society shall not belie the past proceedings, and that it shall not utter one language in Lincoln's-inn Fields, and a different language in the Strand; that the doctrine of its tracts shall coincide with the doctrine of its sermons; and that the comments in its occasional publications shall not militate against the interpretation of the Scriptures put forth, or to be put forth, in its own authorized edition. In a word, we must take care

that the integrity and the *identity* of the association be preserved. When we go through the names of the seven gentlemen who are to form this committee, and then turn to the names of other gentlemen upon whom the society has rested other labours and other responsibilities, have we any guarantee or security that such will be the case?"

Vain, again, would it have been, to allege the happy prospect of tranquillizing perturbations and mitigating animosities, by means of a committee which might harmoniously blend the several hues of temperate opinion into the same series of publications. For we know that it would have been answered,

"Truth is always one; and, therefore, there can be but one hue which reflects and represents it. Besides, are we not told that the society is on the eve of a new era; that a brighter and better order of things is about to commence? For what, then, are we to look? For what are we to prepare ourselves, and make up our minds? Other parties may look at this matter as it suits their convenience. They may vary their tone, as they would attain their *own* object, or persuade us to resign *ours*. But which branch of the alternative is to be chosen? If arguments are wanted for a strong attack, *then* the points of controversy are vital and fundamental; if inducements are to be urged for a weak defence, *then* they are slight and unimportant, scarcely worth a contest, distinctions without a difference! But surely we may retort such reasoning, and say, if they are slight, it can hardly be a wise or a safe course to change on their account the constitution of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and why, therefore, are alterations pressed upon us with so importunate an obstinacy?—If they are essential, then we, holding the sentiments which we do hold, and must hold, are more than justified in a firm, unflinching, and uncompromising resistance. We will not here inquire whether the doctrines of the Church of England are Calvinistic, or Arminian, or both, or neither; but it is self-delusive, if not criminal, to treat the differences lightly, as if small and superficial, while other parties lay a stress upon them, as being deep and dangerous. For, in such a case, it would not be difficult to foretell on which side would be the energy; and, therefore, on which side would be the success."

Vain, moreover, from similar causes, would it have been to recommend a supply of tracts commensurate with the demands of the people, in an *intellectual* as well as religious point of view. For our own parts, we are clearly of opinion, that there has been enough, and more than enough, of "adaptation to the meanest capacity." When we think of the productions which are now most greedily devoured by the lower classes,—of the average contents of *their* penny publications,—of the Sunday newspapers, composed purposely for the millions, and made up for their market—of "the Pioneer," and other organs of the Unions,—and of the style which the Dissenters use from the pulpit and from the press, we are more and more convinced that the most ruinous of

all mistakes is, to write *below* the powers and the expectations of the popular understanding. To write *above* them may be an error, but it is often regarded as a compliment; and there is the hope, not always a groundless hope, of raising men by degrees to the higher level which is required; but to write *below* them is to be stranded by design; or to tow a heavy vessel on a dark and sluggish stream, while they, who ought to be with us, are gaily crossing the bridge which is flung over it. Works so written the people will not read: they will turn away from them with a smile of contempt; or, perhaps, resent them as an affront, and almost become alienated from the persons who offer them to their notice. But, nevertheless, it would have been answered,

"The tracts may require somewhat more of vigour, somewhat more of life, somewhat more of attractiveness. Yet, here, there is no wonder and no fault. They were well fitted for the times in which they were compiled; but *now* they may be suited only to the very young or to the very old. The surrounding community may have outgrown them. As society steps into its manhood and swells into the fulness of its intellectual stature, much of its former literature will seem childish and contracted, alike deficient in comprehensiveness and depth. But the distinction must be drawn. The theology put forth by a religious association is not to vary with its literature. Our religious tenets are variable only so far as new light is thrown upon the Bible, or struck out of the Bible. When the evidences in support of our faith are deemed conclusive, the Scriptures must be to the Christian just what the whole material or objective world is to the natural philosopher, and the whole immaterial or subjective world is to the metaphysician. Natural science, then, is infinitely progressive, because progressive discoveries in the whole volume of nature can never be exhausted. And so in the religion of the Bible, there is a certain progression as to almost unnumbered matters of history and criticism; but the great doctrines can hardly be said to be progressive in the same sense; because no new facts can well be brought to the surface, and because they may be stated in a few brief, definite, and unalterable averments. Religion is not a science of progressive experiments, but is fixed in one declaratory, positive, authoritative revelation. We, therefore, will not consent that seven persons should be made the depositaries of the theology of thousands; unless we may assert the immutability of the spiritual part of our tracts; inasmuch as our religion is immutable, and what is orthodoxy now must be orthodoxy always; while we allow the progressiveness of the intellectual part, because the intelligence of the people is progressive. To us it appears as sacred duty to maintain the theological character of this society unimpaired, as it *can* appear to any other persons to alter it. We must not be frightened by terms, or scared at watch-words of abuse. We may be accused of intolerance; but if our intolerance is intolerance of doctrinal unsoundness, we trust that we shall always be intolerant. We may be taunted with exclusiveness; but, if our exclusiveness is the exclusiveness of truth, we cannot help it, and we cannot regret it: for it is

the very nature of truth to be exclusive. The truth, which should admit alliance with error; or which, instead of being one and unchangeable, should be fluctuating and manifold; or, in other words, the truth, which should not be exclusive, would be no longer truth. In such a cause, then, a man must be determined, if he is in earnest, and must be in earnest, if he is conscientious. We see every thing in Christianity which enjoins an inflexible adherence to 'sound doctrine' and 'the form of sound words'; we see nothing in the Gospel which inculcate a spurious liberality at the expense of faith and truth."

So, yet farther, vain would it have been to urge the advantage, of attaching the largest possible number of friends to the society by the amicable exchange of mutual concessions. For it would have been answered, as by the Bishop of Durham it *was* answered, "Conciliation is only another name for compromise." It would have been answered,

"We want stability of system, rather than coalition of parties. If the concessions are mutual, then, on both sides, doctrines must be sunk; and none will be gainers but those who believe least. We must either have a pie-bald, heterogeneous, self-confuting, discordant divinity; or else see the distinctive tenets of our faith diluted into colourless and tasteless generalities. God forbid that we should ever see a picture of Christianity composed entirely of neutral tints. But if the concessions are not mutual, are we to allow a victory over ourselves, which we should be the first to deplore as fatal to the Society and to the Church?"

In short, we have known it declared, that it must be suicidal in the majority of a body—and only not deserving a verdict of "*felo de se*," because springing from "*temporary insanity*,"—to yield tamely to opponents whose manifest aim it has long been to treat the Society almost as cooks treat a lobster, and keep it in hot water in order to boil it into a new complexion. And vain, above all things, would it have been to advocate the *repose* which might have accrued from a pliant policy or temporizing expedients. For to representations such as these, the other party have, it appears to us, a triumphant reply. They say, and we think justly,

"We are told that we shall give offence and provoke hostility. But which is better, to offend men, or to sacrifice principles? Besides, universal experience teaches us, that when two parties have an object to contend for, the exactions of the one will be always proportioned to the timid weakness of the other. Truth is better and more precious than peace; but that is not our argument. Our argument is, that to surrender truth for the sake of peace, is a certain specific for losing both. The present semblance of harmony entails a reality of future and interminable discord; and the first concession involves every other concession. For the sake of peace we must resign all that is worth a struggle; and we shall keep nothing in tranquillity, because we shall never be allowed to enjoy tranquillity, while there is any thing to keep. It is a

madness rather than a mistake, to desert, for the sake of peace, a fragment of our principles, unless we are prepared to abandon them all. For the same reasons which persuaded us to abandon the part, may be urged with yet stronger force as inducements to abandon the remainder. They who once waver in the battle are almost lost; but they who once turn their backs have, with every successive moment, less and less scruple, less and less shame, in quickening their coward pace, until they rush helter-skelter from the field, in a confused, disorderly, irretrievable rout. Either, therefore, we must maintain our principles in their integrity, or we must entirely give them up. Which, then, shall we do? Shall we defend the fortress, as brave men, who know its value? or, even before we are fairly vanquished, shall we go out, like John of Calais, with the keys in our hands, and the halter round our necks? Shall we endeavour strenuously and firmly to promote the cause which we believe to be the good cause?—or shall we suffer a system which we deem to be a mischievous system, to advance with rapid, and exulting, and uninterrupted success? To state the question is to answer it. Oh, away, then, with that illegitimate and craven conciliation, which would afford a premium to the encroachments and outrages of folly, which encourages error to be more and more exorbitant, and which delivers truth and right as bound, and helpless, and prostrate victims to the tender mercies of violence and wrong."

But if all these things could have been stated, why, it may well be asked, why was Mr. Campbell's motion, modified by Dr. Spry's amendment, received with favour so universal and complete? We might answer, perhaps, precisely because it was modified by Dr. Spry's amendment. Forbearance, too, might have been exercised, in compliance with the excellent advice of the president of the society,—advice quite sufficient for its purpose, without the succeeding "*admonition*" of a gentleman unknown. But there is another circumstance to which the consummation of harmony "so devoutly to be wished," is mainly attributable. The Standing Committee, who had been exposed to the imputation of veering and changing their position, and striving only to trim the boat so that it should float for the moment smoothly and easily down the stream;—in fact, of resisting a motion at one meeting, and themselves proposing a very similar motion at the next,—at length took up a firmer and more intelligible ground. They could give no guarantee for the futurity, which will be beyond their controul; but they have given some pledge of their own intentions. On the very day of Mr. Campbell's motion, a circular, from which we take the following extracts, was distributed to the members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The date, however, is April the 14th.

"The Society's proceedings having been grossly misrepresented in some of the public papers, especially in regard to its books and tracts,

we are directed to state briefly, for your information, what has taken place respecting them, at the meetings of the Society, during the present year.

"At the meeting in January, the Board, with the view of preventing the recurrence of some unpleasant and injurious discussions, which had taken place respecting the Society's tracts, agreed to the following resolution:—

"That any tract which shall be objected to by three members at any meeting of this Board, be referred, without discussion or division, together with a written statement of the objections, to the Standing Committee, with a request that they will report on the same, at their earliest convenience."

"Since that time no discussions have taken place at the Board respecting any particular tract; but objections have been made, in writing, to two of the Society's publications, namely, the '*Pious Parishioner Instructed*,' and the '*Great Importance of a Religious Life*.' These objections were referred, in accordance with the above resolution, to the Standing Committee. The report of the Standing Committee on the first of these publications was presented to the Board at the general meeting in March, and was in the following terms:—

"The Standing Committee, having carefully considered the objections which have been urged against the tract, the '*Pious Parishioner Instructed*,' are by no means disposed to recommend that it should be removed from the list of the society's publications. Of those objections some appear to the committee to be wholly unfounded; of some they are unable to perceive the force; while others, directed against particular passages, which are liable to be misunderstood when taken without reference to the general tenor of the book, may be easily obviated in a future edition. And the Committee beg to assure the board, that they will carefully revise the tract with that view."

"The report on the '*Great Importance of a Religious Life*,' which was presented at the last general meeting, was as follows:—

"The Committee have carefully considered the objections made to the tract entitled, the '*Great Importance of a Religious Life*.' They are of opinion that the tract is highly useful; and the large circulation which it has obtained for many years is a proof that it is generally acceptable to the members of the Society. The Committee, however, think *the objections to certain passages deserve consideration*; and that the tract should be revised, with a view to obviate those objections."

"You will readily perceive, by the tenor of these proceedings, that although the Society is perfectly willing to *examine into the truth* of any charges which may be brought against its publications, it is not disposed to yield to unreasonable objections, *nor to give up those principles of sound doctrine, which it has so long maintained*. And the members may be assured, that in recommending any improvement which may be necessary, in order to adapt its operations to the circumstances of the times, the Standing Committee will be most anxious to *maintain unchanged the character of the society* as an institution formed for the purpose of pro-

moting sound religious knowledge, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

We will not affect to think, that this is the most explicit of documents :—but it was satisfactory as far as it went, and it was well-timed. Some of the expressions are peculiarly, perhaps studiously, indefinite :—it is a most “lame and impotent conclusion” to say, that “the Committee HAVE *carefully considered objections*,” and “think that the *objections to certain passages deserve consideration* ;” and some persons, we conceive, may look upon the whole circular as the production of men, who felt that they were compelled to say something, and yet were determined to say as little as possible. Still, although cautious in its terms, its import could hardly be mistaken, even without the key of Mr. Campbell’s speech ; and, coming simultaneously with that gentleman’s motion, it materially contributed to disarm opposition, to avert an impending storm, and assist the formation of the Tract Committee. Other objections have since been done away by the resolution, that the Committee, in its present shape, is little more than a *provisional* experiment: that the members must, before the complete expiration of two years, be elected afresh ; and that they are thus placed under very considerable limitations, both as to *time*, and as to *power*. Under these circumstances, although our expectations are not altogether sanguine, as to such a combination of men, however personally excellent and unexceptionable, while differences of opinion continue unsettled, we do most cordially hope, that the Committee will have a fair trial ; that no vexatious obstructions will be thrown in its way ; and that it will realize the wishes of its most ardent friends. In all human probability, if it weathers the existing commotions, every succeeding period will invest it with more and more efficiency ; and the chances will be more and more in favour of its being eventually and largely instrumental in allaying heats, and composing dissensions, and showing that there is no fatal centre of repulsion, to disunite the steady and temperate members of the Church.

Still, we would anxiously repeat, that this happy issue is to be ascribed to the assurance afforded, and the impression made, by the “Circular,” far more than to any other cause. Thus an anchor was let down and fixed ; and the vessel has been kept steadfast in her moorings. Draw up the anchor, and who shall say, whither the vessel will drift ? All will be at sea again ; and heave upon the tumbling billows, with the very pilots uncertain of their course.

We take the past as our index to the present and the future.

An extreme line of conduct is not required ; but nothing will go well without an ascertained and palpable line.

There are four principal aspects, in which the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge may be regarded :—

1. The theological character of the Society and its publications.
2. The influence exerted by the Society upon the general literature and knowledge of the country.
3. The internal arrangements of the Society, and the distribution of authority among its members.
4. The pecuniary and commercial concerns of the Society.

Of these four aspects, we have confined our attention almost exclusively to the first ; both because the theological question is of immeasurably more importance than any other question can be ; and because its adjustment, we are sure, will lead to a more easy adjustment of the rest. Difficulties, indeed, there will remain, many and great difficulties ; but men will approach the discussion with a disposition to heal rather than aggravate them. Other topics, it is true, deserve and demand a most serious inquiry ; but the inquiry will be conducted in a very different spirit, as religious disagreements are, or are not, rankling in men's minds.

For instance, as to the second point of view, questions will and must arise, with respect to the nature, and extent, and diversity, of the proceedings of the Society. The considerations will occur, whether the Society is not stretching out its arms almost too widely, with its Foreign Committee and its Strand Committee ; since we are told in the Report that, long ago, "*the sphere of operations became so extended that it was found necessary to separate the institution into two distinct branches.*" One of these branches was incorporated by a charter from William the Third, under the name of "*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*" And, again, the great work of Education "*was transferred to the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.*" At least it may be argued, that the vast extension of its concerns involves a necessity for proportionate care in the management of the Society, a more complete order and method in the regulation of its arrangements. The propriety, again, may be doubted, of attaching a large trading, speculating, publishing Company, as an integral part of a religious and charitable Association ; and subjects may be started bearing upon some apprehended collision with other Societies, or with private interests. But when these matters shall be placed simply upon their own grounds of expediency, or practicability, or economy, the truth may soon be elicited ; and a sound dispassionate conclusion may be soon attained.

Thus, too, as to the third point, questions **will and must** arise as to anomalies and inconsistencies, **real or imagined**; as to the rights of country members, **and the privileges** of district committees. It may be said **that all the subscribers** to the same society should be placed **as nearly** as possible on a par; that it is strange for an **association** to recommend the formation of district committees, **and yet** allow them no collective voice in the association **itself**, and no representation by chosen delegates. It may be **urged** that some suggestion like Mr. Perceval's should be tried; or some other plan adopted for the satisfaction of men who may think that the religious excitements of a vast city, and the number of proprietary chapels, and the ambition fostered by large and fashionable congregations, and almost unnumbered circumstances of time, and place, and personal interest, may engender a somewhat different tone of divinity from the tenor which prevails in the quiet and more obscure ministrations of country parishes. But if the theology was definitively settled, how many of these questions would fall at once to the ground; how comparatively little could the most distant subscribers object to intrust their interests to the London clergy; and how soon would that discussion, or that controversy, in the district committees, which is now so much dreaded, be found to be a healthy vent, rather than a dangerous inconvenience.

We might pursue these remarks into many smaller details; as, for instance, into the question, which has been sometimes raised, as to the right or competency of any committee, or any society, to tamper with an author's productions after his death, or in any way alter a publication without the knowledge and consent of the writer, continuing nevertheless to put it forth under his name. Now this inquiry, and all similar inquiries in reality, take their sting from a latent or avowed suspicion, that the theology of the association is unhinged, or likely to be unhinged. Wherever there is the very narrowest opening, religious disagreements will insinuate themselves into the crevices; and we might confirm our position by illustrations drawn from the pecuniary, and commercial, and mechanical transactions of the Society; nay, even by the question, whether it should be its own bookseller, or employ, as, heretofore, the publishers, with whose house it has been so long connected. But on this subject we forbear from adding a word.

The first thing, then, and the second, and the third, is for the Society to follow up its circular-address, and take its stand upon the adamantine basis of its ancient doctrines. We do not mean that no expressions are to be modified, no slips and inadvertencies corrected; but we contend that the inviolability of the fundamental tenets of the Society, *recognised as its presiding principle*,

will be the auxiliary, nay, rather the lever or moving power of all other improvements; but without such recognition, neither will other improvements be found practicable, nor can harmony be ensured from month to month. It is for the *sake* of the Standing Committee, and in sincere respect for the Standing Committee, that we speak, when we declare that there are malcontents who will speak of them in terms like the following, as long as their minds are clouded with *one shadow* of distrust:—

“ They must put out, not a guarded, dubious, vote-catching manifesto, ambiguous as a Delphic oracle, but a clear, straight-forward, specific guide to the subscribers, about which there can be no mistake. They must take a decided tone; they must fix a standard. If it is never fixed, what tranquillity, what order, can there be in the meetings of the Society, or what efficiency in its operations? If they mean ultimately to fix it, there is almost bad faith in not fixing it at once. And what but eventual enmity can exist in the breasts of the very party which they would propitiate, if they advance only to draw back, and open the door only to shut it, and excite hopes only to disappoint them ?”

So there has been a complaint—probably a well-grounded complaint—that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been lately turned into a debating society; at least an arena on which the gladiators might descend with the net prepared, and the sword sharpened; or a tilting-ground on which the champions and knight-errants of controversy might enter the lists. The evil is apparent; but, until things are put upon a sure footing, it is inevitable. Vanity is much; but stronger and better feelings have been called into action than vanity. As long as some men desire changes, and think that they can achieve them by declamation, declaim they will at the top of their lungs, and to the extent of their eloquence. As long as other men apprehend that subversive projects are in contemplation, what room is there for blame or for surprise, if they lift up their voices in self-defence, and seize every opportunity of protesting against them?

So, again, the country subscribers were for years quiescent, because they reposed confidence in the London Committee. Let that confidence be once shaken; and either they must be admitted to something like a full and equal voice in the proceedings of the Society; or their subscriptions will be withdrawn; or their remonstrances will be perpetual, and their expostulations peremptory. *As long as there is doubt, there will be always uneasiness; as long as there is uneasiness, there will be always agitation.*

In offering these sentiments, we would speak as moderate

men, having the cause of moderation warmly at heart. We ought not, perhaps, to fear that moderation will be confounded with pusillanimity; for inward constancy and self-repose, free from timidity, because assured of its own purposes, and the legitimacy of their scope, and the practicability of their execution, is the only basis and best guarantee of a genuine moderation; whereas pusillanimity is altogether destructive of it, because for ever oscillating between the extreme points of violence and fear.

But there is some danger that moderation may be confounded with an irresolute and vacillating policy. Yet, if a moderate line of conduct means an undecided, wavering, shifting line of conduct, moderation is a poor and contemptible quality: if a moderate line of conduct means a time-serving line of conduct, that turns and changes with the ebbs and flows in the patronage of the few, or the caprice of the many, then moderation is a base and dastardly quality; and, instead of being lauded as a virtue, ought be driven out of society with the curse and brand of every honest mind upon its name. But by moderation we would signify that mild and even, yet courageous wisdom, which takes a calm and practical survey of the objects and interests of human life, not under a single aspect, but in every possible or rational point of view,—which preserves the equipoise between opposite extremes, because it discerns the narrowness or partiality of perception from which they severally spring,—which estimates aright the value of things, and the feasibility of their adoption; and therefore proceeds to act upon its determinations without flurry, without bluster, without precipitation, but still without fluctuation and without delay. It is the steadiest and firmest of all principles; precisely because it has weighed and deliberated well; and, therefore, nothing can occur to take it by surprise, and disconcert its measures; no new elements are likely to spring up, of which it has not calculated the existence and the force.

It is this sort of moderation, we are well assured, at which the members of the middle party in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—that party which has been usually victorious in the Standing Committee—have been aiming throughout. Yet we also think that they have hitherto missed the mark—we will not say by following where they might have led, and swimming with the current which it was their business to direct—but from not defining their views with a line sufficiently broad and clear—from leaning first on one side, and then on the other—from showing an alternate bias to incompatible theories, in the vain hope, as we apprehend, of conciliating conflicting opinions—for conflicting interests there are none—and from borrowing, by turns, here a bit from one system, and there a bit from another,

instead of grasping and retaining a stable and open policy of their own. And what has been the consequence? They have in some cases neutralized their influence, and exposed their principles to suspicion, by instilling a natural, if not reasonable, doubt as to their motives and designs. The members of the Society throughout the country have been precluded from placing in them that full and cordial reliance which their station and character deserve; for uncertainty, we say again, is the death-blow to confidence. Cautious and reflecting men have held themselves aloof until they could see their way; and, unless a firm hold is gained on the one side or on the other, the champions at the opposite extremities will endeavour to use them as instruments for defeating their immediate antagonists, with the same ulterior intention—the only sentiment, perhaps, which they hold in common—of turning round and crushing the middle, or liberal, party at the first convenient opportunity.

The guiding principles, then, of the Tract Committee, and of all the other committees, must be accurately marked out by the Society, and not left to individual discretion, whatever be their constitution, and whoever their members. And if they are already marked out, they must be sacredly observed. But here we stop at once—for it would be an unpardonable imprudence to suggest a doubt, which we are not ungenerous enough, or unjust enough, to entertain.

Another thing wanted, as it appears to us, is a more perfect organization of the government and direction of the Society. That unity in variety, which is the great law of nature, must not be overlooked in the midst of its multifarious concerns. It may be requisite that *the division of labour* should be still more complete than it has hitherto been; but it is more requisite to bear in mind, that the division of labour can never be mapped and planned with accuracy, until the boundaries of the Society, as *a whole*, have been adjusted; and the entire sweep of its operations has been made known. We are therefore of opinion, that the Society should possess a federal constitution more regular and better understood. Some of our readers would perhaps be more pleased, if we said that the principle of *centralization*, which is now so fashionable, might be applied with advantage. But the word would not express our meaning. We are far from desiring that all the business should be taken out of the hands of several *co-ordinate* committees, and thrown into one central board. Our wish is, that there should be a Tract Committee, a Financial Committee, and as many more committees as may be needed for the multiplicity of transactions; but that, in addition, there should be *some General Committee*, to which they should all be subor-

minated; while that committee would be itself responsible to the Society at large: some great regulating committee, composed of the most experienced and dignified members of the association; a body, not so much to be burdened with the trouble of originating measures, or taking the initiative part, as to form a supreme board of revision, of appeal, of reference, of superintendence, of control; which would command the confidence of the subscribers; which would check and keep together the other agencies at work; and so preserve something of consistency, order, and sameness throughout all the ramifications and proceedings of the Society.

If some such measures are adopted, we shall ourselves anticipate "*a new era*" for the Society, and discern in it the most powerful of instruments for diffusing Christianity and for strengthening the Church. As to the continuance and extension of *partial changes*, without some *general* scheme of survey and regulation, serious doubts may be felt on the score of safety or of expediency; but if such measures as we have mentioned be adopted, the directors will have a sure *fulcrum* for their future undertakings; they will have no need of that adroitness of tactics, which has conjured up points of form in moments of emergency, and stopped the mouths of speakers by some bye-law of the association;—for all will be contented, except the very few whom nothing can content—and these few, not persons who possess, or can possess, influence in the Society; but others, who, not satisfied that their minds have been steeped and salted in prejudice, are never happy, unless their prejudices can be kept constantly in *soak*.

But *unless* the theology be fixed, and there be some systematic *revision of the Society as a whole*, what is it likely to become? It is likely to become an assemblage of disjointed and discordant members—without a head;—a thing, which, from a too rapid growth, has shot up out of all symmetry and proportion;—a motley and miscellaneous collection of incongruous features, an almost promiscuous jumble of contradictions, or, at best, a rocking Bable of loose and unmortared structures—a Society, with a hundred projects on the anvil, but none dovetailed and cemented together, the transactions laughing at the rules, the immediate proceedings striving to undo and nullify the past history and original constitution; and the last amplifications only a revival, under other names, of the very designs, which had been previously dropped, as too unwieldy for the management of a single association, according to the express declarations of the last report.

The present arrangements, it is evident, cannot be the final arrangements. This Society, like the whole world around it, is

in a state of transition; and, also, like the whole world around it, must be content to bear with the disputes and discomforts incident to such a state. The fountains have been broken up; but the stirred and troubled waters have not had time to subside into a new condition of repose.

Our observations are not meant to toss the billows into a more tumultuous excitement. We have delayed them, by design, until they shall appear on the very day of the last meeting of the Society for the season; a period which is too late to augment the outbreak of angry and tumultuous feelings, and which just precedes the clear space of three months, which must intervene before any stormy proceedings can be by possibility renewed. We do trust that some opportunities will be seized in the interval by the managers of the Society, for taking a calm, deliberate, and comprehensive review of its whole position; and it is chiefly in that hope that we have ventured, firmly and frankly, but with sincere deference and respect, to submit the foregoing remarks to their attention.

Professions are almost always idle: but they must here be worse than idle, if the tenor of our strictures contradicts them. We leave our observations, therefore, to speak for themselves. Keen, however, will be our disappointment, unless they shall be considered as bearing evidence, that we have no disposition to annoy, no desire to embarrass, the present directors of the society; that we are not about to become either the organs or the instruments of a splenetic and factious opposition; but that our wish has been rather to stand apart, that we might have the opportunity of surveying the general circumstances from a more favourable point of view, and pointing out, as spectators of the game, what the more interested players may have been too busy to see. At the same time, the posture of affairs in the Church, even more than in the Society, is too critical for a timid silence, or a shrinking delicacy; and we should be utterly ashamed of disguising or concealing to what principles we are attached, and, if there should be a necessity for an actual struggle, what cause we shall espouse.

To those most excellent and estimable men, who have bound to them all the members of the Society by the ties of enduring gratitude; who long guided it and fostered it, although they are now rather on the side of opposition—it may be in us presumption to address ourselves. Yet we would assure them, that in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, we are, like them, more anxious about the *quality* of that knowledge, than about its *quantity*; more anxious about the matter of the publications, than about the *manner* and the *style*. Let us, however, own, that,

while we are staunch "Conservatives" in the former respects, we are disposed to be *Liberals* in the latter. And our hope is most earnest, that they will not withhold from the present managers of the Association the assistance of their virtues, and authority, and experience, along the more extended line of its operations. Under no circumstances, assuredly, will they dream of secession. Their secession might ruin the Society; or, at least, might throw its direction into the very hands from which they are the most desirous to preserve it. They must not secede. The Society cannot spare them. We should miss them always: and as was said of the great of old, we might "miss them most in the day of battle."

Some secession, perhaps, there will be. Some there would be, perhaps, whether the doctrines of the Society were stable; or whether they adopted the huckstering principle of "*splitting the difference*." Some few may be driven away. This is an evil:—for we would not willingly lose one zealous and conscientious Christian:—but it is an infinitely less evil than others easy to be conceived. And we may reasonably doubt, whether, in the long run, there will not be gained a larger number of subscribers from a firmer and more exclusive, than from a more lax and pliant policy. Be this, however, as it may, we would adjure the party, termed Evangelical, not to press the Society *too* hard; not to urge their peculiar distinctions with too fierce a pertinacity. The Committee is pledged against them. It cannot even be supposed, that it has a wish to retract its pledge. If it had the wish, it would still be fixed and nailed to its own declarations. They cannot, then, be gainers. If they persist, they may be discountenanced, and their friends may be excluded. The meetings of the Society will be fewer: and less discussion will be allowed. The discords and discrepancies of the Society must be brought to a termination: and if *their* "agitation" is thought to be the root and origin of disturbance, the effect will be removed, by removing the cause. A little forbearance may prevent great mischief.

We have now finished the course of our remarks: and it is but too probable that we shall not have carried the entire approbation of any party along with us. The discussion may, however, have this use, that, if our sentiments cannot please others, they may at least afford them *data* for establishing their own, and materials for moulding them into a more specific shape. It may also do some service, in disposing *all* parties to think charitably and kindly, even if not gratefully, of the Managers of the Society; by showing that, "high and palmy" as is its existing state, they who direct it have no easy or unencumbered task: but have been frequently placed in positions, where the most clear-sighted ability

might mistake its way, and the firmest integrity might pause in hesitation. Their fortune has been, not to let their bark drive before the favourable gale,

“ On the smooth surface of a summer sea,”—

the skies all serene, and the waters all tranquil: but to steer a vessel, of which the timbers are not joined very safely and compactly together, in a perplexed and perilous navigation, amidst rocks on one side, and quicksands on the other, with a Scylla here, and a Charybdis there, and, too often, the clouds everywhere threatening, and the surges every where boiling madly round them. In the calmest times, it must be a matter of no light responsibility and no small embarrassment, to manage in a way which shall give general satisfaction, the interests of some sixteen thousand subscribers, and the expenditure of an annual revenue, amounting to some seventy or eighty thousand pounds: but the difficulty and delicacy of the undertaking must be increased tenfold, when every measure is watched with a jealous and suspicious scrutiny; when new parties are seeking to establish new dynasties; and when a polemical fermentation is at work in almost every breast.

We cannot bring this long article to a close, without again expressing a hope, that we may not have given offence, or inflicted pain, by the plainness of our speech, and the freedom with which we have ventured to offer advice to men

“ Older in practice, abler than ourselves
To make conditions.”

If the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge had been in a perfectly calm and comfortable state, we would not have written one syllable to disturb its tranquillity: but since it is too manifest that it has contained for months within itself the germs of perpetual disorder, if not of disorganization and dismemberment, silence would have been injustice, and the mere daubings of an indiscriminate praise would have been fulsome sycophancy; while we quite allow that the missiles of malignity, shot from behind the battlements of anonymous publication, would have been a darker, and dirtier, and more disgusting, baseness. Inveterate wounds have been festering within its bosom: and who could cure them without probing them?—who could heal them by treating and plastering them as skin-deep? Besides, as we began by saying, what is true of the Society, is true also, to a certain extent, of the Church in general. We consider the Directors, not merely as trustees of the funds, and repositories of the tenets, of the Association; but as stewards and guardians of the doctrines of the

Church of England. The maxims, which we have laboured to establish, have an application far wider than the bounds of the Society, magnificently extensive as they are: for they have the very widest application at a conjuncture, when matters of the most absorbing interest are at issue, and the dearest and holiest principles are at stake:—when true moderation is urgently required, and yet when the real nature of moderation is frequently and signally mistaken;—when, in some places, the violence of party-spirit makes men blind as with a wilful or judicial blindness, and deaf as the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears;—when, in other places, men pursue the unhappy system of treating a formidable antagonist with more favour and distinction than the faithful, but candid, friend;—the system, therefore, which, if it appeases one enemy, engenders and raises up fifty, since they are taught the advantage of opposition;—the system resembling that fatal policy, which disgraced and destroyed the Roman empire in its last days of feeble cowardice, anxious to buy off foes with a part of the possessions, which an insolent iniquity had invaded; while the bribe itself, the token at once of wealth and weakness, was an invitation and a premium for the renewal of the attack with greater fierceness, and determination, and confidence. On the other hand, a temperate firmness, united with a wise expansion and comprehensiveness of views, if it cannot save the nation, may at least set every thing to rights in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. That Society was never yet so flourishing in its resources; it never yet occupied so large a space in the eye of the country; it never yet had such ample means of good at its disposal. May it always be true to itself and its own purposes: may its harmony be strengthened and assured; and may it accomplish, more and more, over a wider sphere, and with a more penetrating efficacy, its glorious end of promoting “*Christian Knowledge*”—that knowledge, which most improves man, and ennobles man, in the life present; while it *alone* can fit him for the happiness offered by redeeming mercy in the life to come. The blessing of Almighty God cannot but rest upon a cause so righteous—upon efforts so conformable to all that we can know either of His immutable essence, or of His revealed will.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

THE three months, which have passed since our last publication, have been crowded with events interesting to the Church. They all, however, seem to turn upon the point, whether the Establishment is to be preserved in its essential purity as an ecclesiastical institution, and its essential authority as a co-ordinate power connected with the State. In our present number, therefore, we have devoted a considerable space to the purpose of showing—first, that it is a matter of comparatively small importance, that the Church should be maintained in the integrity of its political influence, unless it be also maintained in the integrity of its doctrines; and, secondly, that doctrinal innovations would very soon involve its political downfall. These two remarks we would here repeat as the key to our observations in more articles than one.

Let us now take a rapid glance at our actual position.

There have been periods in this country, when the pressure of financial difficulties threatened almost universal bankruptcy. There have been periods, again, when foreign invasion menaced the destruction of individual freedom and national existence. Yet a conjuncture so pregnant as the present with almost hopeless *embarrassments* the oldest men among us could not recollect. Life and liberty are not in peril; and yet holier and more precious things may be in jeopardy than either liberty or life.

The war of principles seems hurrying to a decisive struggle. Neutrality there cannot be much longer. Every honest man must soon take his station among the belligerents. In the shock of the coming collision, the men, who would be on neither side, or on both sides,—the trimmers—the temporizers—the prevaricators—will be the first to vanish. Either they will be crushed in the meeting of the hostile bodies, like a ship between two icebergs; or they will be swept away, as useless incumbrances, when the decks are cleared for action.

And then how will the opposite parties be arrayed? The composition of the antagonist forces is an astonishing and fearful spectacle. On the one side, we must rank the Monarch himself; on the other side, the confidential and responsible advisers of the Monarch. And the two branches of the Legislature are even more at variance than the King and his Ministers. We have a revolutionary House of Commons, and a conservative House of Lords. The one is urging the administration *beyond* the point where it would stop; the other would arrest and turn back its headlong course. And how are these knots to be untied? is the sovereign to inundate the nobility with new Peers for the purposes of accomplishing measures contrary to his own opinions, his own feelings, his own conscience? Or, is the omnipotence of the House of Commons to be

resisted? Or, is the Parliament to be dissolved, and an appeal made to the people? And, if it is made, what is likely to be the result? We tremble at the manner in which the present Ministry may conduct our affairs; and yet, perhaps, no other Ministry could be formed, which would be able to carry on the Government of this country for a month.

Again, if we look abroad into the mass of the nation, we find not so much party divided against party, as class against class. Very shortly, perhaps, may we see not Whig ranged against Tory, and Tory against Whig; but the poor against the rich, and the rich against the poor;—the few against the many, and the many against the few. The most fearful of all signs is, that the chasm is widening between the orders of society. We have pernicious "Unions" in the parts of the population to the utter disunion of the whole; and the master is at strife with the workman, and labour is erecting its banner against property.

Is it not true, then, that the position of the empire is most *embarrassing*? Who can survey it without the throbs of almost choking interest? Least of all can Churchmen remain indifferent. It is a Church question which has generated a diversity of sentiment between the King and his Ministers:—it is a variety of Church-questions, by which, chiefly, a want of agreement is exhibited between the two Houses of Parliament: it is a Church-question, which has split the Administration, and severed from it the soundest, the ablest, the most eloquent of its members;—and, as the Church-questions are wisely, or violently, managed, so, in general, will the country be blest with safe and steady improvements, or precipitately revolutionized through all its institutions.

Nor can there be a necessity for adding, that, as Mr. Whewell has truly and emphatically said, "The Church is the *heart* of our social body;"—that the contest is not *only* about the Church, although the Church may stand the brunt, and be the first point of immediate attack;—for that every man defends his own property in defending the property of the Church, and guards his own happiness in maintaining its integrity; and that, if Englishmen would rally round the throne, they must rally round the altar; and that, in rallying round the altar, they *do* rally round the throne.

But we must proceed more regularly; as our business is to give a slight register of events, and not any thing which can even wear the appearance of a rhetorical declamation.

Up to the moment at which we are writing, hostile demonstrations have been more remarkable than hostile acts. Much more has been threatened than done. Lord Brougham has introduced an extraordinary Bill in a manner still more extraordinary.—The curious opportunity chosen by his Lordship, precisely, when the English Bishops were absent from the House of Lords;—the discrepancy manifested between the Chancellor and the Head of the Administration— the surprise felt in *every* quarter—these are matters, which we shall not attempt to characterize. Lord Brougham cannot have the expectation—can hardly have the wish—to carry his measures in their actual shape. Should we be justified in giving the common solution of his Lordship's conduct? Was his object just to retrieve his lost ground with the Dissenters? and then to leave the affair

"*in statu quo*" Or did he kindly mean, by the extreme tendency of some of his enactments, to excite public sympathy in favour of pluralities and non-residence?

The Dissenters' Marriage Bill appears to have fallen to the ground, as being equally unsatisfactory to all parties concerned. Probably, however, some stronger measure is in contemplation. The measures about Church Rates and Commutation of Tithes in England seem also in abeyance. Mr. Brougham's Registration Bill has been taken up by the Government, and will, probably, in process of time, and with some modifications, be passed into a law. In the matter of Education the Ministers have adopted their favourite course of a Committee of Inquiry: and we might have thanked Lord Brougham for the tenor of his declarations, if he had not taken occasion, after his most approved manner, to sneer at Churchmen as being merely followers and imitators of the Dissenters. We have ourselves said, and we repeat, that the conservative portion of the Clergy and the Laity have much to answer for, through their want of *originating* bold and comprehensive measures of improvement, and more often taking the lead: but here the Lord Chancellor of England ought to have known; or, if he knew, he ought to have recollected; and, if he recollected, he ought to have mentioned, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge had taken under its care the business of popular instruction, long before the Dissenters, as a body, turned their attention to the subject.

In the Legislature, nothing new was adduced in the shape of argument; but the truth seemed to be felt, that State-Education will not necessarily thrive where it is an exotic, because it has thriven where it is an indigenous plant: and the danger will soon be seen, that, if there be State-Education, it will vary with the turns and fluctuations of the State; it must partake of the nature of the reigning opinions; and might in England become a cold unscriptural Education, just as under a military despotism we have seen an entirely military Education, and a whole land covered with polytechnic schools.

Among the other questions most nearly affecting the comforts and the character of the people, the foremost is the Bill relating to the Poor Laws. At present, we have neither space nor spirits to examine, under all its bearings, so nice, so vast, so intricate, and so complicated, a subject. The old system, whether from mal-administration or from inherent defects, was the parent of wide demoralization and growing wretchedness: God only grant that the new system may not kindle throughout the land the unextinguishable flames of a social war.

This mighty topic, however, as well as the not irrelevant subjects of Emigration and Colonization, as also of crime and punishment, and the uniform system of prison discipline proposed by Lord Wharnccliffe, we must reserve for future discussion. There is, however, one remark which we cannot omit. It is impossible to refrain from uttering a complaint as to the course and the managers of the debates in the House of Commons, upon motions relating to Education or to the Poor Laws. To whom was the discussion left? On the one side, chiefly to the Benthamites, on the other side, chiefly to Sir Samuel Whalley and Mr. Cobbett. But influential statesmen—our guides of practical wisdom and expe-

rience, what did they say or do? What leader among the Tories spoke on either side of the question with vigour and at length. What then? Was this a matter for the Tories to be *mute*? Do they consult their own interests, and the good of the country, by reserving their strength for holiday questions, and themes on which any spouter can declaim? It is with regret and surprise that we think of their suicidal infatuation. Had they *no* opinion in such a cause; and, if they had an opinion, was the cause so trivial that it was not worth while to deliver it? Oh, let them be assured in time, that reflecting men and religious men in the country place questions in a very different scale of relative importance from the partisans in the House of Commons; and that they can pardon any fault in their representatives rather than sloth, or indifference, or apathy. Are the conservative politicians determined that the people shall distrust and dislike them, from the belief that they are inert and supine, and take little or no interest in the grave and momentous, but calm and unimpassioned, inquiries, which involve the general improvement and happiness of mankind? Are they determined to justify Lord Brougham's sarcasm, that the mechanics of the land engross its patient thought, its solid and sturdy knowledge; but that the gentry of the land care only for flashy points of display, or, at best, graceful and superficial accomplishments? And, gracious God, what is to become of the country, if one party *does wrong*, and the other party *does nothing*!

Would that Sir Robert Peel, for instance, would, on the Education and the Poor Law questions, bring forth and exert, for we know well that he possesses, the same stores of information, the same power of argument, with which, on other matters of church and state, he has shattered and pulverized the sophisms of his antagonists, even on a stage which is generally adverse to his opinions!

Another of those delicate and perplexing subjects, which we are unwilling to touch, when we have not space for examination, is the *Religious Assemblies' Bill*. That the old prohibition had its inconveniences, in times and places where the population had outgrown the accommodation in churches, it would be unreasonable to deny; but we still apprehend that even greater inconveniences will arise, nay, results perhaps prejudicial to a regular ministry, and fatal to an establishment, and most injurious to religion itself, unless sound precautions are taken; or if, ultimately, it is found, or fancied, that every man has an equal right to preach every where. The only safe and wholesome thing obviously is to erect new temples, and ordain new ministers, wherever they are required. If there be so miserable and soul-debasing a parsimony, eating like a canker into the heart of the legislature and the people, that these things cannot be done, we suppose that some strange and middle plan must be adopted between the good old practices of family devotion and public worship; for it is easier to consecrate rooms than to build churches, and cheaper to get up expositions in private houses than support and fill edifices to the honour of God. But, oh, let us not regard as a triumph, the deep disgrace that we cannot, like our fathers, make the public spiritual provision commensurate with the public spiritual wants.

In an earlier part of this number of our Review will be found a discussion of the question which relates to the admission of Dissenters to degrees at the English

Universities. Yet an ecclesiastical record of the period would be most incomplete without some reference to the subject; as hardly any topic of the time has excited so much controversy, or among disputants so distinguished. At Oxford, Mr. Sewell has conveyed some excellent sense in pure, vigorous, and racy language. But Mr. Sewell and Mr. Maberly stand in no need of our commendations. The applause, with which their names were received in the theatre of the University to which they belong, must be a reward far dearer and more precious in their eyes than any praise which we could offer. As to Cambridge, we can only say, that on our speaking to a friend during the dry weather about the want of rain, his reply was, "*at Cambridge it rains pamphlets.*" It would be worse than superfluous here to go again through an examination of them; but it may save some trouble, and afford some guide to our readers just to mention, that the question of the admission of Dissenters has turned principally upon four points:

1. The *history* of the matter, and the ancient academical usages.
2. The weight of *authority* for, or against, the admission.
3. The *reasonableness* of the project in itself.
4. The *feasibility* of its *practical* execution under existing circumstances.

As to the *history*, we may admit the position that the Universities are, in a legal sense, lay corporations; the stories about King James and Newmarket we may leave untouched; but still, the broad ground remains uncontrovertibly clear, that the Universities, in their spirit and practice, and the several Colleges, in their foundation, their statutes, and their discipline, have always been connected with the ecclesiastical constitution of the country; and that now to divorce them from it by the intrusion of Dissenters, on almost equal terms, would be to introduce an innovation never contemplated, and place them on a footing on which hitherto they have never stood.

As to *authorities*, again, we are quite ready to try them, either by *number* or by *weight*. The talents, the acquirement, the great and varied merits, of many of the gentlemen who signed the first petition, it would be a mad injustice to disallow. But the old thesis is not quite inapplicable, "*quam quisque nōrit artem, in hac se exerceat.*" It is strange reasoning to infer, that, because these petitioners are conversant with mathematical certainties and the fixed relations of quantity, they must therefore be the best judges as to the probable course of contingent events; that, because they have been conversant with rocks, and soils, and masses of inanimate matter, they are most competent to deal with the mighty matters which affect human action and human passion; that, because they are eminent for concentration of study, they must cast the wisest and most comprehensive survey over the ample and eventful stage of political and religious regulations. We intend no disparagement; but, if such be a logical conclusion, and such men are to dictate to the country in such matters, then the ancient lecturer was not so very wrong after all, in giving Hannibal a lesson upon the art of war: then we must ask Mr. Faraday's opinion upon a point of theology, and consult with Mr. M'Culloch upon a point of literary taste; we must talk of versification with Sir Robert Seppings, and take the advice of Mr.

Thomas Moore upon the theory of naval tactics, and go to Mr. Joseph Hume, as an "*arbiter elegantiarum*." Our respect, and a very deep and cordial respect it is, for such men as Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Thirlwall, cannot blind us to the incongruity of setting them up as umpires and referees in affairs quite foreign from all the habits of their lives. On the other side, at any rate, are men of equal learning, equal influence and station, and far more practical experience in the business of instruction. As to *numbers*, again, it would be even absurd to institute a comparison. At Cambridge, the majority is immense. At Oxford, from the heads of houses and the oldest fellows, down to the freshman who went up last term, there is but one sentiment and one voice. And, if little stress is to be laid upon the impetuous vociferations of excited under-graduates, surely some deference is due to the sober and unanimous suffrage of every tutor in the place.

As to the *reasonableness* of the admission; as to the justice that the education at National Universities should not be severed from the National Religion; that Churchmen should have the privilege of excluding Dissenters from Colleges founded by Churchmen, as Orthodox Dissenters would exclude Infidels and Unitarians from Colleges founded by themselves; as to the balance of *good* and *evil*; as to the prospect of *harmony* and *discord*; as to the chances of *advantage* or *danger*; the matter has been already argued in Parliament, and throughout the land, as some may think "*usque ad nauseam*;" and to us it really seems almost too plain to bear argument.

The mere agitation of the subject has already done infinite harm; and the petitioners, we imagine, must be sorry for the storm which they have conjured up, but which they cannot appease. It grieves us to the very heart to see the controversy sliding by degrees into personal bitterness; to see the kind and generous nature of Mr. Sedgwick degenerating into acrimony, until he can find a poor pleasure in attempting to wither the laurels that have not been long green, to browbeat and put down a young and clever antagonist like Mr. Selwyn; or to see a man with the European reputation of Mr. Thirlwall, reduced to find his situation at Trinity uncomfortable or untenable.

Again, as to the feasibility of the scheme in its actual operation, how can it be well and conveniently *practicable*, when the Dissenters would go to the Universities for their degrees, against the known and expressed wishes of all who are to govern them, all who are to instruct them, all who are to live with them? Where will be the endearing and affectionate relation between tutor and pupil: where the frank and honourable emulation of young men, when Dissenters go as Dissenters, and are *forced* upon the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge? What *can* result but anger and disquietude, and laceration of feelings, and perhaps lamentable ebullitions of exasperation and passion? Nor is it possible to get over the difficulty, the dilemma, as to college discipline. By the plain principle of the project, and by the terms of Mr. Ward's motion, the Jew is admissible to degrees. But is the Jew, who, by the way, as was observed by Sir Robert Peel, is rather a stumbling block in the way of the *historical* argument—is the Jew to be compelled to attend the Christian chapel? If he is *not* compelled

how can college discipline be enforced? If he is compelled, will not this compulsion soon be considered as great a grievance as his former exclusion? And may not this extreme case elucidate at least a hundred others? In spite of the majority of 174, Ministers cannot dream of carrying the measure.

One thing we must repeat: the evils already caused are many and alarming; the disruption of personal intimacies and private friendships;—the substitution, in too many instances, of distrust and dislike for open and ardent cordiality— the state of distraction into which whole colleges have been thrown—the shock given to the quiet studies of the University—the fiery irritation generated in youthful minds, which, even in a good cause, is of very problematical advantage—all these things are foretastes of the ultimate consequences which will result from the admission of non-conformists on the terms and in the manner demanded; and must prove to the very originators of the scheme, that its prosecution will unsheathe the sword of unmitigated enmity, instead of gilding it to the scabbard.

It has struck some persons as a curious fact in the history of these pamphlets that they are *all* written by churchmen. The admission to degrees in the national Universities does not, therefore, appear to them to be in reality a matter which the Dissenters have very seriously at heart. Hereafter, perhaps, they may make a stalking horse of it, and demand it as a step to their ulterior objects; but at present Churchmen are almost tearing each other to pieces about granting a boon to the Dissenters, for which the Dissenters themselves hardly take the trouble to ask. Such persons begin to suspect that *conscientious* Dissenters would rather have their own religious education in their own colleges; and that *political* dissenters are comforted by the assurance, that, if their grant end can be secured, all the rest will come as a matter of course; for that the garrison towns must follow the fate of the main army. They believe, in short, that the privilege of degrees is not of itself, and for itself, a thing near and dear to the bosoms of the Dissenters; and that it is merely in its connection with the eventual ascendancy of their principles, that they think about it, and care about it.

The only *plan*, we think, which deserves consideration is the argument, that the non-admission to degrees is a *civil grievance* to the Dissenters; because it ~~throws~~ *throws* impediments in their way upon the path of active life, as, for instance, in the professions of law and physic; and that both the parliament and the country are pledged to the removal of *civil* disabilities on account of religious opinions. Be it so. Then, as an infinitely less mischief, and an infinitely less discomfort, than their admission to degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, let the Dissenters have their own University and their own degrees; and let the College of Physicians and the Benchers of the Inns of Court deal with those degrees according to their value; and award immunities and exemptions in consequence of them, if the intrinsic worth of the education conferred, and the respectability of conduct and attainment, of which degrees are supposed to be a guarantee, be found such as to merit the privilege. They are the persons with whom the matter will rest.

The debates on this subject are well worthy of perusal. There is only one other which can compete with it in importance. We mean the subject of the Irish Church, and the commission which is appointed. This commission proceeds upon the principle, in spite of any disingenuous disclaimers, that *ecclesiastical property is alienable for any purposes to which the legislature may choose to apply it*. For else why did Mr. Stanley, and Sir J. Graham, and Lord Ripon, and the Duke of Richmond, secede from the ministry? Into the more abstract question, we think it folly to enter; or to trouble ourselves with the threadbare arguments about state prerogatives, or state necessity, or the "*salus populi suprema lex*," or the utility of sacrificing a part to the interest of the whole. We would merely take the ground, that only an absolute, overpowering, grinding necessity can be a justification, on the part of the state, of that transfer of property which must be preceded by a seizure of property: that if church property is alienable, all other property is alienable; and that, if a people is once familiarised to this idea of alienation, no property can long be safe. As to some of the details, we would refer to the spirited manifestos of Lord Winchelsea and Lord Roden;—or rather to the magnificent speech of Mr. Stanley, which it rejoices us to see published. It rejoices us still more to see that gentleman fulfilling the high expectations of the country; and not tarnishing, by any fatal inconsistency or tergiversation, the earliest honours which he reaped upon the floor of parliament. His conduct on this occasion will help to make him, on some future day, prime minister of the British empire.

For the rest, some symptoms are as encouraging as others are portentous. Meetings in support of the Church have been held in various parts of the kingdom. Addresses, declaratory of affectionate attachment and inviolable adherence, have been poured in by the Lally both to his Majesty and to the highest dignitaries in the hierarchy of the land. The King has avowed his personal and inflexible resolution to resist any projects tending to the subversion of the Establishment, and even his doubts as to the necessity of material alterations. At Oxford, the Duke of Wellington has been elected Chancellor; and the enthusiasm manifested at his Grace's installation must have been a convincing indication of the feelings still prevalent, not merely among the Clergy, but also among the aristocracy and the gentry of the kingdom.

At the same time, unceasing are the efforts to drop into the minds of the people at large the poison of estrangement and discontent. Members of his Majesty's Government, Mr. Ellice, for instance, can talk of the existence of the Irish Church as having caused fearful injury. In the House of Commons, too, there is a spirit unquestionably bad: there is an un-English spirit; and not only a sectarian spirit, or a republican spirit, but a cold, shallow, pedantic, yet destructive spirit, which would first level all our institutions with the ground, and then begin *de novo* to build an entire edifice after some splendid model of utilitarian philosophy;—for which purpose the ghost of Jeremy Bentham ought to start up and lay the first stone.

The Dissenters, again, have not been idle; and their designs, almost in spite of themselves, are becoming more and more palpable to the world. Lord Durham

has professed himself their especial friend; he seems in his heart to go along with the whole, or almost the whole, of their demands: but there are some which he recommends them not instantly to press; and he advises them to bear a little longer with the unholy alliance between Church and State; or, if they cannot attain to patience, at least not for the present to suffer their *impatience* to be visible.

The whole spirit of the system, which is recommended by Lord Durham, we would denounce and repudiate. Our principle is to speak out, and make other parties speak out. Our wish is, that the real views and intentions of all parties may be so stated, as to preclude the possibility of evasion or mistake; and then that the people of England may be left to judge between them; and some comfort it is, that the Dissenters have spoken out, and that the members of his Majesty's government have spoken out. Some comfort it is, that they have spoken out on opposite sides, and that they are now committed to opposite opinions. Some comfort it is, that if, the Dissenters are to carry their point, at least they cannot carry it while the present Ministers are in office. Lord Grey and Lord Brougham *dare* not concede *all* that the dissenters would exact.

And can Lord Durham really believe, that, after all which the Dissenters have said, and all which the Dissenters have written,—after all that is in remembrance, and all that, we rejoice to say, is upon indelible record,—after all that has become matter not of conjecture but of history, there exists any human being in the country so silly, so stupid, so besotted, as *now* to be gulled by the shallow artifice of a temporary silence?—as to imagine that the Dissenters will be satisfied with any thing less than the complete subversion of the Establishment, as an Establishment,—than the entire and final separation of Church and State. His Lordship's advice is *too late*. What is the use of masking a battery which has been seen; or putting on a visor when the face has been recognised? If the battle must be fought, we would fight it out at once; before our adversaries grow stronger by our cowardice or supineness; before their resources are concentrated, and their stratagems are ripe.

As to religious and philanthropic associations, there are others, of which we are anxious to treat, when we have an opportunity, in the same way as we have now discussed the proceedings of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. With regard to that admirable and most powerful association, we would here restate, for the sake of obviating misapprehensions, that our object has been to advocate, first, *fixedness* of theology, together with *progressiveness* of intellectual and literary power; and, secondly, *unity of purpose, together with division of labour*, and the necessity of taking a wide and comprehensive, we had almost said, a philosophical and statesmanlike, view of the Society as a whole, in order that the sphere of the several departments may be accurately defined: because, without such a view, one Committee, or one branch, will be always invading the province of another; just as the "*Supplemental Catalogue*" now clashes with the works of "*General Literature and Education*;" and some of the books of the *Strand Committee*, by way of retaliation, we suppose, trench upon the *list of the Society's religious publications*.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

The New Testament with a Commentary. Part III. Acts, Romans, Corinthians.
By the Rev. C. Girdlestone, Vicar of Sedgely.

HEARTILY are we rejoiced to meet Mr. Girdlestone on his own ground. His present labours are an honour to himself, and a service to the Christian world. They bespeak the pious, earnest divine;—the exemplary minister—the indefatigable and practical commentator. Here Mr. Girdlestone is quite at home; we are never sorry to meet with him, except when he makes excursions into the debatable regions which lie on the confines of religion and politics. The “Concordance to the Psalms” will also be found highly useful;—although, of course, a work of less pretensions than the Commentary to the New Testament.

A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon. By the Rev. Thomas Parry, Archdeacon of Antigua.

WE agree with the Author, that although the Remarks are local, the spirit is general. His advice is peculiarly applicable to the Colonies, and “the present crisis of West Indian affairs;” but, certainly, they will not be inapplicable *here*, and now, to men in the different relations of “masters and servants,”—“employers and workmen,”—“landlords and tenants.”

Exposition of the Parables, and of other Parts of the Gospels. By Edward Greswell, B.D., and Fellow of C. C. C., Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

THIS elaborate and sterling work, although it already stretches through three tolerably large volumes, is yet incomplete. We, therefore, postpone our strictures. It is, however, but justice to state now, that the reader who is interested in the Parables of the Gospel,—and what Christian reader is not?—will find, in the copious and learned labours of Mr. Greswell, a vast quantity of diligent research, accurate criticism, and curious illustration.

SACRED ANTIQUITIES.

1. *Beke's Origines Biblicæ, or Researches in Primæval History.* London: Parbury, Allen and Co.
2. *Winning's Essays on the Antediluvian Ages.* London: Rivington.
3. *Man, as Known to us Theologically and Geologically.* By the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D. Rector of Biddenden, Kent, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

To those, who have time and disposition to grapple with some of the most interesting and momentous subjects, which can engage the mind of man—subjects, however, which are not to be lightly or capriciously taken up,—we cordially

recommend the works just specified:—the two former more especially; as the work of Dr. Nares on that rather wide topic, “*Man*,” is of a lighter, and more desultory, and, may we presume to add? more gossiping kind. A minuter examination of the labours of the excellent Professor might lead us into a hundred controversies. To Mr. Beke we may recur, when the whole of his researches is before us; and Mr. Winning’s Antediluvian History may then also come under review.

MEMOIRS AND REMAINS.

1. *Sermons, Fragments, &c.* By Isaac Barrow. Now first collected and edited by the Rev. J. P. Lee, M.A. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
2. *Bishop Lowth’s Sermons and other Remains*, with a Memoir by the Rev. P. Hall, M.A.

THESE two works we purposely reserve. It would be injustice to the memory of two great men to write a hasty notice after a hasty perusal. Dr. Monk, the present Bishop of Gloucester, has given us an excellent life of one Master of Trinity College;—we wish that he had time to do for Barrow, what he has done so well for Bentley:—for Barrow, a man of whom we may surely say, as was said of Pearson, “that the very dust of his writings is gold.”

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1. *Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. C. Neale.* London: Seeley and Burnside.
 2. *Memoirs of the Rev. Basil Woodd.* London: Seeley and Burnside.
 3. *Remains of Dr. Payson, of Portland, U. S.*

WE look upon these volumes rather as tributes of affection to the memory of the deceased, and gratifying to their surviving friends, than as works in which the public at large can be expected to take any wide or enduring interest. In the remains of Dr. Payson, edited by his son, there are, however, some sound and well-expressed remarks on a variety of religious subjects. Mr. Neale appears, both from his own lucubrations, and from the account of Mr. Jowett, to have been a truly pious and amiable man:—but we can discover no marks of very high talent, and nothing of “great pith or moment,” either in the poetry or prose. So, again, as to the Rev. Basil Woodd;—respecting the excellence of his character, and the usefulness of his ministrations, there can be but one opinion:—but there may be at least two as to the policy of publishing a straggling and somewhat slovenly account, not merely of himself, but of the lives of all his family.

While attempts are thus made by the piety of kindred or connexions, to rescue smaller men from oblivion, are we not to have remains, as well as a memoir, of the illustrious Davison?

Of the “*Sermons, &c.* by the late Rev. William Howels,” we purpose to give a somewhat extended notice in our next number.

LIBRARIES.

Sacred Classics; or Cabinet Library of Divinity. Edited by the Rev. R. Cattermole, B.D. and the Rev. H. Stebbing, M.A. London: Hatchard and Son.

GREAT, and not undeserved, praise has been lavished on this series of publications for their cheapness. The works, too, are for the most part very valuable in themselves, and the introductory Essays written with ability and care. Upon the principle of the project, which is to combine the theology of Churchmen and Dissenters, we might have much to say; and hereafter, probably, shall feel bound to say something; but there is only room to express our conviction, that the Editors must be considerably annoyed by the *puffing* advertisements, touching *her Majesty the Queen—her gracious pleasure in signifying her high approval of the design of this National Work, and her condescending to bestow upon it “the fullest support of her patronage.”* Surely, the title of “*Sacred Classics*,” and the superintendence of two respectable Clergymen of the Church of England, and the character of the publishers themselves, ought to have saved the publication from quackery such as this. And was not the “puff direct” of an Advertisement sufficient without the “puff collusive” of a paid Paragraph?

Christian's Family Library.

THE last number of this publication, which we have seen, contains the life of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, by Dr. Pearson, with retrenchments. In this abridged form, it occupies a tolerably thick volume; and will, we are sure, be read with interest and pleasure.

The Biblical Cabinet, No. VI., or, Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.

HERE, again, is a course of works, well worthy of attention on many accounts. Tracts and volumes of great value have already appeared in it. The number now before us is a translation of the celebrated Tholuck's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. Without agreeing with all the positions of the erudite German, we must at least allow that his labours form a great accession to Biblical Science.

SERMONS.

Sermons. By the Rev. Plumpton Wilson. Vol. I. Rivingtons.

THE fact that this volume has already reached a third edition, bears us out in our opinion, that the discourses contained in it are excellent in their matter, and beautiful in their composition; and it also supersedes the necessity of any further recommendation.

Sermons. By Hunter Francis Fell, A. M. Seeley and Burnside.

It is possible that we may speak hereafter of these Sermons, in connection with others of the same School. If we are induced to do so, our remarks will not be altogether panegyrical.

Short and Plain Sermons, for Reading in Families. By Rev. J. S. Pratt, B.C.L.
James Cochran, Strand.

Just what they pretend to be—clear, simple, homely discourses.

Lay Sermons. By the Ettrick Shepherd.

WE have so often, and so importunately demanded, that the Laity should interest themselves in behalf and in support of the Clergy, that we ought, upon our own principles, to be thankful to Mr. Hogg for his labours. But so perverse is the disposition of mankind, that we are ungrateful enough not to applaud either the title or the character of his work. Assuredly, neither ourselves, nor, we believe, the great body of Clergy in the empire, are much inclined to approve and admire the composition of Lay Sermons. If they are really of a religious and spiritual nature, they look like an unauthorized interference with the province of Ecclesiastics; if they are of a lighter and more secular tendency, they seem to throw an air of ridicule over the whole class of publications.

The Lay Sermons before us are not calculated to disarm our dislike, or, as the author may perhaps think, to divest us of our prejudice. If they had been cast in another shape, and called Essays, or "Observations," we might have praised many passages in them for the strong sense and keen acuteness which they display. But, really, when we regard the designation which they bear, and the sometimes dull witticisms with which they are studded, we are only reminded of poor Byron's line upon a man with whom Mr. Hogg might be proud of being brought into comparison :

"His jokes were sermons, and his sermons jokes."

VOLUMES OF MISCELLANEOUS DIVINITY.

Divine Providence, or the Three Cycles of Revelation. By the Rev. G. Croly, D. D. London: James Duncan.

DR. CROLY is a man of vivid imagination; but the misfortune is, that his imagination runs away with him. His language, therefore, is rich and often eloquent; but his ideas are for the most part, quite fanciful and unsound. His present attempt is to establish the Christian faith, by showing that Providence, as it were, repeats itself in a recurrence of similar events by "*the parallelism of the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations.*" We really trust that our religion stands on some firmer ground, than this "*new evidence of the divine origin of Christianity.*" We cannot flatter the ingenious writer, by saying that we think he has made out his point of the "*three Cycles*:" nor do we see how, even if he could make it out, it would in itself demonstrate what he wishes to

prove. The book, however, contains many poetical expressions, many well drawn and highly-coloured pictures, many acute, though forced and far-fetched, observations; and it is exceedingly curious throughout, from the respectful dedication—that dedication being from Dr. Croly to Lord Chancellor Brougham,—down to the comparison near the end, as an argument for the truth of Christianity, between Alexander and Napoleon. The author, we can only repeat, is a man of a fine and vigorous fancy, which outstrips and overpowers his judgment; and divinity, we are therefore of opinion, is not his *forte*.

Lectures on the Gospel, with an Appendix on Baptismal Regeneration. By the Rev. H. Hughes, M. A. Rivingtons.

SOUND, and good, and to be safely recommended.

Brewster's Reflections on the Holy Seasons of the Christian Year.

THE same character may fairly be given of this publication. The design and execution are both worthy of praise, and the work can hardly be read without some improvement and edification.

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1. *Prayers and Offices of Private Devotion.* By Lancelot Andrews, sometime Bishop of Winchester. Edited by the Rev. B. Bouchier, M. A. Seeley & Co.
 3. *Family Prayers.* By the late William Wilberforce, Esq. Edited by his Son—Hatchard and Son.

Two excellent and unexceptionable Manuals for private devotion. We rejoice to be informed by the Rev. R. T. Wilberforce, that a Life of his admirable parent “will be published at as early a period as the magnitude of the task allows.”

Practical Advice to the Young Parish Priest. By James Duke Coleridge, LL. B. Rivingtons.

THE title of this little volume sufficiently declares its nature; and its contents fully bear out the description of the title. It is, indeed, *practical* advice, sound, sensible, and useful; the kind of counsel for which a young Clergyman ought to be thankful, and which he will be wise to follow.

Last Words, or the Truth of Jesus sealed in the Death of his Martyrs. Seeley and Burnside.

THE intention of the author of “Little Mary,” “Ellen’s Visit to the Shepherd,” &c. is, we have no doubt, excellent: but we confess, that the associations connected in our minds with Christian Martyrdom, are somewhat disturbed by the tone of the work, and the “*dramatis personæ*.” Thus, for example, the work commences—“*Last words,*” said *Mary Graham, as she sat thoughtfully resting her arm on her desk*, with some old letters before her, “*Last Words!*” To which sister Emily says something sentimental in reply; and then Mary makes a rejoinder to “*Dear Emily,*” &c. &c.

Under this head, it is but imperfect justice to enumerate, with a passing commendation, the work upon the Types of the Old Testament, re-written from Samuel Mather, by the author of the *Listener*,—"the Catechism of the Seven Sacraments," by the Rev. C. Brereton;—"a Short Course of Reading; from the Old Testament," by H. H. Beaver;—"Frank's Christian Psalmody, arranged in suitable portions;"—the "Plain Remarks on the Lord's Supper," by the Rev. F. Sullivan, Vicar of Kimpton; and a clever, useful, unpretending little production, printed at Maidstone, entitled "Short Conversation Lectures, explaining a card of Questions to be answered by Texts from the Psalms:" of which we cannot but add, that it is excellently adapted to an excellent purpose, namely the instruction of the Pupils, and also the assistance of the Teachers, in Sunday Schools.

SACRED POETRY.

Jephtha's Daughter. A Dramatic Poem. By M. J. Chapman, Esq., Fraser. We have before expressed our doubts as to the use of dramatising the Scriptures. "Jephtha's Daughter" is, however, a most tempting subject; and the present attempt exhibits some skill, and much poetical expression. Yet let not Mr. Chapman be offended, if we hint that his talents might be employed more serviceably, for others and for himself, than upon his projected "Trilogy on the Houses of Saul and David; or dramas founded on the History of Esther and Job." Hannah Moore, and others, have partly at least, anticipated him:—but how few people care about their sacred dramas!

TRACTS AND OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

It will readily be supposed that critical and stirring times give birth to an enormous multiplicity of brief and fleeting productions. Among the number, however, which have lately come into our hands, few, except those which we have already mentioned in some way or other, seem to require notice; and, indeed, so literally ephemeral are many of them in their nature, that their interest has passed away even before the next appearance of a quarterly publication. For instance, there is a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the *approaching* Musical Festival.

The tone of all the religious *brochures*—(we will not even make the exception of the Bishop of Chichester's late Charge at Lewes,)—is thoroughly determined and ardent in support of the church: and yet, we rejoice to say, the prevalent spirit is rather the spirit of Christian firmness than of acrimonious and interperate bitterness.

We are glad that the Bishop of Exeter has printed the speech, with reference to subscription to the Articles at Oxford which caused the Lord Chancellor to forget the dignity of his office in his love of sarcasm. As the speech is published, we can certainly see no ground for a charge of Jesuitry, or laxity of principle.

Remarks on Registration. By the Rev. W. H. Hale.

A FUTURE opportunity will probably occur for discussing more at length the contents of this able, and cogent, and most useful pamphlet. Most useful

it assuredly may be to all who are conversant with the matter of which it treats, or who *ought* to be conversant with it; whether, or not, they may be induced, after the careful study which it deserves, to coincide entirely with its conclusions. They may think, perhaps, that Mr. Hale somewhat underrates the value of statistical science: but they will probably unlearn some hasty and erroneous notions; they will be led to re-consider what they supposed to be quite clear; to discern a bristling hedge of difficulties, where they had fondly imagined the path to be quite smooth and easy; and, generally, to take a more sober, and cautious, and practical view of a subject, which is invested, on many accounts, with high and serious importance.

Two Terminal Lectures delivered at Durham.

Sermon delivered at Cambridge. By the Rev. Hugh James Rose.

WE have here three compositions quite worthy of a writer from whom,—such is the tax imposed upon previous eminence and successful exertion,—a more than common display of power and ability would be expected. The two discourses and the sermon are all learned, all valuable, all excellent; they possess a stirring and elevating eloquence, not because they are peculiarly distinguished by the artificial graces and embellishments of style; but because they breathe a devoted integrity of purpose, a loftiness and holiness of thought, which forcibly reminds us how true is Cicero's observations, that the first requisite in an orator is moral goodness. There are some few paragraphs, however, in the Sermon, on which we cannot altogether agree with Mr. Rose.

Letter to the Editor of the British Critic. By the Rev. Baden Powell.

WE had prepared a few remarks, written, we trust, in a not unfriendly tone, upon Mr. Powell's Letter; but we have left ourselves no room to insert them. For the present, therefore, we can only assure him, that our silence proceeds neither from disrespect to himself, nor from any conviction of the force of his arguments.

FOREIGN THEOLOGY.

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. In Verbindung mit der historisch-theologischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig. Herausgegeben von D. Christian Friedrich Illgen, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie zu Leipzig. Leipzig, 1834.

WE have before us three parts of this series of papers. Of what kind are these *researches*, in connection with the Historico-Theological Society at Leipsic, our readers may learn from a translation of the titles of some among the contributions. No. 2 of third volume, first part, two articles (Pieces) from "The Moral Philosophy and Theology of the Chinese." No. 4, "The Doctrine of the Unitarians of the second and third Century respecting the Holy Spirit," &c. No. 2 of second part, "Pilgrimages of Buddhistic Priests from China to India, translated from the Chinese, with an Introduction and Remarks, &c." No. 3, "Sabellianism in its original Signification." Again, we have in Latin, "*Doctrina Origenis de $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega$ divino ex disciplinâ Neoplatonicâ illustrata.*" Deep and extensive learning is displayed in all these multifarious inquiries; nor can there

be the slightest doubt that efforts such as these will contribute more to the advancement of "Historical Theology," than any thing which we are at present doing in England.

We beg also to acknowledge the receipt, in sheets, of the first volume of the "Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of the New Testament," by Professor Schott, of Jena, and Professor Winzer, of Leipsic. The present volume embraces, together with some learned "*Prolegomena*," the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Galatians—"argumentis quippe idoneis evincere licet, has omnino fuisse omnium, quæ ætatem tulerint, Pauli Epistolarum antiquissimas." So says D. Henry Augustus Schott in his Preface; and, when we have leisure and space, it will give us sincere satisfaction to undertake an examination of the present and future labours of himself and his colleague.

ILLUSTRATIVE WORKS.

In this department, which we may very fairly include as at least a beautiful auxiliary to theological literature, it is impossible not to notice the continuation of "The Landscape Illustrations of the Bible," published by Mr. Murray, a series in which every number seems striving to outdo the finished elegance of its predecessors. The "Illustrations of the Bible," after original paintings by Westall and Martin, although, from the smallness of the price, 1s. a number, somewhat rude and coarse in comparison, are yet full of spirit and vigour. "The descriptions of the plates," are committed, in the two works respectively, to the able care of Mr. Hartwell Horne and Mr. Hobart Caunter.

There are several other works now lying before us, which we should be glad to mention with the encomium which they deserve; if we had more room, and if their contents would not draw us too far from the theological subjects, to which in these brief notices we must chiefly confine ourselves. Among them we can now only enumerate "Conder's Geographical Dictionary, Ancient and Modern," "The Existence of other Worlds, peopled with living and intelligent Beings," by Mr. Alexander Copland; a little, but, for young people, an amusing, and instructive work, called "The Accidents of Human Life;" and then,—to make a leap from small to large, from light to important,—a very magnificent publication, "On the extinct monsters of the ancient earth, the Ichthyosauri and the Plesiosaurs," "with twenty-eight plates," which, by the way, we cannot but think decidedly superior in taste and execution to the letter press: nor can we refrain from expressing the pleasure we have derived from a perusal of Mr. Anstice's very ingenious and elegant Prize Essay on the Effect of Foreign Conquest upon the Literature and Arts of the Romans.

In conclusion, there is a single remark which we would make once for all. For the works forwarded to us by authors or publishers we feel obliged; but we would wish them always to come unheralded, untrumpeted, and unattended by recommendatory or propitiatory remarks. We cannot abstain from saying, that the strongest temptation which we experience, either to pass a book over in silence, or to treat it with severity, is to find it accompanied with a letter begging for a favourable review.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1834.

ART. I.—*Deontology; or the Science of Morality. From the MSS. of Jeremy Bentham; arranged and edited by John Bowring.* 2 vols, London and Edinburgh. 1834.

WILL even our classical readers understand, from the above title, the object of these volumes? We greatly doubt it. For we have actually met with one distinguished scholar, who, not having read the book, was grievously puzzled by the announcement of a *Treatise on Deontology*. His eye was caught by the four last syllables; and he immediately began to think that the public were about to be enriched by some profound and original speculations relative to *ontological* or metaphysical science, as applicable to the science of morals. But then he was utterly at a loss to find out a use for the preliminary syllable. We relieved him from his perplexity by reminding him of the Greek, τὸ δέον, τοῦ δέοντος; and then he of course instantly perceived that the world had met with an instructor, whose object was to enlighten it as to all that is *fit or proper to be done*: in a word, that we had before us an exposition of the Utilitarian system of ethics.

The Utilitarians, we presume, will feel neither contempt nor resentment for this blundering surmise of our friend; for they themselves heartily despise all classical erudition. We are here told by their great patriarch, that classical literature is the walk “wherein grows the *lotus*, which has fixed the footsteps of so many a young adventurer to those regions of unfruitful beauty, and made him drink oblivion of every noble distinction.”—(Vol. i. p. 113.) His own magnanimous neglect of this pernicious weed is abundantly manifested in this posthumous collection of his thoughts. The learned sages of ancient times, he informs us, “by whatever name they called their own sageships, were called by others *wisest of men* (σοφισταί); wise men (σοφοί); or lovers of wisdom (φιλοσοφοί); and held their heads aloft, and “poured out their streams of sophistry.” From which it appears

that, according to the Utilitarian grammar, σοφιστας is the superlative degree of σοφος; and not, as our schoolboys usually imagine, a noun substantive, implying *wisdom-mongers*, or *quack doctors of wisdom*.—(Vol. i. p. 40.) Another stupendous example of brave ignorance occurs in the second volume, p. 84. The writer (either Jeremy Bentham or his *redacteur*) is quoting Horace; which he does after this fashion :

“*Sperne voluptates; docet empty dolore voluptas:*”

of which sentence he gives the following portentous translation:—“Spurn pleasures: *purchased pleasure teacheth pain*.”!!! Well might he go on to exclaim, “Silly is the precept; sadly “silly, if taken to the letter. But no such silly notion had the “poet in his head. No such silly notion did he mean to inculcate.” And then he adds, “Horace was thinking of the verse, “not of the morality. And when the option is between truth “and rhythm, between serving and pleasing, extraordinary indeed must be the poet who makes any other choice than was “made by Horace.” Alas! the mighty master might have learned, from many a well-flogged lad, that there was, here, no conflict between truth and rhythm; that morality, as well as verse, was in the thoughts of the poet; and that Horace was, in this place at least, as *Utilitarian* as heart can wish. For thus, in fact, did he indite,

“*Sperne voluptates; nocet empty dolore voluptas:*”*

a line which the experience of the youngster might, probably, put into English thus:—“Eschew the pleasure of gorging upon “plums; for the pleasure of eating plums is dearly purchased “by a fit of the colic.” We have here, certainly, an excellent *deontological* maxim. It harmonizes admirably with what the poet said elsewhere; *Utilitas justi prope mater, et æqui*. Here, undoubtedly, “is the principle of utility set up in express terms, “as the standard of right and wrong.” But the words of Horace, as above cited and translated by the wise man, harmonize with Deontology, or with any other scheme of ethics, just as little as they harmonize with grammar. They are little better than so much stark staring nonsense.

After this, it will surprise nobody to find that Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle, and all the whole tribe of wise men who chattered about the good and the fair, are consigned over to a state of literary reprobation. “While Xenophon was writing “history, and Euclid giving instruction in geometry, Socrates “and Plato were *talking nonsense*, under the pretence of teaching wisdom and morality.” Again:—“A man thinks not so

* Hor. lib. i. epist. ii. line 55.

"highly of Plato as he deserves. What is the consequence? "Nothing. A man thinks more highly of Plato than he deserves. What is the consequence? He goes and reads him. "He tortures his brain to find a meaning where there is none. "He moves heaven and earth to understand a writer who did not understand himself, and he crawls out of that mass of crudities with a spirit broken by disappointment and humiliation. He has learned that falsehood is truth, and that nonsense is sublimity." In short, nothing is so much wanted as an "*Index Expurgatorius* of the books which have bewildered and betrayed mankind." But then, the compiler of it "must be a writer of sufficient eminence to give law to men's opinions." And who would be so well entitled to promulgate the prohibitory canon as Pope Jeremy I.? Whether any such document has been found among his papers, we are not informed. If not, the world must look to his successor in the chair of infallibility, Pope James I.,* for this greatest of all benefactions. When this is once accomplished, we may hope that the Catholic faith, now delivered to the sages, will, in all times to come, be kept whole and undefiled. For whoso keepeth it not, without doubt he shall blunder everlastingly.

That such a consummation is devoutly to be wished, is evident from the "visions of glory" which brighten the meditations of the Deontologist. Until the day arrives when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of his discoveries, "vast mischiefs and miseries will continue to walk abroad," and to carry havoc and devastation in their march. But when once the true faith shall have established its predominance, then shall the ungracious clamours of *honour*, and *glory*, and *dignity*, be silenced; and martial renown shall become an astonishment, and a hissing, and a curse. "The period will assuredly arrive, when better instructed generations will require all the evidence of history to credit that, in times deserving themselves, human beings should have been honoured with public approval in the very proportion of the misery they caused, and the mischiefs they perpetrated. In that better and happier epoch, the wise and the good will be busied in hurling into oblivion, or dragging forth for exposure to universal ignominy or obloquy, many of the deeds we deem heroic; while true fame and the perdurable glories will be gathered round the creators and diffusers of happiness."† We have all of us, indeed, heard, that a day shall come when the wolf and the lamb shall lie down together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock, and dust shall be

* James Mill, Esq. author of an *Essay on Government*, &c. &c. &c.

† Vol. ii. p. 255, 256; 307, 308.

the serpents' meat; when men shall hurt and destroy no longer; when the people shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. How this is to be brought about has, of course, been a subject of deep and reverential meditation with thoughtful men. But now the mystery begins to clear away. The vision tarrieth no longer. A little leaven has now been cast into the social mass, whose healthful fermentation must, eventually, correct and purify the whole. In other words, the sages of Deontology are the salt of the earth. They, and they only, are in possession of the element which is to purge society of its festering corruption. The Utilitarian faith is the great life-giving principle which is to regenerate the world.

Now the Utilitarian faith is this: that those actions are moral which tend to produce the greatest possible happiness, and those actions immoral which have a contrary tendency; that virtue is the preference of a greater remote good to a less adjacent good; that vice is only a false moral arithmetic; that the ablest moralist is he who calculates best; the most virtuous man, he who most successfully applies right calculation to conduct; that moral sense and right reason are nothing more than empty and pompous forms of ignorant dogmatism; that it is idle for a man to get into an elbow chair and talk about *duty*, because every man who hears him is thinking about *interest*; that *ought* and *ought not* are phrases without meaning, except with reference to pleasure or to pain; that if any man were to act always with a *correct* view to his own interest, he would secure to himself the greatest obtainable portion of felicity; and that if every man, acting *correctly* for his own interest, obtained the maximum of obtainable happiness, mankind would reach the millennium of accessible bliss, and the end of morality, the general happiness, would then be accomplished; that the only purpose of an intelligent moralist is to *prove* that the immoral act is a miscalculation of self-interest, and to show how erroneous an estimate the vicious man makes of pains and pleasures; that unless he can do this he does nothing, and that if he can accomplish this he has achieved every thing; for that it is in the very nature of things impossible that any man should not pursue that which he deems likely to produce to him the greatest sum of enjoyment.

This, if we have succeeded in representing it correctly, is the substance of the genuine Utilitarian verity; and, heretics that we are, we must plainly confess that we are as yet wholly unworthy to receive it. To us it has the appearance of an immense lever, whose power might be irresistible if it had but a fulcrum, For

let us suppose that the whole scheme is complete;—that Deontology has wrought out her problem, and finished all her calculations,—that the result is established as irrefragably as if the whole were a process of pure arithmetic;—what would be the consequence? Just nothing more than this—that men would be in possession of a perfect and demonstrable rule of conduct. And what would the world be the better for this, unless its inhabitants were very different from what we all know them to be? Rules are not endowed with the power of executing themselves. They are utterly destitute of force, unless the agent, to whom they are presented, be so constituted as to obey the truth, when once it has been made out beyond his power of gainsaying. And that mankind is not so constituted, we know—if we know anything—to be beyond all reasonable controversy.

Let us bring the matter to the test at once. Let us suppose an Utilitarian Mentor to take in hand an unfortunate man with a strong propensity for gambling, and to address him thus:—"I do not come to talk to you about the atrocious immorality of gambling, or of its being at variance with the natural sense of right and wrong: for this is the old cant, to which the world has been listening for some thousands of years, without growing any better; but I come to satisfy you that the pains of this habit are incomparably greater than its pleasures; that, upon the principles of sound arithmetic, it must be a losing concern; that it is utterly *unfit* for a reasonable being; and that consequently you must be egregiously an ass if you persist in it." Then follows the process of computation, by which it is irresistibly established that the gambler wilfully cheats himself out of a vast deal of positive happiness, or, at all events, madly throws away the means of comfortable *well-being*; in short, that he is a most infatuated blunderer. What says the gambler to this? "I protest I cannot disprove your calculation. Every step of it seems correct, and the balance undoubtedly appears to be most grievously against me. But what can I do? Such is my peculiar temper, that life is intolerable to me without violent excitement: no excitement is so pleasurable to me as that which involves hazard; and the more hazard the more pleasure. All other pleasures are tasteless and vapid compared with this. I prefer the chance of losing all, and of perishing by my own pistol, to the misery of mental stagnation, which would infallibly come upon me, if I were to discontinue my indulgence. All this may be abominably foolish—absolutely insane, if you will; but, nevertheless, the dice-box shall not depart from my right hand, in spite of your moral balance-sheet." Now we should like to know what the Deontologist would say to this. We may possibly be

reminded that it would puzzle a whole synod of moralists and divines to deal with such a case; and the assertion may be very true. But it must be remembered that the Deontologist professes to do what moralists of any other school cannot. We ask, then, what are the *certa piacula* by which he would propose to recover his patient? His arithmetic has failed. Where, then, are the *verba et voces* which are to conjure away the disease?

We have selected the example of gambling, because great pains have been taken in this work to show the *absurdity* of the practice.* But there is no vice under heaven that might not be found too hard for the greatest masters of mere ethical calculation. We have heard of an intelligent and well-educated individual who was inveterately given to drinking. Some friend or other, after many a fruitless remonstrance, at length succeeded so far as to prevail upon him to go to bed for one night sober. He did so, and vowed that he never would repeat the experiment. The moralist, therefore, failed to reclaim the man. Would the sage of Deontology have succeeded better? The case might have been made out arithmetically, beyond all possible contradiction. On the one hand might have been arrayed the immediate, but transitory, effects of the liquor,—the relief from dejection, the revival of nervous energy, the restored capacity for enjoyment. On the other, the loss of reputation, the lingering torments of the dropsy, the horrors of a loathsome and ignominious old age. And there can be no doubt that the *balance* would have been overwhelming on the side of suffering. But if the ancient and immemorial sanctions of morality were insufficient to work a reform, can any mortal in his senses believe that the most accurate numerical display of consequences would produce the slightest effect? The drunkard would probably reply much in the same manner as the gambler,—“I know all this; I have thought of it myself a hundred times; but all will not do. I have made one desperate effort to tear myself away from the bottle; but the agony of the experiment was too dreadful to be encountered a second time. The case, therefore, is hopeless. There is nothing to be done. I cannot bear existence without the aid of some powerful physical stimulus; and there is an end of the matter.”

We believe the truth to be, that men do not fall into vice for want of the power of *calculation*, so often as the Utilitarian teacher seems to imagine. They *know* pretty well, in a multitude of instances, that their conduct will not bear the test of moral arithmetic. They *know* this; but their knowledge of it is of no use to them. They are in possession of the *balance-sheet*; but then the *balance-sheet* is kept locked up in a drawer, and never, or but seldom, consulted. They are in a condition resembling that

* Vol. ii. p. 125.

of men whose affairs are verging towards ruinous confusion. They do not dare to look into their accounts; and so they rush blindly on to their destruction. They act much in the same manner as the patriot warriors of old, when they devoted themselves, for their country, to the infernal gods. They wrap up their head in their mantle, spur into the ranks of the enemy, and perish. Some strange mortals, indeed, there are, who can look steadily, and even *habitually*, into the balance-sheet, and yet persevere in the course which must consume and waste all their most precious resources. One very remarkable instance of this kind we have heard related upon authority which we cannot question. A clergyman became unhappily addicted to intoxication. He knew the detestable nature and frightful consequences of the vice—knew it so well, that he made it the constant theme of warning and exhortation in the pulpit. He would preach against drunkenness with a fervor and a power which harrowed up his hearers; and the very same evening would be found wallowing in a ditch! And yet the man was no hypocrite; for his custom was to enforce his arguments and appeals by perpetual reference to his own miserable case. “See,” he would say, “here am I, a terrific monument of the power of sin. I know that I must be loathsome to man, and hateful to God. I know that I am on the way to everlasting death; and yet am I utterly unable to hold back. Be admonished by me, lest you be of those whom the devil leads captive at his will.” This man had before him a *reckoning* beyond all comparison more tremendous than any which mere Deontology can spread before her disciples; and yet we are told that Deontology is to effect wonders, which Morality and Religion have hitherto attempted in vain.

These, however, it may be said, are extreme cases. But what of that? The production of extreme cases is often absolutely necessary for the purpose of bringing any principle or doctrine to a test. The Utilitarian tells us that he is in possession of a sovereign remedy for all the moral evils of the world—a secret never yet explored by the masters of wisdom. Now we propose to him certain cases, no matter whether extreme cases or not; and we ask what could this transcendental wisdom do for such cases as these, if the ordinary moral appliances should have been found wanting? And unless a satisfactory answer can be produced to this question, the whole system must be pronounced to be a failure. If the Newtonian theory of gravitation had left one class of phenomena unexplained, it could not have been received as furnishing a satisfactory account of the planetary system. If certain instances can be stated, in which Deontology is quite as much liable to be baffled and defeated, as any other scheme of

ethics, then we may legitimately withhold our assent from it as a grand, infallible, and remedial discovery.

But let us now take a case considered in the work before us. In vol. ii. p. 168, we find a very clear analysis of miserly avarice. It is there proved, beyond dispute, that this vice exhibits a monstrous instance of *miscalculation*. "The man has made a foolish bargain in the interest of self. He has lost much good to obtain little; and that little good is made almost evil by its being associated with the anxieties which attend the one, single, solitary source of pleasure." But what then? Has not Morality been preaching to the same effect time out of mind? Has not Common Sense been telling the miser the same thing ever since there has been property to accumulate, or bullion to be hoarded? Has not Satire exhausted all her quivers upon this prodigy of infatuation? And now, in the nineteenth century, comes the Deontologist, and tells us that, hitherto, we have never penetrated to the *root of the matter*; that the whole is nothing more than a blunder of moral arithmetic; and that the only hope of a remedy for covetousness, is to expose the fallacy of the miser's computation! The miser, we suspect, will examine the arithmetic of the Utilitarian with marvellous composure. *Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo*, is his answer to the Satirist. To the Deontologist his reply will be equally brief—"You have your principles of calculation, and I have mine. You talk of a foolish bargain. I look upon my gold, and laugh your *sageship* to scorn." There is One, indeed, who has gone much more deeply to the *root of the matter* than the Utilitarian, and who has told us that *the love of money*—the passion for appropriation—is *the root of all evil*. He, it must be confessed, has preached too often in vain. But if he were to cease from preaching, and to leave the pulpit to the Deontologist, can any man out of Bedlam believe that bags full of guineas, and chests full of mortgages and bonds, would lose their power of fascination; or that men would then stare at an Elwes, as they now would stare at a man who should pass his life in collecting piles of hats, or great coats, or leather breeches?

But then, it may be asked, do we deny that the ultimate end and object of all morality is the production of the greatest amount of good?—that the aim of all moral teachers should be—in the language of this school—to *maximize* felicity, and to *minimize* pain? And in reply to this question, we have only to say that probably no teacher or inquirer ever addressed himself to this class of subjects, without a perception, more or less distinct, that his labours had for their object the greatest attainable sum of *permanent* enjoyment. And no teacher of ethics at the present day, whether Utilitarian or not, entertains the slightest doubt of this—

that if all human beings were duly to fulfil the purposes of their existence, the results of virtuous principle, and the results of enlightened calculation, would be found eventually to coincide. But the only question worth a moment's consideration, is, how human beings are to be most effectually impelled towards the pursuit of that very indefinite object—the greatest good? The Utilitarian says—"Analyse every thing, and reduce it to the elements of pleasure and pain. We hear the natural philosopher exclaim, give me matter and motion, and I will construct a material world. I say, give me pleasure and pain, and I will construct a moral world. My demand is, show me the good, and show me the evil; and by help of these materials will I produce an unerring scale of virtue and of vice." To all this the moralist says, "No; your analysis may be perfectly legitimate; your scale unimpeachably exact: but the production of either will never operate like a charm. Demonstration itself is frequently powerless against caprice, against passion, against temperament, against habit." "I have here," says the Deontologist, "a Manual—a *Vade Mecum*;* the whole essence of morality is condensed into it by a process in which I will defy you to find a flaw. Take this with you as a guide, and you cannot well go wrong. Pay no attention to what is called the oracle within your bosom: all that sort of thing is mere romance. It has had its day, and is now gone by. No man has a *Urim* and *Thummim* on his breast for his own direction, or that of other people. The whole matter must be patiently wrought out; and this is precisely what I have done for you. You have before you, as it were, a moral table of *Logarithms*. Use it, and be thankful: but do not be so silly as to imagine that you can get at the result, either by a sort of inspiration, or by the help of lazy and arrogant dogmatists, who will not take the pains to *calculate*." And here again the moralist replies—"Your *logarithms*, you tell me, are so carefully constructed, that you cannot but be confident in their accuracy. Be it so. But then it is, unhappily, most certain, that in numberless instances they must fall into hands utterly incapable of using them. Admirable as they may be, it will require some skill, and more patience, and still more self-command, to apply them to particular cases. To ascertain the befitting line of moral action, is a very different thing from calculating the path of the moon. The constructor of lunar tables will of course be glad to avail himself of the best help he can get. He has every motive for abridging his own labour, and no temptation to the contrary. But human propensities and lusts are but sorry and untractable pupils of calculation. They have a much more ready and compendious

* See Preface to vol. ii. p. viii.

arithmetic of their own; and this arithmetic they will assuredly follow, unless they are overruled by some powerful impulse, which acts, with certainty and promptness, in the right direction."

But, further—let us suppose that passion is silent—that the desires are neutral—that there is no rashness or impatience to be encountered—that there is every disposition on the part of the disciple to adopt the calculations, or rather the *formulæ* for calculation, which the labours of the Deontologist have prepared to his hand; still there must inevitably be numberless emergencies in which the use and application of the *formulæ* is an affair of extreme delicacy. It must often demand much time, and much severe exercise of thought, to go through a process which shall take in all the elements of the case, and which shall land the inquirer upon the ground of a safe and certain conclusion. We are told that where the temptation to present enjoyment is sacrificed to a greater future enjoyment, there is virtue. But only consider what a labyrinth of analysis must sometimes be threaded, before we can arrive at a just comparison between the present and the future good. And what would be the condition of the world if men had nothing to trust to, but their power of extricating themselves from the bewilderment of a thorny computation? The condition of the world is, unquestionably, bad enough as it is; but it would be absolutely dreadful, if, in all critical and urgent cases, men were to wait for the solution of a problem—if there were nothing like an intuitive moral perception—if there were no traces left of a law written on their hearts—and, above all, if there were no hope of an answer to the prayer, that "we may both perceive and know what things we ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same."

In reply to these remarks, we shall very probably be told that we have misrepresented the grand principle, or that we do not understand it. This may possibly be true enough. We really cannot be quite sure that we *do* rightly comprehend the *system*; and, if we do not rightly comprehend it, we shall, in all likelihood, have misrepresented it; though certainly without any intention to do it that injustice. We should not at all wonder if it were to turn out that we had blundered in our apprehensions of it; for, in truth, it does appear to us no very easy matter to ascertain what is meant by the adherents of the system when they talk of the *greatest-happiness-principle*. Men, we are informed, are to make the *greatest happiness* the object of their pursuit: their aim must be to *maximize* felicity, and to *minimize* pain. This is the law and the prophets. Besides this, there is no true morality. This sounds simple enough in the abstract enunciation of it. But then comes the question—by what means is this grand object to be

pursued? And the answer is, that sound principles of calculation must be adopted, which will enable us to ascertain whether the result of any course of action will be a balance in favour of pleasure, or against it. And here the difficulty begins to thicken: for we are repeatedly reminded in this work, that, let philosophers, or moralists, or divines, say what they will, men will pursue their own interests; that *duty* is a word without meaning, unless with reference to interest; nay, that a man who injures himself more than he benefits others, is not virtuous. "Dream not," says the Deontologist, "that men will move their little finger to serve you, unless their advantage in so doing can be made obvious to them."* "Morality is nothing more than the sacrifice of a lesser for the acquisition of a greater good."† "Pleasure and pain afford the only clues for *unravelling* the mysteries of morality."‡ But then it is confessed that the sense of individual interest will always preside over this work of *unravelment*. And for this, we are told, there is no help. Man is so constituted; and we must be content to take the world as we find it, and to make the best of it. What then is to be done in those cases where individual interest, and the interest of the public, are in opposition to each other? *Ought*, or *ought not*, we are perpetually assured, should be banished from the vocabulary of the moralist; for they merely mean that, in the judgment of the speaker, a thing ought, or ought not, to be done. What then shall we say of pleasure, or of pain? Is their place in the vocabulary more secure? In the judgment of the Utilitarian dictator, this or that is *fit to be done*, with a view to the maximizing of happiness. Of whose happiness? That of the individual himself? But what, if he should reply to the Utilitarian, in the spirit of his own dogmatizing, and say, "I beg to judge of pain and pleasure for myself, and to maximize happiness my own way. I have a *summum bonum* of my own, which, you may depend upon it, I shall follow with competent sagacity and perfect steadiness." What could the Utilitarian answer? But if it is the general happiness which is to be *maximized*, the confusion becomes worse confounded; for it is distinctly and repeatedly conceded, that men will consider their own pains and pleasures before those of other men. How then, we ask again, are cases to be disposed of where private and public interest are at variance? Let us suppose that, in any particular case, the interest of the public should be as ten, and that of the individual as fifteen. Is not the individual justified in preferring his own interest? Suppose, *e converso*, that the public interest be as fifteen, and the interest of the individual only as ten. Is the individual, therefore, bound to

* Vol. ii. p. 133.

† Ibid. p. 136.

‡ Vol. i. p. 257.

postpone his own interest to that of the public? In *both* cases, the individual interest *must* be preferred, if the admissions of the Deontologist be legitimate. But then, what becomes of the principle which points to the greatest happiness? And is all to end in this, that a man is bound to pursue the public interest, whenever it happens to coincide with his own?

We are aware that, by others of the Utilitarian school, it is affirmed that this conflict of interests could never happen, if sound Deontology had possession of the world, and all men were blessed with enlightened views respecting the maximum of felicity; for, if we are to believe their assertions, Mr. Bentham has demonstrated, or at least rendered demonstrable, the proposition, that, *in the long run*, the greatest happiness of individuals coincides with the greatest happiness of all. Whether this has been demonstrated, or made demonstrable, we know not. We can only say, first, that we have never met with the demonstration; secondly, that we are at a loss to imagine how it can be demonstrated, *if this world be all*; thirdly, that, until it has been demonstrated, we shall consider ourselves as entitled to withhold our assent from the proposition; and lastly, that, if it ever should be demonstrated, we must trouble the two dissentient factions of this school to settle the dispute among themselves. In these volumes, we repeat, it is, throughout, taken for granted that there may be, and frequently is, an opposition between public and private interests; that it is chimerical to expect that one man will sacrifice his own pleasures to those of other men; that it is idle to talk to a man of what he *ought* or *ought not* to do, unless it be with reference to the augmentation or the diminution of his personal enjoyments; that we must be content with the greatest happiness attainable by society, composed as it is of individuals with whom self-interest is the prime motive; and that this maximum will be best attained by an enlightened estimate of pains and pleasures. Which of these two opinions is the more correct, we shall not take upon ourselves to determine. If, however, we have fallen into any misconceptions of this magnificent discovery, we shall, perhaps, be forgiven, when it is recollected that the adepts themselves do not appear very clearly to understand each other.

In the mean time, purely with a view to our own illumination, we submit to the Deontologists, for solution, the following case—an *extreme* case they may possibly call it, but still a case by no means beyond the pale of possibility—a case too, not encumbered with all the difficulties appertaining to a conflict between individual and *public* interests, and involving nothing but a question as to the conduct *fit* to be adopted between one individual and another. Let us suppose, then, that a dying man in a remote

country entrusts his friend with a valuable jewel, to be delivered by him to an opulent relative or acquaintance in England. The donor expires. The trustee returns to this country in circumstances of extreme indigence. No other individual is privy to the transaction. To the distressed man the price of the jewel would be as life from the dead. To the wealthy legatee (if we may so term him) the loss would be as nothing; and besides, it would be unknown. Shall the trustee, then, deliver the deposit; or shall he sell it, and appropriate the price, and thus rescue himself, and perhaps a starving family, from perishing? According to the old-fashioned systems of ethics, there could be no doubt in the case: but, upon the principles of arithmetical morality, the solution might not be quite so easy; for this system of morality tells us, that to talk of "unrequited self-denial, and all for duty," is merely sonorous nonsense; and that it is anything but virtuous to make a sacrifice of self-interest, where the loss on one side clearly exceeds the gain on the other. In the present case there is no loss on the one side worth mentioning: on the other side there is a great and obvious benefit. Moreover, there is little or no chance of detection. The thing never can be known. There is consequently no injury done to social confidence, no evil to be apprehended from the danger of the example. It may, perhaps, be said that there will be a rebellious conscience, a violation of the moral sense, the pangs of remorse, the horrors of self-accusation. But, if the trustee were bred in the Utilitarian school, this could never be; for, in that school, conscience and moral sense are held to be nothing better than empty phantoms, as unsubstantial as the terrors with which nurses keep naughty children in order. We do not mean to assert, or even to insinuate, that any Doctor of Deontology would seriously recommend the appropriation; because, then, we might be told, that it is not fair to press any moral teacher with the extreme consequences of his doctrine. We have, indeed, little doubt that the professors of this school would prove themselves better than their own principles, and would be far too honourable to hesitate about their decision in such a case. But we nevertheless protest that we are unable to discern to what other decision, but that to which we have pointed, their principles could tend, if unqualified by certain other principles or feelings, which, though they might tacitly admit, they openly disclaim.

We have already seen that all former schemes of moral science have been consigned by this school to utter contempt, as the cruelties of a world hitherto in its childhood. They are loud, indeed, in their complaints of the arrogance and bigotry by which their own discoveries are repelled. They tell us that "he who

" goes one step beyond the line which the world's poor conventions have drawn round moral and political questions, must expect to meet with the thundering anathemas and obloquies of all who wish to stand well with the arbiters of opinion. Let " no searcher after truth"—they cry—" be led into the labyrinths " of sophistry. He will have enough to do to make good his " ground one step beyond that trodden by those who *dogmatize* " about decorum, and propriety, and right and wrong ;"* with very much more to the same purpose. And yet it cannot be denied that, in one thing, they condescend to a very close imitation of the grovelling and purblind sophists whom they despise ; for they *dogmatize* more unmercifully than the Vatican itself. And when they are in this mood, nothing can well be more startling than " the deep damnation of their *bah !*" Among the things which call down *their* anathemas, or at least their *obloquies*, we may number all the lists of moral qualities which have ever yet been made out. The cardinal virtues of the ancient moralists—Aristotle's enumeration—Hume's list of virtues—all have been discarded as clumsy and unphilosophical. Every virtue under heaven, they contend, may be brought under one or other of two heads. Submit any one virtue you will to the Utilitarian analysis, and separate from it all foreign and unessential ingredients, and nothing will be left but either prudence or benevolence. All may be reduced to two principles, the self-regarding principle, and extra-personal or social principle. Beyond this, every thing is needless perplexity and pompous mystification. Well ! we care little about this. It would be merely to boggle at the outside of the truth, to be contending for this or that scheme of moral classification. At all events, the inquiry would demand much more time and space than we have to bestow upon it. Let the Deontologist, therefore, simplify matters his own way. Let fortitude, temperance, justice, &c. &c. &c. be heard of no more. Let us think of nothing but prudence and benevolence ; and let us consider whether this reduction of the *List*—whether this chemical extrication of the *basis* of all virtue from their accidental admixtures—will do much to relieve us from the difficulties which have so often and so severely exercised the patience and sagacity of moral teachers. For our own parts, we must honestly avow that we have been totally unable to discover how this two-fold division is to elevate the valleys, and to level the mountains, and to make the crooked things straight, and to prepare a plain high road, in which the simple can no longer go astray. One class of difficulties there is, which, as it appears to us, will be found too stubborn even for this modern system of pioneering ; that class,

* Vol. ii. p. 146.

we mean, which must always arise out of those numerous, those almost innumerable cases, in which prudence and benevolence are at real or seeming variance with each other. Difficulties of this sort, we are well aware, must be encountered by all moral engineers: but we cannot, for the life of us, find out by what force or virtue it is that this patent contrivance, with all its pretensions to simplicity, is to accomplish more than has hitherto been attained, and to put all former bunglers to shame. That self-love and social will be found in *the long run* to harmonize exceedingly well together, we have always been in the habit of believing; but our belief has rested mainly on the word of Him who has commanded us to love our neighbours as ourselves. "In the corrupted currents of this world," instances will perpetually occur in which it would be a very formidable task to establish this harmony by a complete and unassailable process of pure reasoning. Whenever such instances meet us, we gladly fall back upon the authority of that same Teacher, and upon the sanctions which have been set forth by Him; and we are quite unable to find, in the scheme of Deontology, any one principle which can diminish the necessity of resorting to that appeal. But for the motives which He has disclosed, man might in many cases "have the virtue to lament that virtue was not made for him;" and it has not, that we can perceive, been shown how the Utilitarian arithmetic is to assuage the *searchings of heart* which all such perplexing emergencies must inevitably bring with them.

But further,—we find it extremely difficult to reconcile this proposed partition of the moral empire between prudence and benevolence, with another favourite notion of this school. There is no one ancient delusion upon which the phials of their disdain are more prodigally poured out than the belief in a moral sense; a belief which, they tell us, instead of giving a good reason for conduct, is merely an excuse for giving no reason at all. Now we are not contending that *moral sense* is a phrase that will bear the test of rigorous philosophical inquiry. But will even the Utilitarian venture to maintain that there is no such faculty as moral perception? What is benevolence but a moral perception, or a moral emotion? And how is the reality of it affected, one way or the other, by calling it a moral sense? Great pains are taken in this work to show how benevolence is engendered, and grows up.* We care not how it grows up. It is enough for us that it will assuredly grow up,—perhaps *a man knoweth not how*,—in every heart that is not blighted by adverse accidents, or ruined by pernicious discipline. Sir James Mackintosh has undertaken to show how it is that the power, termed conscience,

* Vol. ii. p. 38.

is formed within the human breast. But there is nothing in his analysis which can impair the authority of conscience, or deprive it of its imperative character. In the same manner, benevolence, even though formed within us subsequently to our birth, speaks with a voice as persuasive as if it were born with us, and constituted, from the womb, a part of our nature. And, in the present day at least, nothing more than this is implied by those who speak of the existence and the influence of a moral sense. When Christian, the mutineer, was forcing Captain Bligh out of his ship, that unfortunate officer asked the man whether this was a proper return for the kindness and friendship he had uniformly experienced from his captain? The ruffian (for such he was at that moment) was violently disturbed at the question, and answered, with deep emotion, "*that*, Captain Bligh, *that* is the thing: I am in hell—I am in hell!" Now was not this the voice of a moral sense within the man? The Deontologist may, if he pleases, call it the voice of *benevolence*! But we cannot discern what sound ethical philosophy will gain by the change of phraseology. The Utilitarians, however, have got it into their head that nothing effectual is to be done in moral science without a nomenclature entirely new; a phraseology as complete and significant as that which has been invented for the purposes of chemistry. For their Science itself, we see, they have already forged an unheard-of name; and we suppose that they intend to go through with the task. We must wait and see the wonders to be achieved by the contrivance; which, doubtless, is to do for morals what Mr. Babbage's calculating machine is to do for abstract arithmetic.

But then it is said that, if there be a moral sense, it would be, like organic qualities, the same in the savage and the civilized man. But who in his senses ever affirmed or imagined that the moral sense resembles an instinct, which is strictly a part of the nature of each animal, and which is altogether independent of discipline and training? We repeat that, when men speak of a moral sense, they, virtually, speak of the exercise of a certain faculty, which approves or disapproves of certain actions or emotions, and which is more or less perfectly developed, according to favourable or unfavourable circumstances. Did the Apostle speak falsely, when he spake of a law written in our hearts? Or are we to abjure Paul for Jeremy Bentham? Jeremy Bentham, indeed, we know, has said "Jesus and not Paul!"* But did Paul, then, belie Jesus? And has not Jesus himself said, *this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness better than light*? And what would this condemnation

* This is the title of a pamphlet by Mr. Bentham.

be, if men were, by nature, without any such moral vision as should enable them to discern light from darkness? And what, we ask again, is the social or benevolent principle, which the school of Bentham confesses, not indeed to be a part of our nature, but to grow, somehow or other, out of our nature? Is not this a sort of moral sense? But if it be, might we not just as reasonably object, in our turn, that Benevolence ought to be found as strong in the rudest savage, as in the most refined and cultivated man?

We should have been somewhat disappointed, if we had not found, in an Utilitarian treatise, that ancient, tough, and serviceable argument against a moral sense, namely, that it is merely a creation of accident—that it varies with every change of climate, and every form of society—that it is all things to all men—that on the banks of the Thames it commands us to cherish our decayed and aged parents with the tenderest assiduity; on the banks of the Ganges to deposit them on the mud of the sacred waters; and in the forests of, we forget what country, to slaughter them and eat them;—that, in one place, it means the distribution of our attentions among many women, in another, fidelity to one;—that, in Europe, it dictates forgiveness of injuries; in many other parts of the world it makes vengeance the grandest duty and prerogative of man. And here we have this same argument sure enough; not exactly in the words in which we have stated it, but in phrases sufficiently emphatic, which, however, we cannot produce, because we have mislaid our reference. Our limits forbid the minute examination of this notable impeachment of the true doctrine. And, fortunately, the labour would be almost superfluous, considering the triumphant exposure of it which is to be found in the writings of our soundest moralists. We shall therefore content ourselves with something by way of illustration. We know, then, that circumstances will alter the physical nature of man and other animals to such a degree, that many have professed their belief in races originally distinct. And yet the best of our physiologists are agreed that the distinctions, prodigious as they often appear, are altogether superficial. And so it is with the moral nature of man. The most imperfectly *moralized* people differ not more, (if so much,) in their moral qualities, from the most advanced, than the hideous New Hollander differs in his physical qualities from the most perfect specimen of the Caucasian variety of the human race,—not more than a Shetland poney differs from the Godolphin Arabian,—not more than an ugly, ill-natured cur of low degree, differs from the noble, generous, and majestic breed of Newfoundland. And yet naturalists have no doubt that these, and all intermediate varieties, have

sprung from one pair of each respective species, though modified, in the course of ages, by circumstances of food and climate, and by accidents of breeding. In the same manner, the present race of men, however various may be their *moral* forms, and features, and complexions, may have descended from one pair gifted with moral faculties. The moral nature may be the same in all; though it now appears with different degrees of beauty and deformity, of straightness and distortion, of dwarfishness and dignity of stature. The wolf is thought by some to be only a dog run wild; or, *à converso*, the domestic dog only a civilized wolf. Even so, the most ignorant and ferocious savage is but a man brutalized and degraded. It is the same with the intellectual and reasoning faculties. They are found in every imaginable variety of strength and weakness, of rectitude and obliquity. It is true, as a general proposition, that man is, by nature, an intelligent and reasonable being; and yet, see what a prodigy of infatuation may he become! He may go *nonsense-hunting* with Plato—he may pore over the sophistry of Aristotle—he may be, himself, a framer of “Oxford Compendiums of morality”—or (as they of Oxford might be tempted to retort) he may become a thorough-going, wrong-headed, incorrigible Ultra-utilitarian! And, even thus, it is true, as a general proposition, that man is, by nature, a moral being; and yet there is no monstrous form of immorality which has not been almost naturalized by man, in different regions of the globe.

The resolute negation of a moral sense, or moral perception, to which we have just adverted, will be found to pervade the whole of these volumes. The jurisdiction of conscience, as a moral arbiter, is altogether abolished. Its office, according to this system, if we understand it correctly, more resembles that of an Accountant-General, or a Master in Chancery, than that of a supreme judge. It takes little cognizance of any thing, save the details of numerical computation. It pronounces upon nothing but upon the result of the reckoning. With the *quid pulchrum*, *quid turpe*, it has nothing to do. Its sole business is with the *quid utile*, *quid non*? It is a gross usurper whenever it ventures to decide upon things that are fair, and venerable, and lovely, or the reverse. In accordance with this theory, we are told, for instance, that Jealousy and Envy are neither virtues nor vices; they are only *infirmities*. Infirmities! So is the jaundice an infirmity. And, doubtless, both envy and jaundice are very disagreeable infirmities, which it would be exceedingly *useful* to get rid of, or to correct. But we had, hitherto, always imagined that the one was uniformly to be regarded, like other diseases of the body, only with compassion: while the other, like many diseases of the mind, was not only pitiable, but hateful,—hateful in itself, even independently of its consequences or effects; in other words, an

object of moral disapprobation. Now, however, *nous avons changé tout cela*. We are, at last, enabled to perceive, that a man can no more help scowling at a prosperous neighbour, or a successful lover, than he can help looking yellow in the face; and, consequently, that moral emotion would be pretty nearly as much misplaced in the one case as in the other!

In the same spirit, we are assured that nothing can be more erroneous than to be looking into the motives of men. We have nothing on earth to do with their motives, but only with their conduct. But on this matter let the writer speak for himself:—

“The pretension which indicates the *motives* of others is almost always futile and offensive. For if their motive be what we suppose it, and the motive be a praiseworthy one, it will be visible by and in the act; and if the motive be blameworthy, to denounce it will but be a cause of annoyance to him to whom the motive is attributed. And after all we have nothing to do with motives. If bad motives produce good actions, so much the better for society; and if good motives produce bad actions, so much the worse. It is the act, and not the motive, with which we have to do; and when the act is before us, and the motive concealed from us, it is the idlest of idling to be inquiring into that which has no influence, and forgetting that which has all the real influence upon our condition. What acts, however courageously and extensively mischievous, but may be excused and justified, if the motives of the actor, instead of the consequences of the act, become the test of right and wrong? Perhaps there never was a group of more conscientious and well-intending men than the early inquisitors; they verily believed they were doing God service; they were under the influence of motives most religious and pious, while they were pouring out blood in rivers, and sacrificing, amidst horrid tortures, the wisest and best of their race. Motive, indeed! as if all motives were not the same,—to obtain for the actor some recompense for his act, in the shape of pain averted, or pleasure secured. The motive, as far as that goes, of the vilest is the same as the motive of the noblest,—to increase his stock of happiness. The man who murders, the man who robs another, believes that the murder and robbery will be advantageous to him,—will leave to him more happiness than if he had not committed the crime. In the field of *motive*, however, he may make out a case as commendatory of his conduct as if he were the most accomplished of moralists. To say that his motives were ill-directed to his object, is to reason wisely with him; to say that his motives had not the object of obtaining for himself some advantage, is to deny the operation of cause on effect. There is, —and the existence of the disposition is a striking evidence of the tendency of men towards despotic assertion,—there is by far too great a willingness to turn away from the consequences of conduct in order to inquire into its sources. The inquiry is a fruitless one, and were it not fruitless it would be useless. For were motives other than they are,—were they fit and proper evidence of the vice or virtue of any given action,—it would not be the less true that opinion could ultimately have no

other test for judgment than the consequence of that action. A man's motives affect nobody until they give birth to action; and it is with the action and not with the motive, that individuals or societies have any concern. Hence, in discourse, let all indications of motives be avoided. This will remove one spring of error and false judgment from the mind of the speaker, and from the minds of the hearers one source of misunderstanding."—vol. ii. pp. 154—156.

Now if all this only means that it is neither wise, or amiable, to pry too closely and curiously into motives, where actions are useful, there is nothing in it very original or profound; nothing which needed to be announced with so much emphasis. But if it means more than this,—if it means that motives are to be wholly disregarded in our estimate of virtue,—why, then, hypocrisy must instantly be struck out of the list of discreditable things: for the hypocrite frequently does the acts of the virtuous man; and it is only with his acts that we have any sort of concern. If any one confers a signal benefit on me, it certainly would be most ungracious, on my part, to enter on a rigorous investigation of the motives by which my benefactor might be impelled. I am bound to presume that his motives were kind and generous, unless some proof to the contrary should be irresistibly forced on my attention. Nevertheless, we cannot, for the souls of us, help thinking that there must, after all, be some difference between him who scatters his liberality in all directions merely for the sake of extending his personal influence, and of being trumpeted forth by the tongues of men, and him who honours the cause of humanity with his substance, in freeness and simplicity of heart. And this is an opinion which fire will scarcely burn out of us. The Utilitarian, indeed, assures us that there can be no such thing as freeness and simplicity of heart. "All motives are *the same*,—to obtain for the actor some recompense for his act, in the shape of pain averted, or pleasure secured. The motive of the vilest is the same as the motive of "the noblest,—to increase his stock of happiness." So that he that doeth his alms in the synagogue and in the streets, that he may have glory of men, is neither better nor worse than he that doeth his alms in the eye of Him which seeth in secret and shall reward openly. And hence, too, it would seem to follow that no distinction is to be made between the man who exposes his life for the sake of family, of friend, or country, and the robber who braves the pistol or the gallows. Nay, we are unable to discern why, upon this system, the tiger or the wolf, when they are prowling round the sheepfold and the herd, are not quite as respectable moral agents as the patriot or the martyr. They are, each of them, respectively, but doing after their kind; each of

them is seeking the augmentation of his pleasure and felicity. The writer, indeed, does, in the above extract, seem to admit that motives may be good or bad,—that they may be praiseworthy, or blameworthy. But how are motives to be good or bad, if the plunderer, or the assassin, may, “in the field of *motive*, make out “a case as recommendatory of his conduct, as if he were the “most accomplished of moralists?” But we are weary of dwelling on these outrageous paradoxes. The bare statement of them is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole theory, and may well relieve us from the trouble of a direct confutation.

One word or two, however, respecting the “early Inquisitors.” We are told that “perhaps there never was a group of more “conscientious and well-intending men.” Well,—and if this assertion can be clearly and fully substantiated, we do not see how they are to be altogether denied the praise of acting virtuously. But then it must be recollected, that these “conscientious men” were under the direction of a conscience most frightfully ill-informed; and that, wherever the conscience is ill-informed, there is always great reason to suspect that better light has been pertinaciously resisted. The guilt of the Inquisitors, therefore,—if guilty they are to be deemed,—is to be sought, *not* in their obedience to the dictates of conscience, but in their suffering their consciences to become most hideously perverted. What they did, they did ignorantly. And if it can once be shown that their ignorance was invincible,—that their pravity of moral judgment was, in their circumstances, absolutely inevitable,—then, undoubtedly, they are entitled to a lenient sentence, even though “they shed blood in rivers, and sacrificed the best “and wisest of their race.” But it is extremely difficult to believe that men in a state of tolerable civilization can act like fiends, without having been, themselves, parties to the violence which must previously have been inflicted on their own moral nature. These men had the New Testament before them; and it may, perhaps, be said that they conceived themselves to be adopting the spirit of the New Testament, when they looked with a stony eye upon agonies, the very thought of which makes other men shudder. But, if they did conceive this, their misconception was so monstrous, that it is next to impossible to think of it as the result of a process which involved no personal blame. If Circè could, at will, transform men into swine, we should feel no violent indignation against them, when so transformed, merely for manifesting the unclean propensities of brutes. But it so happens, that Circè never can effect this transformation, unless the men have first been false to themselves. In the same manner, the Enchantress of the Seven Hills often converted her agents and satellites into wolves and tigers; and it

was to be expected that the wolves and tigers would obey the instinct thus infused into their natures. But it is not very easy to credit that the sorcery was totally irresistible. And if it was not, the men must be answerable for having failed to resist the infernal magic which converted them into monsters. In other words, the Inquisitors may have been impelled to their atrocities by conscientious motives, that is, by mistaken notions of their duty, as ministers of religion. But then, before they can be acquitted, or entitled to the praise of virtuous and pious men, they must show that they were wholly blameless in yielding up their hearts and understandings to the dominion of a mistake so horrible. Their immediate, and (if we may so express it) their *proximate* motives, *considered by themselves*, may possibly have been commendable. But, nevertheless, impulses of a very different description may have been actively at work, in an earlier stage of that progress which ended in their moral perversion. And according to these *anterior* motives they shall unquestionably be judged.

It will, possibly, be alleged, that we have done *egregious* disparagement to the Utilitarian system, inasmuch as we have hitherto reasoned on the supposition that, by this system, the religious sanction is altogether discarded: whereas, in fact, the volumes now before us distinctly recognise a future state of retribution; and, moreover, solemnly declare that Deontology does not set up for a rival to Religion, but rather would be welcomed as her faithful auxiliary. We have, nevertheless, done advisedly in keeping the religious sanction, for the most part, out of sight, in our foregoing remarks upon the Utilitarian doctrine: and we have done so for this obvious reason,—that by no other method could the real merits or demerits of that doctrine be properly ascertained. It may be very captivating to hear this new Science spoken of as a dutiful auxiliary to religion. But then it must not be forgotten, that this Science has also spoken of herself as mistress of a stupendous secret; as a power which is to change the destinies of the world, and to “make the bones of patriots and sages stir in their graves.” It became necessary, therefore, to see what this hitherto unheard-of wisdom was able to accomplish by her own independent might and virtue. And what has been the result, but this?—that, without the religious sanction, Deontology is just as impotent as any other moral system that ever was hatched: and that, with the religious sanction, it is destitute of the smallest pretensions to originality. Taken by itself, it merely presents us with a vast apparatus of rules and calculations; but it provides us with no new motive for their application to the exigencies of life. Taken in alliance with Religion, its pretensions to the honor of *discovery* vanish into air:

for Religion was in possession of the moral empire, long before the *discovery* was ever heard or thought of.

It ought, indeed, to be mentioned, that this sublime system is not without an imposing array of sanctions, independent of the religious or superhuman motive. We have, *first*, the physical sanction, or the impulse derived from the peculiar physical temperament and constitution of every individual. *Secondly*, the social sanction, or the power of sympathy. *Thirdly*, the influence of public opinion, which is here termed the *moral* or popular sanction. *Fourthly*, the political or legal sanction. There is no great originality, however, in all this. These *sanctions* have been acknowledged, and have been in operation, ever since the world began. Where, then, is the novelty of this part of the scheme? One thing, indeed, there is in it, which, if not absolutely new, is, nevertheless, somewhat strange and startling; and that is, the confidence with which the future triumphs of the popular sanction are predicted, armed as it now is with that resistless instrument, the press. "The liberty of the press," says the author, "is the greatest coadjutor of the moral sanction. Under such influence, it were strange if men grew not, every day, more virtuous than on the former day. I am satisfied that they do. I am satisfied that they will continue to do so, till—if ever—their nature shall have arrived at its perfection. Shall they stop? Shall they turn back? The rivers shall as soon make a wall, and roll up the mountains to their source.—The constitution of the human mind being opened by degrees, the labyrinth is explored, a clue is found out for it. That clue is the influence of interest; of interest, not in that partial and sordid sense in which it is the tyrant of sordid souls; but in the enlarged and beneficent sense, in which it is the common master of all spirits, and especially of the enlightened: it is put into the hands of every man. The designs, by which short-sighted iniquity would mask its projects, are every day laid open. *There will be no moral enigmas by and by.* Who knows but even I, an instrument so mean as I, may be found to have done something towards a work so glorious; and this my prophecy, like so many others, be, in a certain degree, the cause of its own completion."

It is not without reluctance that we turn a cautious and distrustful ear to these comfortable vaticinations. We must own, however, that an evil spirit of unbelief is apt to rise up within us, whenever we hear of this final unravelling of all moral enigmas,—this working out of the perfectibility of man. Alas! our ecclesiastical prejudices are so inveterate, that we know but one hope of this glorious consummation. The Press, indeed, is a mighty, but two-edged, implement: and we have very little expectation

that it will achieve all the wonders assembled in this prophetic vision, unless there be drawn forth, likewise, a certain other weapon, which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and pierceth even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. The supremacy of public opinion can do nothing towards this *transfiguration* of human society, unless public opinion itself should, first, be purified and exalted. And how this is to be accomplished by a scheme of morals which invests personal interest with supreme dominion, is more than we feel ourselves able to divine. Mere Deontology—we repeat—can do nothing more than hold out its *sanctions*—the fear of infamy, or the fear of pain. But then, such is the miserable perverseness of human nature, that evil consequences are seen, diminished, through one end of the glass; while pleasure is often seen through the other end, and so is brought near, and magnified. The Utilitarian says, look both at the pleasure and the pain, through the same end. But, for the most part, he will preach as utterly in vain as other teachers have done before him. Passion—caprice—momentary interest—will be perpetually shifting the position of the glass; and this with a sort of *legerdemain* which can neither be detected nor controuled. Nothing is done, unless the glass can be fixed immoveably. Now, unfortunately, this is a task which, hitherto, Religion herself has never perfectly effected. Will Deontology, then, pretend that she has strength and steadiness of hand sufficient to do that, which the powers of the world to come have, up to this moment, been unable to accomplish?

There is a great deal said in these pages respecting the deplorable inefficacy of the religious sanction: and it is hoped that “while labouring in the service of virtue and the pursuit of happiness, the Deontologist will be considered, not as a rival to be supplanted, but as a coadjutor to be loved. The beneficent influences of the religious sanction cannot but be strengthened “by calling in every other sanction to its aid. Its inefficiency “has been often the subject of lamentation, even among those “who would fain arm it with its greatest power. To friendly “auxiliaries it cannot then be hostile.”

Religion, most certainly, can never be above accepting friendly and effective assistance. But Religion may, surely, be excused if she listens, with something like jealous misgiving, to an ally whose promises are so very sonorous and magnificent, and whose future services are to eclipse her own supremacy, and, almost, to reproach her failures. The success of Religion has hitherto been very partial and imperfect: but now, with the aid of Deontology, she is to unravel enigmas—to advance man to his perfection—to

lay down a sort of moral rail-road, where, hitherto, there was the forest and the morass, the ravine and the precipice. Of course, it was to be expected, that pretensions like these would be most rigorously scrutinized. And what if it should turn out that the pretensions are chimerical—and that the proposed auxiliary is in possession of no one secret of moral dynamics, which was not well-known to every former master of the science? Nay, what if it should appear that the whole power and virtue of Deontology is, essentially, involved in Religion, which has often been, very properly, described as the height of self-love? In that case, undoubtedly, Religion would be amply warranted in replying to the other high contracting party—"I am very willing to accept whatever services it may be in your power to render towards the improvement of mankind. At the same time, I must confess that my hopes are not very sanguine. I am unable to discern any thing in your tactics, or your arms, more effective than what has been employed, for ages past, against the evils of the world. At all events, I must take the freedom of carefully watching your proceedings and manœuvres. I must see that you do not venture upon a hazardous and independent line of operation. I must take care, in short, that my respectful confederate does not, eventually, become viceroy over me."

There are, in truth, in this very treatise, certain indications—certain *voces ambiguae*—which might well justify Religion in bending some cold and distasteful looks upon her new ally. There is occasionally something of "a laughing devil in the sneer," which steals, visibly, over the features of Deontology, when she is benevolently guarding us against the mischiefs and the frauds of *superstition!* She, moreover, indulges herself, occasionally, in a venturesome license of speculation, from which genuine Religion is apt to recoil; and this, too, when she professes to be only vindicating Religion from the scandal of those manifold perversions, which have prowled about the world under the sanction of her name. Deontology exclaims—for instance—"true it is, and melancholy as true, that the name of Religion has been employed to introduce an Almighty Being, whose delight is in human misery. Men have been found, who, shutting their eyes to all the evidence around them—the unbounded evidence of goodness and power,—have introduced final misery,—hopeless, limitless, interminable misery—as the consummation of His awful dispensations. *The dreadful dogma is not to be found in Christianity. It is a most vain, most pernicious, most groundless, conceit. The Christian Scripture lies open to every eye. In no one part of it is intimation given of any such*

"doom."* Now we are not about to enter upon a discussion of the tremendous question here adverted to. Neither are we at all ambitious to be numbered among those "merciless doctors," who are supposed to dwell with positive delight on the thought of Dante's dreadful inscription over the gates of his *Inferno*. We merely wish to invite the public attention to the spirit of irreverent dogmatism which must have dictated the passage above cited; and to ask whether this is a spirit which genuine religious humility could be expected to take into her confidence?

There is another peculiarity in the system, which must always operate as a principle of repulsion between it and Religion; namely, that it pours contempt upon every thing which can be brought under the description of *sentiment*, or moral emotion. With the Utilitarian, *sentiment* is a certain indication of feebleness and folly. He can love or admire nothing, until arithmetic hath set her seal upon it. Every thing must pass through the mint of Deontology, and receive her image and superscription; otherwise we may all be cheated, and waste our regards upon base and worthless metal. As a signal exemplification of this, let us select the Utilitarian estimate of Modesty. Modesty we have been always in the habit of considering, not only as a very *fit and proper* thing, but as a quality admirable and lovely in itself; as the object of a delightful *sentiment*. But this is vastly too fantastical and refined. It is true, indeed, that Modesty is a virtue; but thus only is it to be made out. Modesty dictates concealment. Concealment stimulates curiosity. Curiosity augments desire. Desire inflamed heightens enjoyment. And, *therefore*, modesty is virtuous. Modesty is to appetite, what bitters or acids are to the palate. As Religion is the height of self-love, so is Modesty the height of voluptuousness.† The thing is now completely wrought out. Modesty has been duly assayed, and properly stamped. It may, therefore, confidently be received as a virtue; that is, as something which ministers to human pleasure. But it is Utility alone which can give it legitimate currency. *Sentiment* has no more right to do this, than a fancy-button-maker has a right to coin!

Every one, we suppose,—the Utilitarian always excepted—must be painfully sensible of the lowering and degrading effect of this weighing and measuring sort of wisdom. It is of the earth, earthy. It savoureth wholly of the things which be of men. We can scarcely imagine how Religion can have any thing in common with it,—Religion, which is seated in the heart, and which, without *sentiment*, would be next to nothing. Let us

* Vol. i. p. 79.

† Vol. ii. p. 87—89.

suppose the same principle of calculation to be carried throughout the whole region of man's spiritual nature, and observe how odd, how strange, how tragi-comical the effect would be. Only think of Nathan the seer coming to David, and sternly charging him with an atrocious blunder in his moral arithmetic. Only think of the Psalmist himself, looking back upon the adultery, and the murder—ruefully computing the pleasure he had destroyed, or thrown away, and setting it against the pleasure he had gained—and bitterly accusing himself for his horrid *miscalculation*; and all this instead of pouring out his soul in penitence to God! We really should be curious to see the penitential psalms of a contrite Utilitarian. If *sentiment* is to be rejected, they must be very singular compositions. As for the confession of the Utilitarian, it could only run in this form:—"We have left undone those things which are fit to be done; and we have done those things which are not fit to be done; and there is no common sense in us!" He may talk as he pleases of the sincerity with which he acknowledges the sanctions of Religion. But, we say again, that, if he laughs at sentiment, we do not understand how Religion can well have much of his respect. At any rate, if he admits Religion to any intimate discourse with his Deontology, the power of the latter will sooner transform his Religion from what it is to the similitude of an accounting clerk, than the force of Religion can translate Deontology into her own likeness. The result, we greatly apprehend, would be an Utilitarian Religion, rather than a truly religious morality.

It will be observed that, in our reflections on this treatise, we have forbore to enter upon a formal vindication of other moral systems: for the task would be quite disproportionate to our limits, and, besides, would be altogether unseasonable and superfluous. Other systems may be right, or they may be wrong. But, whatever may be their defects, or their ill success, it is enough for our present purpose to show that the Utilitarian scheme, as expounded in this volume, is not at all likely to do what they have failed to accomplish. With the greatest-happiness principle itself we have no sort of quarrel. But we do conceive it to be a principle, the full application and enforcement of which can be entrusted to none but the Sovereign and Supreme Intelligence. We are Utilitarians, after the same fashion, and to the same extent, that Samuel Johnson was an Utilitarian. He, too, maintained that the tendency of actions to produce happiness or misery is the only true *criterion* of virtue or of vice. But Samuel Johnson knew that the moral capacity of man is not adequate, of itself, to the task of always forming a correct estimate of the tendency of actions. And, therefore, to the above account of the essence of

vice and virtue, he thought it absolutely necessary to add this qualifying supplement:—"The consequence of human actions being sometimes uncertain, and sometimes remote, it is not possible, in many cases for most men, nor in all cases for any man, to determine what actions will ultimately produce happiness. And therefore it was proper that *Revelation* should lay down a rule, to be followed invariably, in opposition to appearances, and in every change of circumstances, by which we may be certain to promote the general felicity, and be set free from the dangerous temptation of doing evil that good may come. And, because it may easily happen, and in effect will happen very frequently, that our own private happiness may be promoted by an act injurious to others, when yet no man can be obliged by nature to prefer ultimately the happiness of others to his own,—*therefore*, to the instructions of infinite wisdom it was necessary that infinite power should add *penal* (or, rather, *retributive*) sanctions; that every man, to whom those instructions shall be imparted, may know that he can never ultimately injure himself by benefiting others, or ultimately, by injuring others, benefit himself; but that, however the lot of the good and the bad may be huddled together in the seeming confusion of our present state, the time shall undoubtedly come when the most virtuous shall be the most happy."*

To the Utilitarian theory, in this form, no reasonable objection can be made. If the Deontologists profess to accept it, they have, themselves, nothing new to propound. If they object to it, they leave the world without any *sufficient* moral sanction or direction. Instead of hastening the day of man's perfection, they remove it to an indefinite and hopeless distance.

In spite, however, of our incapacity to discover the mighty and wonder-working virtue of their scheme, we are by no means blind to the substantial merits of the very eccentric publication before us. It is scarcely possible for any sagacious and benevolent man to occupy himself much with the connection between duty and interest, without thinking and saying many shrewd and valuable things. And it cannot be denied that, if any one were to take up these volumes, without caring a rush about the system which they maintain, he might pick up a multitude of insulated observations, which, though not very original, might help to make him a wiser and a better man. The second volume, more especially, abounds in rules of conduct, some of them minute to a degree which is absolutely ludicrous, but many of them so just and useful, that they might very profitably be laid up in the memory. There is nothing, however, more commendable or gratifying in the work,

* Johnson's Review of Soame Jenyns.

than the uncompromising severity with which it stigmatizes many pernicious notions and practices, which the world delighteth to honour. Let us take for instance, the vice of sexual dissoluteness, which the world looks upon with so much profound indifference, or positive indulgence; at least when it is exemplified in the sex which is strong enough to make its will the law. This vice, we all know, has been numbered by an Apostle among the things, *because of which the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience*. Its condemnation, therefore, is not doubtful. But this is no reason why we should throw aside the following tremendous statement of the Deontologist:

“Of the crime and misery which exist in the world, the irregularities of the sexual passions are amongst the most pregnant. Guerry, in his ‘*Statistique Morale de la France*,’ states that one thirty-third portion of the attacks on the lives of men take place in houses of ill-fame: one-fourteenth of the cases of incendiarism, a great part of the duels, a large proportion of cases of insanity, all the cases of infanticide, and almost all the instances of suicide among young women, grow out of sexual immorality. The weakened force of public opinion on this part of the field of conduct demands prompt consideration; and M. Guerry most properly draws the conclusion, that whatever opinions we may form of the innocence or guilt of the aberrations from chastity, men have but too much neglected to trace their physical consequences,—‘for,’ he continues, ‘when deeply examined, views of true utility and moral duty will ever be found inseparable and identical.’”—vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

Would that the above sentences could be written in characters of flame, upon the chamber-walls of that intolerable pest, the remorseless voluptuary and seducer! If it did not reform, or at least restrain him, we would gladly

— put into every honest hand a whip,
To lash the villain howling through the world.

We strongly recommend the following short paragraph to the admirers of Henry the Great, the idol of the most gallant nation under the sun!

“With a man’s elevation in society, the influence of his vices and virtues in society extends. The powers of beneficence and maleficence increase together. The amours of Henry the Fourth produced an incalculable mass of misery. He made war upon Spain for the purpose of getting hold of the wife of another. He sacrificed, every now and then, a portion of his army, for the sake of having his pleasure with his belle Gabrielle. Let those who will, give their sympathy, their approbation, to such a nuisance as this monarch was; but why should we? If he had lost an arm or a leg while pursuing his pleasures, great would have been the clamour, unbounded the expression of interest and sympathy. His partizans lost their lives by thousands, and what cared he?”—vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

Aye! why, indeed, should we stultify, and almost brutalize ourselves, by admiring this or any other incarnation of the spirit of selfishness! If the Deontologist can really cure mankind of this base infatuation, he will, verily, almost persuade us to become Utilitarians.

If we had our will, every ruler, every statesman, every *Churchman*, if the Deontologist pleases, every man, woman, and child in civilized countries, should be compelled to get the following passages by heart; even though ecclesiastics, (we hope, unjustly,) are involved in the censure:

"It unfortunately happens, that the popular sanction as regards one of the great topics of human wretchedness is miserably immoral. Nothing can be worse than the general feeling on the subject of *War*. The church, the state, the ruling few, the subject many, all seems to have combined, in order to patronize vice and crime, in their very widest sphere of evil. Dress a man in particular garments, call him by a particular name, and he shall have authority on divers occasions to commit every species of offence; to pillage; to murder; to destroy human felicity; to maximize human suffering; and for so doing he shall be rewarded!

"Of all that is pernicious in admiration, the admiration of heroes is the most pernicious; and how delusions should have made us admire what virtue should teach us to hate and loathe, is among the saddest evidences of human weakness and folly. The crimes of heroes seem lost in the vastness of the field they occupy. A lively idea of the mischief they do, of the misery they create, seldom penetrates the mind through the delusions with which thoughtlessness and falsehood have surrounded their names and deeds. Is it that the magnitude of the evil is too gigantic for entrance? We read of twenty thousand men killed in a battle, with no other feeling than that 'it was a glorious victory.' Twenty thousand, or ten thousand—what reck we of their miserable sufferings? The hosts who perish are the evidence of the completeness of the triumph; and the completeness of the triumph is the measure of merit and the glory of the conqueror. Our schoolmasters, and the immoral books they so often put into our hands, have inspired us with an affection for heroes; and the hero is more heroic, in proportion to the numbers of the slain. Add a cypher, not one iota is added to our disapprobation. Four, or two figures, give us no more sentiment of pain than one figure, while they add marvellously to the grandeur and splendour of the victor. Let us draw forth one individual from those thousands or tens of thousands: his leg has been shivered by one ball, his jaw broken by another; he is bathed in his own blood, and that of his fellows; yet he lives, tortured by thirst, fainting, famishing: he is but one of the twenty thousand,—one of the actors and sufferers in the scene of the hero's glory,—and of the twenty thousand, there is scarcely one whose suffering or death will not be the centre of a circle of misery. Look again, admirer of that hero! Is not this wretchedness? Because it is repeated ten—ten hundred—ten thousand times,—is not this wretchedness?"—vol. i. pp. 253—255.

These are biting words! They can, of course, have no proper application to those true heroes, whose energy and genius are consecrated to the preservation of their country. But they are words which ought to put to shame the mighty hunters of men, and their frantic idolaters: and if they should succeed in exorcising the legionary demon, which, for four thousand years, has been tearing and maddening the world, again we say, that we might be strongly tempted to call ourselves by the name of Jeremy Bentham. But alas! we see but little prospect of our conversion!

The concluding chapter of the first volume of this work contains a history of the greatest-happiness-principle, which is entertaining enough. We close our article with the following extract, which relates the conversion of Mr. Bentham to that doctrine, with a garrulous simplicity which may amuse the reader, after the foregoing dry disquisition, wherewith he has been wearied, doubtless, almost to death:—

“Dr. Priestley published his *Essay on Government* in 1768. He there introduced, in italics, as the only reasonable and proper object of government, ‘the greatest happiness of the greatest number.’ It was a great improvement upon the word utility. It represented the principal end, the capital, the characteristic ingredient. It took possession, by a single phrase, of every thing that had hitherto been done. It went, in fact, beyond all notions that had preceded it. It exhibited not only happiness, but it made that happiness diffusive; it associated it with the majority, with the many. Dr. Priestley’s pamphlet was written, as most of his productions, *currente calamo*, hastily and earnestly.

“‘Some how or other,’ (to use the words taken from Mr. Bentham’s lips, when he was talking over with the writer what he called the ‘Adventures of the Greatest-Happiness Principle, its parentage, birth, education, travels, and history,’)—‘Somehow or other, shortly after its publication, a copy of this pamphlet found its way into the little circulating library belonging to a little coffee-house, called Harper’s coffee-house, attached, as it were, to Queen’s College, Oxford, and deriving, from the popularity of that college, the whole of its subsistence. It was a corner house, having one front towards the High Street, another towards a narrow lane, which on that side skirts Queen’s College, and loses itself in a lane issuing from one of the gates of New College. To this library the subscription was a shilling a quarter, or, in the University phrase, a shilling a term. Of this subscription the produce was composed of two or three newspapers, with magazines one or two, and now and then a newly-published pamphlet; a moderate sized octavo was a rare, if ever exemplified spectacle: composed partly of pamphlets, partly of magazines, half-bound together, a few dozen volumes made up this library, which formed so curious a contrast with the Bodleian Library, and those of Christ’s Church and All Souls.’”

“‘The year 1768 was the latest of the years in which I ever made at

Oxford a residence of more than a day or two. The motive of that visit was the giving my vote, in the quality of Master of Arts, for the University of Oxford, on the occasion of a parliamentary election; and not being at that time arrived at the age of twenty-one, this deficiency in the article of age might have given occasion to an election contest in the House of Commons, had not the majority been put out of doubt by a sufficient number of votes not exposed to contestation. This year, 1768, was the latest of all the years in which this pamphlet could have come into my hands. Be this as it may, it was by that pamphlet, and this phrase in it, that my principles on the subject of morality, public and private together, were determined. It was from that pamphlet and that page of it, that I drew the phrase, the words and import of which have been so widely diffused over the civilized world. At the sight of it, I cried out, as it were in an inward ecstasy, like Archimedes on the discovery of the fundamental principle of hydrostatics, *Ευρηκα*. Little did I think of the correction which, within a few years, on a closer scrutiny, I found myself under the necessity of applying to it.'—vol. i. pp. 298—300.

Here then, was the germ of the Utilitarian, or rather the felicity-maximizing school, which has since grown into such awful renown: a school, which has been regarded by some as a convocation of sages, endowed with all but superhuman sagacity and benevolence; by others, as little better than an outpost of Pandæmonium; and which we—(though we almost tremble at our own temerity)—are, sometimes, strongly tempted to consider as, (with some exceptions), only a collection of rather self-conceited, wrong-headed, tolerably well-meaning, but not very well-informed men!

ART. II.—1. *A Primary Charge addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, and delivered in the Islands of Barbados, Antigua, and St. Christopher, in 1830 and 1831.* By the Right Rev. Wm. Hart Coleridge, D.D. Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. London. 1834. 4to. pp. 41.

2. *A Charge addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, and delivered in the Islands of Barbados, Antigua, and St. Christopher, in the Year 1834.* By the Right Rev. William Hart Coleridge, D.D., Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. London. 1834. 4to. pp. 40.

3. *An Address delivered in the City of Caracas, on the 26th February, 1834, at the Consecration of a Chapel and Burial Ground for the Interment of the Members of the English Church dying within that City.* By the Right Rev. W. H. Coleridge, D. D., Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. Winchester. 8vo. pp. 20.

4. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands.* 1833. London. 8vo. pp. 116.
5. *Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus, or, Christian Brotherhood; being a Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon, applicable to the Present Crisis of West Indian Affairs: in a Discourse preached in St. John's Church, Antigua, on Sunday, December, 29, 1833. With an Appendix, containing Remarks on—1. Education of the Poor—2. Relief of the Destitute.* By the Rev. Thomas Parry, M.A., Archdeacon of Antigua, in the Diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands; and late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Rivingtons. London. 1834. 12mo. pp. 57.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great and general interest which has been excited in this country with respect to its West Indian Colonies—an interest of which the reality and extent have been most unequivocally proved by the cost incurred for the abolition of colonial slavery—we are inclined to think that there still prevails great ignorance as to the real state (we mean of course the *present* state) of West Indian society, especially in regard to those most important points, Religion and Morals. That on such a subject some misconception should exist, is not at all to be wondered at; on the contrary, it is no more than what a thinking person would, from the nature of the case, expect. To a certain extent it is inevitable. Of countries so remote, and in many respects so unlike our own, it is almost impossible that those who have never witnessed anything similar, should form any just conceptions. The remark of the critic—

“ Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus”—

may be extended farther by the philosopher, who may safely maintain, that, in order to form a clear judgment of any subject which falls under the cognizance of the outward sense, ocular acquaintance, either with the subject itself, or with some subject similar to it, is indispensable. Our ideas in such cases, of what we have *not* seen, can be formed only by analogy, only in the mould of our existing ideas of what we *have* seen. By mere description it is scarcely possible to form a clear conception even of a sugarcane; how much less of the complex relations and circumstances of society in a country to which our personal experience furnishes little or nothing analogous.

This natural difficulty, arising from the remoteness of the West Indies, and the difference of society there from what we are accustomed to in England, is multiplied almost a hundred-fold by

a circumstance in a manner peculiar to the case before us. We allude to the suspicious incredulity, on the one hand, with which even good and sensible men receive any evidence, however authentic, in favour of the West Indies; and, on the other, to the morbid avidity with which they positively snatch at and devour every report, however vague, of cruelty, oppression and barbarity. We ourselves have known an instance, in which the statements of an individual, not likely from his character, nor under any temptation from his circumstances, to tell aught but the simple truth, have been received, even by his intimate friends, with some such remark as the following—"Oh! but you have been in the West Indies!"—as if, forsooth, he could have given any authentic testimony without having been there; or as if, the moment that he breathed the air of the colonies, he had inhaled a moral pestilence, and drawn into his blood the infection of cruelty and falsehood, of selfishness and impiety. Thus has party spirit,—not only, it is true, on one side; the friends of the planter have been led away by it as well as his enemies,—but thus has the party spirit, generated by the long agitation of a question in every point of view momentous, led away the public mind from a dispassionate view of the subject, and caused the testimony of witnesses to be received continually with an *ex parte* feeling, disposed sometimes to magnify the virtues and blessings of the colonies, but for the most part to exaggerate all their evils into horrors, and all their faults into enormities.

A further cause, which has contributed to the prevalence of error respecting the colonies, and especially respecting the state of religion there, is another kind of party spirit, different from that produced by the slave question, and quite independent of it; one which, we fear, will outlive the abolition of slavery, and continue to embarrass efforts for the improvement of the negroes, almost as much, if not more, than slavery itself did;—we allude to *party spirit in religion*—a spirit, unhappily, not less destructive of candour than its kindred spirit in politics. From either is engendered that—vice, shall we call it? or does it deserve any gentler name?—which we understand the Apostle to mean by *κακοψυχία* (Rom. i. 29; rendered, in our translation, "malignity"); that ill-natured proneness to view all the proceedings of those who differ from us in the worst light, to receive statements in their favour with suspicion; to misconstrue their actions and vilify their motives. We cannot but fear that this spirit has had much to do in darkening the West India question, and especially in disparaging the good which has of late years been effected, by God's blessing, through the labours of the clergy acting under episcopal direction and controul. That men, equally good men, should differ in re-

ligious opinion, is, we fear, whilst they are permitted to think at all, an inevitable consequence of that disparity of natural temperament, of education, of talent, of personal experience, and other various circumstances, which the Wisdom of God permits to exist amongst them. We do not, with some very estimable, but not very profound persons, (whose zeal we fully appreciate,) look upon all differences of opinion, even in religion, as criminal. Allowing largely for the culpability of error, when arising from negligence, from licentiousness of morals, from pride of intellect, and other like causes, we can imagine that Christians, equally sincere in the pursuit of truth, may, on some points not directly vital, however indirectly important to a right faith, entertain different views. But though *differing in knowledge* or opinion, they need not *differ in charity*; though at variance on some points, they need not distrust and condemn each other in *all*. Without compromise, there may at least be courtesy and candour, and a readiness to admit that good may be done even by those in whose opinions we may not fully coincide. Unhappily a contrary spirit has been too prevalent, and hence, in a great measure, the truth respecting the West Indian Church is but little known, and still less admitted.

If, to the causes already enumerated, we add the *indolence of inquiry* natural to most men, even where their feelings are warmly engaged, and their readiness to submit their judgment to the confident assertions of the leaders of their party, especially when there are few or none at hand to contradict them, those who could best do it being, in this case, far away, for the most part, engaged in their distant duties, we shall less than ever wonder that the popular view respecting the *actual state at the present time* of religion and morals in the West Indies, should be a mistaken one, and especially in regard to the labours of our own church in those distant parts.

To the removal of such misapprehensions, especially when combined, as they often are, with much Christian zeal and sincerity, we shall be glad if we can in any way contribute; and we the less despair of doing so, from the advantage of having before us, (particularly with reference to the diocese of Barbados,) besides other interesting documents, the very valuable Charges of the zealous and highly respected prelate who now presides over that arduous field of ministerial labour.

At a crisis like the present, it is more than ever important that clear views should be entertained respecting the state of religion in the West Indies. In some colonies especially, and in some respects in all, the diffusion of true religion among the negroes will now become a more hopeful work than it has ever been. Not

that up to the present time the negroes have been regarded as outcasts from the pale of the Church: such views of pastoral duty, however they may have prevailed formerly, have all along received from the West Indian bishops the most decided condemnation, and the clergy are now in the habit of regarding the negroes as equally objects of their care with any of their parishioners, if not indeed more so, as more urgently needing, and often more earnestly desiring, instruction. Still it must be obvious, that with the removal of slavery there will also be a removal of many prejudices, suspicions, and other obstacles, which hitherto have impeded the free course of the Catholic Faith of Christ; and there will accordingly, no doubt, be greater efforts made from this country to take advantage of the change. How much then is it to be desired that this increase of zeal should be under the influence of clear views, and that, however men may otherwise differ in their opinions, they may, at least, be aware of the true state of the subject with which they have to deal!

Among the erroneous views common in this country respecting West Indian society, we would notice one or two as peculiarly calculated to lead in practice to unprofitable, if not to mischievous results.

First of all, in regard to the negroes, it is not sufficiently remembered, though upon reflection it must be evident, that the present negroes of the West Indies, as a body, are *not* by birth *Africans*. In Guiana, a comparatively new dependency of the British crown,* there may still be a considerable proportion of African negroes; but in the islands, since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the introduction of fresh slaves from Africa has been unknown. The act would have subjected the offender to a most serious punishment,† and with the vigilance shown by the officers of the customs, detection would have been sure to follow its commission. Hence there are no African negroes in the islands who were not brought over at least seven-and-twenty years ago, and of these there are comparatively few, especially in those islands which had been long occupied and fully peopled already. *Liberated* Africans, taken from foreign slave-ships, there are, and these may amount altogether to several hundreds; but among the slaves (or apprenticed labourers,‡ as they must now be called), the Africans are few, not more, we conceive, in such islands as Barbados and Antigua, than one or two in three

* It was finally ceded by the Dutch in 1814.

† At first it was punishable only with "large penalties," but in 1811 it was declared to be "felony," and more recently (4 Geo. 4, cap. 17) it was made "piracy."

‡ In Antigua the emancipation has been *unqualified*, as appears by "An Act" of the Legislature of that island now on our table, which was "duly published" on the 5th of June last.

hundred. The rest are *creole*—born, that is, in the colony, and brought up from infancy in the use of its language, as well as in the midst, if not always under the direct influence, of Christian civilization. It will easily be understood how important this distinction between the African and the Creole is, in regard to the *facility* of communicating religious instruction, or introducing Christian habits, if not as to the *fact* (extensively true) of their existence already.

Another mistake respecting the negroes in the West Indies, is that of speaking of them, in the gross, as *idolaters*, or even as *heathens*. We use the words, of course, in their ordinary signification, and not in any secondary meaning, as applied to persons professing Christianity, but practically rejecting its guidance, or living in ignorance of its principles. Of this kind of heathenism there is, unhappily, too much in every Christian country, and a vast amount, no doubt, in the West Indian Colonies: nor do we deny that if by idolatry be meant the heart's adoration of Mammon, there may in that sense be also idolatry enough in the West Indies, though not more, perhaps, than may be found (to say nothing of the rest of England) in our great metropolis.

As to idolatry in the literal sense—*heathen* idolatry, we mean, for we are not now concerned with the practices of Romanism—we have never heard or read that it is anywhere in the West Indies openly, or even privately practised; and as to any positive form of heathen worship, it is equally unknown. Superstition there is, and that in the once baneful form of Obeah, diminishing daily, but still continuing to exercise some influence even in the most civilized and Christianized colonies. We are not contending, be it observed, that our West Indian settlements are sufficiently Christianized. Far from it. We know and deplore that there are still numbers, especially in some of the colonies, who are altogether ignorant of Christ, and have never been baptized in his name; and most anxiously would we assist in making known this melancholy fact, in the hope that so crying an evil, so foul a blot upon our national Christianity, may be more and more removed, by increasing efforts for the diffusion of the Gospel amongst the multitudes who are still sitting in darkness, beneath the deadly shadow of spiritual ignorance. What we would urge is this—that it is *ignorance*, and not any positive form of heathen idolatry, with which we have to contend; that the West are not, in this respect, like the East Indies, where idolatry in its most obstinate forms, combined with Mahometanism, has taken previous possession of the country, and erected a fixed barrier against the Gospel; and where Christianity exists, as it were, only by sufferance, requiring all the weight and influence of the con-

querors to maintain it against the prejudices of the conquered party. Our churches there are more decidedly missionary establishments, in the midst, not of *unbelief* only, but of positive and inveterate *misbelief*. They are so many garrison-posts in an enemy's country, obliged to watch continually for self-preservation, as well as for the acquisition, as opportunity may offer, of further conquests to the kingdom of their Lord. In the West Indies the posture of the Church is quite different. The countries there have been avowedly taken possession of in the name of the King of kings; and though his authority is not universally submitted to, there is none openly set up in opposition to it—the banner of the Cross waves before the public eye as the only and undisputed ensign of spiritual allegiance. Whatever may have been in Africa the religion of the ancestors of the West Indian negroes, it was broken down by slavery; it was never, as a *social* religion, brought over with them, much less has it been handed down to their posterity, the present peasantry of the colonies. Whilst the *slave trade* continued, its victims were not all of the same superstition, nor even of the same tribe or country. To one small island would be brought persons of different nations, of different creeds, and even of different languages. To understand each other, they were compelled to learn the language of their masters; and to agree together, they were driven to adopt the customs and ideas of their new country. There was among them no bond of religious union; no joint heritage of faith to be transmitted to their children. This peculiarity in their history, added to the iron influence of slavery in subduing, if not destroying, the native character of the slave, rendered it impossible that any common profession of heathenism should continue, or even arise, in a class so circumstanced. The consequence has been, that, with the exception of a very few Mahometans among the Africans who still remain, the negroes who are not Christians have no religion. The obstacles to the truth which exist among them, are not those of an *adverse creed*, enshrined amidst all their prejudices, riveted by custom, and sanctified by age; but the ordinary impediments, arising from human ignorance and human corruption, heightened, no doubt, by the degrading influences of slavery and the lingering remains of superstition. Christianity may, in one sense, be considered to be in peaceable possession of the colonies. Much of the spiritual soil is, indeed, uncultivated, or even unreclaimed; but there is no rival claimant. The whole is open to the labours of the Evangelist, nay, is actually marked out for cultivation; and so far as the labourers are in number and in zeal sufficient, the culture is going on, and that, it appears, in many parts, with eminent success. To speak without a meta-

phor, our West Indian colonies are divided into so many pastoral charges, or parishes; and although some of these may be too populous, and others unprovided with ministers of religion, yet here we see the principle acknowledged of a *general profession of Christianity, and a general provision for its furtherance*—a principle which it only remains that we should act upon more thoroughly, so as to carry it out into full operation, and make the *practice* what the *theory* is already—that of a united Christian church, tolerating (nay, even protecting) the labours of those who differ, yet not therefore relaxing in its own, but studying in every colony to extend its holy shelter universally into all parts, as well as impartially to all sorts and conditions of men. May it continue to receive the sympathy and aid of Christians in the colonies, and of Christians here! yea, may that aid and sympathy increase with the increasing prospect of usefulness which is now opening upon the Church! Then, by the blessing of the Lord God, “it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar; and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing: in the shadow of the branches thereof shall they dwell.”

We cannot leave the subject of popular mistakes without noticing one more, capable of producing much practical confusion—we mean that of regarding the West Indies as *one country*. One, geographically, of course they cannot be. To say nothing of the diocese of Jamaica, in that of Barbados alone, (or of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, as it is properly called,) extending from British Guiana to the Virgin Isles inclusively, there are, independently of smaller islands with comparatively few inhabitants, sixteen colonies with resident clergy. These colonies, being all (excepting Guiana) insular, cannot be considered as geographically united. In circumstances they are still less one than in locality. The state of society differs materially, through a variety of shades, arising from divers causes. Some, for instance, as Barbados and Antigua, have been from the first (that is, for more than two centuries) occupied by the British; whilst others have been at different periods received from foreign states, as Dominica and St. Lucia from the French, Trinidad from the Spaniards, and Guiana from the Dutch. Hence arises a difference, not only of language, but even of religion and public morality, which are at very different levels in different colonies. In some islands, again, decided attention has been paid to the religious instruction of the negroes for a considerable period, as in Antigua, where the Moravians began their labours between seventy and eighty years ago; and the Wesleyans have also for some time been similarly engaged: whilst, in our own church, the “Negro Conversion Society” have had a chaplain, devoted expressly to the work,

since the year 1798. Accordingly, in this island there are very few of any class who are not professed Christians; and it is even stated, that there are, "perhaps, few counties in England in which a larger proportion of the population frequent places of public worship on Sunday than in Antigua."—(*Report of Incorp. Society*, p. 69.) In other colonies religious instruction is in its very infancy, and between the two extremes the gradations and varieties are considerable. Most important is it to keep in mind these facts in all measures for the further advancement of religion in the West Indian Church. The wants of one colony differ materially from those of another, both in kind and in degree. The physical character of the country, whether, for instance, it be plain or mountainous, salubrious or unhealthy, the political origin of the inhabitants, their language, the degree and kind of religious instruction already received—these and other similar circumstances must be carefully considered by those who would provide suitably, and with reasonable hope of success, for their spiritual welfare.

In making these remarks, it is not our object to check the zeal of Churchmen on behalf of the West Indian Church, which, we are well aware, greatly needs assistance, and would rejoice with gratitude in any friendly efforts to extend its real usefulness. Far be it, then, that we should intercept from it the slightest aid offered in sincerity and good will! Rather would we endeavour to rouse a more general feeling of interest in its favour, and to point out such means and channels of assistance as, in our humble judgment, are best calculated to afford to it effectual help.

As the publications before us have reference chiefly to the diocese of Barbados, it is chiefly to that part of the colonies that we would at present request the attention of our readers, premising only our persuasion, that if we had as full means of information respecting Jamaica,* we should probably find the progress which has of late years been made there, similar, if not equal, to that which has taken place in the other diocese.

In a previous Number† we gave a summary view of the state of ecclesiastical affairs before the institution of the West Indian Episcopate, as well as of the subsequent progress of religious in-

* "The returns of the diocese of Jamaica mention 319 properties to be under instruction: the number of Parochial, Sunday, and other Schools, 58; and the total number of Churches and Chapels, 42, twelve of which have been built since the year 1825. There are also four other chapels nearly finished . . . and a fifth is building. . . . There are 36 catechists and schoolmasters licensed by the bishop, of whom 28 are supported by the funds placed at the disposal of his lordship, 2 by him and the proprietors conjointly, 2 by their parishes, 1 by the proprietors, and 2 by the Church Missionary Society."—*Report*, p. 8.

† See vol. v. p. 424, &c.

struction in the West Indian Church, down to the year 1829. The publications already referred to afford abundant evidence that the improvement which we then noticed has continued to be progressive, and *that* with a degree of acceleration which is highly encouraging.

In 1829 the Bishop of Barbados published "*An Address to Candidates for Holy Orders*," and soon after circulated a pastoral "*Letter*" among the clergy of his diocese; but it was not till 1830 that the "*Primary Charge*" was delivered which we have now before us. Each colony, nay, each church and school, had been visited, and that, in most cases, repeatedly, not only by the archdeacons, but personally by the bishop. He had, however, delayed to call the clergy publicly together in a general visitation, being "anxious to become personally acquainted with them in the scenes of their respective duties, and to ascertain for himself the nature and extent of their difficulties, and to supply, as far as might be in his power, the necessary means for the more effective and satisfactory discharge of their ministerial duties."—(*Primary Charge*, p. 1.) The delay was wise and necessary: we cannot but rejoice that it has ceased to be so, and that we have now before us, in the bishop's two "*Charges*," documents, not only intrinsically of great value, and ecclesiastically of great interest, but, as to their authenticity, the most unexceptionable that we could desire. For in such a case, what testimony can be more desirable than that which is conveyed in a "*Charge*" deliberately, publicly and solemnly delivered on the spot to his assembled clergy by one holding the gravely responsible office of a bishop, and enjoying the best and most extensive opportunities of becoming, both by personal observation and other means of inquiry, fully and accurately acquainted with the subject of which he speaks?

From the "*Primary Charge*, delivered in the Islands of Barbados, Antigua and St. Christopher, in 1830 and 1831," we extract the following passage, illustrative of the then prospects of the diocese as compared with its state in 1825:—

"In almost every instance—I am speaking with reference to the diocese generally—I found the several parishes, from the amount, or condition, or locality of their population, far exceeding the physical powers of their respective ministers. In too many cases the parishes were inconveniently or inadequately provided with proper edifices for the public worship of God; or those edifices had been suffered to fall into considerable decay, or were insufficiently furnished with 'things appertaining to churches.' In some parishes there was neither church nor incumbent, nor residence for the minister. Daily Schools at the public expense, and Sunday Schools for the instruction of the young and adult, were, with a few highly creditable exceptions, either unknown

or very inefficiently conducted. The free-coloured and slave population were not necessarily regarded as forming any regular part of the parochial minister's care, except where the rector or curate of the parish was acting in the capacity also of Chaplain to the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands. By the exertions of this Society and its chaplains, and at the instance or under the superintendence of proprietors themselves, religious instruction had been introduced on some estates ; but even this instruction, where conceded, was for the most part restricted in its mode to oral communication. The Christian Sabbath was a day of much labour, open traffic, and riotous amusement ; little had been effected towards inducing the negro to forego his African customs and superstitions. The faithful minister of Christ had to contend in all classes with much prejudice, much immorality, and, as a necessary consequence, with much opposition. The diocese was without any accredited establishment for the ministerial preparation of the West Indian youth, and every candidate for holy orders was under the necessity of visiting the mother country for education, or for ordination.

" It would be more than presumption in me to assert that the ecclesiastical wants of the diocese have in all these respects been supplied, or that the spiritual evils under which it was labouring have been removed ; much yet remains to be gradually effected, under God, by the more general and hearty co-operation of an enlightened and moral laity, and by the zealous and discreet perseverance of a faithful, intelligent, and affectionate ministry : yet thus much I may say, in all thankfulness to the Giver of every good, that we assemble this day under more favourable circumstances, and with more enlarged means of usefulness, and with higher prospects, and, if I may judge of your feelings by my own, with more confidence in each other, and more reciprocity of kindness, than we could have assembled on any former occasion.

" Through the liberality of the local legislatures, the incomes of the parochial clergy have in most of the colonies been placed on a footing more commensurate with the actual wants of the clergy, and with the respectability of the station which they hold in society. From the annual and occasional grants of the Imperial Parliament, and from the pecuniary assistance afforded by the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Slaves in the British West Indian Islands, and from other lesser religious associations, means have been furnished for the adoption of measures on a larger and more effective scale than could otherwise have been attempted. In some colonies legal enactments have been made, and more or less enforced, for the due and entire observance of the Sabbath. The college founded in the island of Barbados, by the munificence of General Codrington, has been remodelled under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and recently opened as a diocesan institution, for the express, *though not exclusive*, education of candidates for the ministry. A kinder and more confiding feeling is daily evinced towards the conscientious pastor. A visible improvement, which may be dated from the abolition of the slave trade, and the con-

sequent increase of a native population, has taken place in the habits of the negro. The practice of obeah is dying away, and the superstitious fear of its effects is decreasing with the increase of knowledge and religion. The nightly howlings over the dead, or wakes, as they are termed in some colonies, are now rarely heard; and the custom which the negro brought with him from Africa, of offering meats at the graves of the deceased, is discontinued, or practised only by stealth: the baptized negroes are seen in numbers within our churches, anxiously presenting their children for baptism, solemnizing more frequently their marriages at the hands of God's minister, and bringing their dead to receive Christian interment within the precincts of God's sanctuary. A system of preparatory instruction, through the agency of catechists and subordinate teachers, has been very generally acted upon, and has only failed of its full effect from a misunderstanding in some cases of the nature of the appointment, as if intended to supersede or diminish in the slightest degree the paramount necessity of the earnest, unremitting, and personal oversight of the clergyman himself; or from the insufficiency of pecuniary means; or from the difficulty of procuring persons qualified by character and ability for the required duty; or from the operation of other causes which have already, in part, yielded, and will, it may be hoped, insensibly yield still more, to the arguments, and entreaties, and patient exertions of the clergy, and to the growing sense in all classes of the importance of religion. The old parochial schools, which were small and scattered, and under no regular ministerial superintendence, have been consolidated, or placed on more effective footings; and where these did not previously exist, new schools have been established, on the national system of education, in the chief towns and smaller villages of every colony. Private schools on estates, for the daily instruction of the negro children in reading and in the Catechism, are happily becoming more frequent. Through the means of Sunday Schools, and of local teachers, who have in some instances opened their own houses during the week, after the hours of work, as places of instruction, a very considerable portion also of the adult slave population has been taught to read and understand the Scriptures. There are few parishes now without a resident incumbent or officiating minister, and the number of those yet unprovided for is continually decreasing. Churches or chapels of ease are under erection or enlargement in various parts of the diocese, and the importance of providing for the parochial clergyman a fixed and proper residence within his cure, has been publicly acknowledged by the legislatures of those colonies in which such provision is still required. The assistance of readers, and in some instances of additional clergymen, has afforded to the incumbents of larger cures the means and opportunity of carrying instruction into the most populous and remote quarters of their parishes; while the establishment, in every chief island, of a committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has placed within the reach of the minister an ample supply of elementary books for the young, and of Bibles, Prayer-books, and other religious publications, for the comfort and edification of the old. I might add to these considerations, that the formation of the several colonies into one diocese,

has had the effect of imparting to the exertions of individual clergymen an unity and regularity of operation, and, if I may so speak, a community of interest and feeling, which must tend, under God, to increase both the weight and usefulness of our pure and Apostolical Church.

"Under these encouraging circumstances then, my reverend brethren, we have this day assembled. May the Almighty, for the sake of our Divine Master and Redeemer, bless our meeting to His glory, and to the good of the people committed to our charge!"—pp. 1—7.

To this extract, long as it is, we shall venture to add another from the same "Charge."

"Our responsibility is very great. It has pleased God to have united these islands into one ecclesiastical body during a season of long and uninterrupted peace. Communication has thus been safe and easy between one island and another. Every measure of general importance has been speedily transmitted to the clergy of the respective colonies; schools have been founded, charities established, places of worship erected, and the whole ecclesiastical system under which we are now simultaneously acting, gradually matured and carried on with a steadiness of purpose, which would in vain have been looked for amid the danger and feverish excitement of war. During this period the number of parochial clergy has been considerably increased, but a more than proportionable increase has taken place also in their duties. The slave population has been brought more expressly under their care; the numerous parochial and national schools are demanding their almost daily superintendence; the free-coloured portion of their parishioners look for their visits during health, and for their attendance in time of sickness; the poorer whites are welcoming them within their dwellings; the zealous pastor is daily more and more respected, loved, and sought for by all ranks of his people. Strictly are our Lord's words applicable to the present condition of this diocese: 'The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.' A strong religious feeling has been excited, which it must be ours, under God, to satisfy. I will not detract from what other religious teachers have done before us, or are doing with us. Only let us be found at our post. Let it never be said of the clergy of the Church of England, that we are wanting in our duty; let us spend and be spent, if need be, for our flocks!"—pp. 38, 39.

In the second "Charge," delivered this year, we meet with similar passages, from which we learn that the prospect, though lowering still in parts, continued to brighten considerably, as compared with the experience of past times. That the West Indies should be converted into Utopia, or that the Church, which is militant in the rest of Christendom, should become universally triumphant in the colonies, we never expected; it is sufficient, or at least it is as much as we are justified in looking for, if a great and salutary change has taken place, reasonably commensurate with the means supplied, and the time which has elapsed for their employment—such a change as to give every

encouragement to perseverance, and every hope (with the divine help and blessing) of overcoming, more and more, those hindrances, *peculiar to the colonies*, which have for generations impeded, and must still for a time continue to impede, the progress of genuine religion.

“The continuance, through the blessing of God, of international peace has happily prevented any interruption or uncertainty in my communications with the several parts of the diocese; and though in one island the destruction by storm of almost every religious edifice, and the still prostrate state of no less than seven out of its eleven parish churches, cannot but have operated unfavourably on the interests of religion, as far as that highly important branch of it, the public worship of God, is concerned; and though in those colonies where the influence of the Church of Rome prevails, the door of scriptural knowledge has yet need to be thrown open; and though in those same colonies the members of the Kirk of Scotland have recently evinced a disposition to form themselves into congregations of their own, and to withdraw themselves from the public ministrations of our Church, with which they have hitherto so long and happily communicated, and have thus weakened, in outward appearance at least, that front, which it was so important for us, as a body of Protestants, to have maintained unbroken; and though in every part of the diocese it must with grief be confessed that we have had, and still have, to contend with much practical infidelity, worldly indifference, long cherished prejudices, and many vicious propensities and habits; yet, amidst all these seemingly discouraging circumstances, I cannot but entertain the conviction that the knowledge of religious truth is every year gaining ground, and beginning, under God's blessing, to exert a salutary influence over men's opinions and actions.

“From the returns, which, with very few exceptions, I have received from every parish of the diocese, I have the comfort of learning that the practice of concubinage, hitherto so shamelessly practised, has received its check; that marriage is becoming more frequent, especially among the free-coloured and slave population—I wish I could with the same truth add among those who are placed more immediately over the slaves, and in daily intercourse with them;—that wherever there is sufficient and available church-room, and the minister zealous in his duty, the people are flocking to the public places of worship; that the Sabbath generally is better observed, though towards its full yet Christian observance much in most colonies requires to be effected, both by legislative enactment, and by the united exertions of the laity and clergy; that large numbers of adults are under preparation for baptism; though it must not be concealed, and I would press the fact most strongly on your consciences, that a very considerable portion of the slave population remain still unbaptized—that there is an increasing thirst after religious instruction among the slaves, and a less repugnance on the part of the master to allow it: nay, that in many cases this instruction is even advocated by the latter on the sincere, though protracted, conviction, that whilst every master is bound, as a Christian, to give it, he would at the

present moment be acting most unwisely, even for his own temporal interest, to attempt to withhold it; that the public schools throughout the diocese, though occasionally affected by the illness or change of the teachers, and in those instances where, in their maintenance and appointments, they are exclusively parochial, less under the direct control of the minister of the parish than the interests of such schools require, are yet on the whole in full and satisfactory operation, and great has been the effect which they have manifestly had on the poorer classes of the community; that evening or night schools, and infant schools on a simple and inexpensive plan, have been tried with success; scarcely a parish indeed is without its Sunday school; and though in some parishes it must be admitted, that such schools exist but barely in name, yet that in other parishes, under more favourable circumstances, and more active ministers, there are several which exhibit a large and gratifying number of regular, attentive, and improving scholars of all ages, from childhood even to advanced years. 'We have a constant congregation,' writes one clergyman, 'of about twelve hundred; a full sabbath school; three hundred negroe communicants, with many candidates, and increasing marriages, about one hundred and eight this year.' 'I am happy to inform you,' writes another, 'that the congregation at my chapel is still increasing. I receive new candidates for baptism and marriage almost every Sunday. The chapel will not contain any thing like the number of those who wish to attend.' On very many estates, I am happy to add, as indicative of a better feeling than has heretofore obtained in the community, schools have been formed for the special instruction of the children of such estates in the principles of religion, and for teaching them to read the word of God."—pp. 4—7.

Such are the statements solemnly put forth by the Bishop of Barbados, as founded either upon his own personal knowledge, or upon returns received from the different parishes in his diocese. Statements so made require no corroboration; but the subject may be farther elucidated by the following extract from a 'letter' contained in the last Annual Report of the "Conversion Society," in which we find a comparison avowedly instituted, at some length, of "the condition (in 1833) of the Established Church in the Archdeaconry, and more particularly in the island, of Antigua, with its state in 1825, when it first began to enjoy the benefit of episcopal care and superintendence." Referring for details to the 'letter' itself, which is from the Archdeacon of Antigua, we quote the general remarks with which it concludes.

"From this sketch, so far as it applies, it will, I hope, be evident, that notwithstanding the various difficulties to be encountered, (which in a fair judgment of the case ought not to be overlooked,) the West Indian Church has of late years been neither inactive or inefficient; but that it has pleased God to make the labours of the clergy, acting unitedly under their indefatigable and highly-valued diocesan, instrumental

to great improvements in the religious and moral condition of society throughout all ranks. To attribute, indeed, such improvements solely to the exertions of the clergy would be great injustice. For the success which they have met with, they are greatly indebted, under Providence, to various co-operating means; to the liberal assistance and encouragement extended by his majesty's government; to the aid afforded by societies in England (particularly by the Negro Conversion and Christian Knowledge Societies); to the support uniformly received from the governors of the different colonies—in Antigua, in particular, we are in every way bound to acknowledge that of our late governor Sir Patrick Ross; and in some instances which required it, from the local legislatures, and to the aid of many influential persons and others in the colonies, as well as of several West Indian proprietors resident in England. Without attempting, therefore, the invidious, and indeed impracticable task of apportioning to any persons, or class of persons, their share of credit, much less of arrogating to the clergy any undue praise, I would simply observe, as a matter of fact and a matter of justice, that so far as my acquaintance with the colonies has extended, (even beyond the limits of my own archdeaconry,) the placing of the West Indian Church under episcopal superintendence has proved the commencement of a new era of pastoral activity, accompanied by a great increase of attention to the instruction of the poor, whether slave or free; to the public worship of God; to the observance of the Lord's Day; to the abolition of unchristian distinctions in spiritual matters; and to the furtherance among all of virtuous habits, particularly those of domestic life. That much still remains to be done, for the increase and general establishment of piety and virtue, is unquestionable. Such, indeed, will always be more or less the case, even in the most improved state of human society. But we may, I trust, venture to pray and hope, that the labours which the Lord of the Spiritual Harvest has, in no slight degree, blest already, may continue, under his grace and guidance, to be more and more effectual; and that the reasonable hopes, both of Christian societies and of philanthropic individuals, who really sympathize with us in our anxiety for the progress of true religion in the colonies, may experience annually less disappointment in proportion as there shall have been more time not only for fresh labours, but also for past labours to be matured to their just effects."—pp. 72, 73.

We have a similar account, though in a more general form, in the *Expository Discourse* noticed above.

"St. Paul, in a sort of free imprisonment at Rome, that is, bound with a chain to a soldier who guarded him, though allowed to live in a hired house of his own, makes a convert of the slave Onesimus: an apt picture, my brethren, of the position which Christianity once occupied in these colonies, though for a shorter period, perhaps, in this, than in others. Bear with me, I pray you, while I allude to a state of things gone by, I trust, for ever, and which yourselves are, doubtless, among the most forward to deplore. For was not our religion formerly, so far at least as the slaves were concerned, though not altogether imprisoned,

yet bound as it were with a chain, and placed under a guard? I speak not of the present time, in which, thank God, there are great facilities afforded to the preaching of the gospel; nor yet of recent years, during which there has been a gradual yet rapid improvement; first one, and then another, and then numbers, ceasing to confine the truth within narrow limits; yea, many even promoting its diffusion. But formerly, excepting in some insulated instances, this was not the case. Religion, restricted in a manner from all free intercourse with the slaves, and carefully watched in all her proceedings with them, was compelled to instruct them at first, not even in our Churches, but as it were in a 'hired house of her own.' It was thus, not to mention the labours of other Christians, that even within the pale of the Establishment, 'the conversion and religious instruction of the slaves' was begun. Happily the resemblance does not end here. The slaves were instructed: they became, like Onesimus, converts to the faith; and now, I conceive, there are comparatively few among them who have not been 'baptized unto Christ,' though doubtless numbers, yea more or less all of them, require farther instruction."—pp. 26, 27.

In regard to the clergy, on the nature and extent of whose labours the usefulness of a Church must principally depend, it is gratifying to find, that their "number," in the diocese of Barbados, notwithstanding deaths and removals, has been considerably increased," so as to amount, at present, to eighty;* and that at *Codrington College*

"there are about twenty students, of whom by far the greater portion is under preparation for the ministry. I mention this our diocesan Institution with peculiar satisfaction, from its having already to so great a degree realized my expectations, and from its promising, through the able superintendence of its official instructors, to establish, under God's blessing, its claim of being henceforward regarded as an indispensable appendage to the West Indian branch of Christ's Church."—*Second Charge*, p. 8.

Nor is it only in numbers that the clergy are becoming a more effective body, but in improved views of their sacred functions, and a more zealous and united discharge of them, as well as in increased facilities and better helps for their performance. (See the "*Report*" generally, and particularly pp. 67, 68.) Certainly it is not for want of being solemnly reminded of their duty, that any of them continue to be insensible to its calls. As to the spirit, for instance, which should actuate the Christian minister, how impressive are the following admonitions!

"If he have put his hand to the spiritual plough, not with the hope of secular gain, nor of popular favour, nor in a spirit of thoughtless indifference, but out of a decided preference for the ministerial office, as at

* In 1824, the total number was 47.

once honourable before God, and beneficial to man; if he cherish this preference by continued meditation on the exceeding love of Christ in dying for the world, and on the consequent value in the sight of God of the soul of man, until the spiritual interests of his people, and their advancement in the knowledge and practice of religion occupy all his time and thoughts, and form the subject of his daily and hourly prayers, there can be little doubt of the state of that man's heart: it is in his work. To pray for, and with his people in the public Liturgy of the Church; to intercede for them in private; to declare unto them the whole counsel of God; to visit the sick; to baptize and instruct the young; to support the aged; to console the afflicted; to be in any way occupied in the duties of his hallowed calling, is his highest delight. Every day beholds him actively and cheerfully engaged in the midst of his people; and God and his own conscience are his witnesses, how jealously he watches over his conduct, lest his charity through sin should grow cold, or his zeal suffer abatement, or his ministerial faithfulness be questioned and his people incur loss. The first study therefore of the Christian minister should be *his own heart*."—*Primary Charge*, p. 9.

These remarks are followed by others equally valuable relative to the *doctrine* of the Christian minister; but we pass on to some observations on *preaching*, in particular, further on in the same charge.

"On the importance of continually presenting to the understandings, and enforcing on the hearts of our people the essential truths of the Gospel, I cannot speak too often, nor too strongly. The charge has been often made, that the clergy of the Church of England preach not the Gospel. Against the Liturgy of our Church this charge cannot be maintained; against the Articles of our Church it cannot be maintained; for both these breathe throughout the spirit, and are often expressed in the very language of Scripture: Let us not then be condemned, my brethren, by *our own words*! The only morality which we can conscientiously enforce, is Christian obedience: the only foundation of this morality is faith: the prevailing motive to this morality is the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' No preaching that has not Christ for its foundation will ever convert the sinner from the error of his ways, or promote lasting godliness, or keep our people in the unity of the Church, or satisfy our great Head in the final day of account. All else is as 'hay and stubble.' This only will abide the fiery trial, when 'every man's work shall be made manifest.'"—*Primary Charge*, p. 21.

To these extracts we would add another from the Second Charge, delivered this year.

"A vow is upon us. Let it be our glory and happiness, then, the object of our daily prayers and endeavours, the very end for which we live, to win souls to Christ. Let your own affections, my brethren, be bent towards heaven, and you will hardly fail of carrying your people thither with you. So disentangle yourselves from the cares and amusements

and studies of the world, that you may show yourselves able at all times to rise above it, even whilst, for your people's sake, you are living in it. Ever have impressed on your minds the sanctity and *separatedness* of the ministerial character. Let your parishes be your homes; and their spiritual prosperity your crown and rejoicing. Live, in a word, amongst your people; converse much and seriously with them: visit them at their houses; receive them gladly at your own residences; and avail yourselves, especially in populous parishes, and under judicious control, of a few well-disposed and trust-worthy laymen, to find out for you the poor and sick, and ignorant and afflicted; not as giving them authority, but as using their local knowledge to enable you to bring your ministrations to bear on the greatest number of your people. Let all your parishioners without distinction, feel that they will ever be welcome visitors when they come to treat with you about their souls; let your manner in conversation be always serious, yet kind; patient, and condescending to the youngest, the poorest, and weakest of your flock. Reprove with tenderness, advise with judgment, encourage with confidence; God will never fail a minister who speaks in His name to a soul that is seeking Him, and desirous of serving Him! Once convince your people that you have their interest at heart, and that the saving of a single soul is more to you than all the treasures of this world, and your work is more than half accomplished. The negro especially is peculiarly susceptible of kindness; he will throw himself unreservedly on the affectionate minister, with all the confidence and docility of a child; he is now eager for instruction; and though among the wheat we must expect some chaff, yet the minister will gather in all that he finds, and having done his utmost, leave to God and his holy angels at the last day to winnow the good from the bad."—p. 37.

As to the *discipline* to which the clergy in the West Indies are subject, and respecting which much misapprehension (we will not say misrepresentation) has prevailed in this country, we would quote the following brief but forcible and judicious remarks.

"The *order* which the Parochial Minister observes in the discharge of his duties, may seem of very inferior importance: yet not to remark that nothing is mean or little which has respect to God's service, it is an apostolical rule, that all things should be "done decently and in order." Religious doctrine is, undoubtedly, of more importance in the abstract than ecclesiastical discipline; but in a practical view we can hardly neglect the regulations of the latter without endangering the integrity of the former. Most of the ancient heresiarchs commenced their course of error in acts of insubordination to legitimate authority."—*Primary Charge*, p. 14.

Of churches we find that the number before the last hurricane in Barbados (in 1831).

"was fifty-one, of which, notwithstanding the munificent subscription raised in the mother country, seven in Barbados, I regret to repeat, are still in ruins. There are thirteen chapels of ease, six of which in the same island were destroyed to the ground; but, together with twelve school-houses, have been re-erected out of the same fund. In several

parishes which are without a church or chapel of ease, and where the church, or even chapel, is insufficient to meet the wants of the population, temporary places of worship have been rented and fitted up at the expense of colonies or parishes, or granted by the liberality of individuals, for the purpose of public service on the Sabbath, or for the delivery of a lecture with prayer during the week."—*Second Charge*, p. 8.

It is not for want of materials, that we refrain from farther details on other points, but through fear of wearying our readers, and distracting their attention from the general merits of the question. Those who require fuller particulars will find them furnished abundantly in the publications which we have noticed. The perusal of the charges, in particular, and other truly episcopal addresses * published with them, will amply repay all, but especially our clerical readers; at the same time that it will serve to show that the *actual* state of religion in the colonies is far more encouraging than, in this country, it is generally supposed to be; and that, if there are still deficiencies, and obstacles, and evils—where indeed are there not?—their existence is not to be attributed to want of endeavour on the bishop's part to rouse his clergy to a right sense and due discharge of their solemn obligations, or to supply them, to the utmost of his power, with the means of teaching the gospel to the young and ignorant, as well as of preaching it to all, and prosecuting with effect the various other duties of the pastoral office.

But whilst we believe that great improvement has taken place in the West Indies, and that the good effects of placing our Church there under episcopal superintendence, have fully answered, if not exceeded, any reasonable expectations which may have been previously formed; whilst we acknowledge that *the Clergy*, as a body, entertain now far juster notions of their duty than they formerly did, that they are more united and more influential in their sacred work, that their numbers have been considerably increased, that the additions, though under many difficulties, have been, for the most part, of a valuable description, and that sound evangelical preaching, (we use the word in no invidious sense,) so emphatically urged in the "Charges" already quoted, has become more general; that old *churches and chapels* have been enlarged, and many new been added, whilst the *congregations and communicants* attached to them have greatly increased in number; that *schools and teachers*, of various descriptions, have been multiplied, we might almost say, a hundred-fold;

* That delivered in the City of Caracas will be found peculiarly interesting, both in itself and in the circumstances connected with it. We only regret that we cannot notice it more at large, without digressing from our subject; though perhaps, in advertent to the beneficial results of placing our West Indian Church under regular ecclesiastical government, we ought not to overlook the effects produced in the neighbouring countries.

that in consequence, "the *Scriptures*, together with the *Common Prayer-book*, are finding their way more and more into the hands of the [recently] slaves, as well as of the free; *reading*, amongst the former, becoming rapidly," especially in the old British colonies, "more and more common," (*Report*, p. 75); that the rest of the *Lord's Day* is in some colonies fully protected by law, and in most better observed, even where "the temptation of the Sunday market" is still permitted; that *regular marriage between slaves*, in the same manner as between free persons, which "was, at the commencement of 1825, an unknown practice," even in Antigua, has become frequent* there and elsewhere—(see particularly "Report," pp. 64, 69, 75, 99 and 103); that in some of the islands a spirit of social and moral improvement has been much encouraged, as well as indicated, by the formation of "Friendly Societies," of which we find in Antigua alone, at the commencement of this year, not fewer than seven, comprising altogether 1599 members, all of whom, excepting about 250, were slaves;—whilst we gladly notice these gratifying facts, and in one spot, for instance, where ten years ago a minister of the gospel had scarcely ever been, are rejoiced to find "a church, a minister residing in his parsonage, a large body of persons offering themselves for confirmation, and a congregation of nearly 2000 persons of all classes, from the proprietor to the slave, attending" on occasion of an episcopal visitation in 1833—(*Report*, p. 104,)—still, notwithstanding these and similar results, and which are not confined to our own colonies, but are extending a salutary influence upon those of foreign nations, as exemplified, more particularly, at St. Croix and Caracas,—we are free to confess that much, *very* much remains to be done for the furtherance and completion of those measures which have already been so happily commenced. The provision made for supplying the West Indian colonies with Christian pastors and Christian education, though considerably more ample and more effective than it was, is still far from being adequate to the demand. This is a point on which, we imagine, all are fully agreed. They may differ as to the *extent*, they may differ also as to the *nature*, of the want; but the *fact* that there is a want of succour on the part of the West Indian Church, in the further prosecution of its labours, is universally

* It appears from the *Conversion Society's Report*, that the number of slave-marriages as there stated (see pages 75, 99, and 103,) was, in the year 1826, thirty-nine; in the year 1832, 398; the returns for the latter year being made before the year was closed. The number 398 does not include the whole diocese of Barbados, some islands being omitted, as explained in the Report, and amongst them Antigua. By the last Report from this colony, it appears that the whole number, in nine successive years, had been 157, of which 61, considerably more than a third, took place in 1833,

admitted. And if ever such succour was required, it is peculiarly called for at the present crisis.

"The affairs of the West Indies have now reached that state in which the responsibilities of the clergy are increasing, I will not despondingly say, with the difficulties, but with the extensive and diversified character of their duties. For many years, I am happy to feel, the slave population has been considered by the clergy as forming an integral part of their parochial charge. Freedom, therefore, will make no difference in the feelings of the clergy towards the slave; but it will greatly facilitate the wishes of the slave to seek the ministry of the clergy, and of the numerous teachers who are acting under them. In religious matters, the apprenticed negro will henceforward be left, under the ministry of God's word, to the free workings of his own conscience. How active then must be the pastor to instruct and guide that conscience aright! Should it, through the pastor's negligence, become hardened in sin, or misled by erroneous doctrine, 'how great,' in the words of the Ordination Service, 'will be his fault, and how horrible the punishment, that must ensue.' It was a fearful saying of an old father, and I tremble to think how applicable it is, my brethren, to ourselves, under our present most responsible condition, 'Equidem ex ecclesiæ ministris non arbitror multos servari.' Physically we are weak—our numbers are unequal to the duties which we have to perform, and which in many parishes are actually demanded from us. It will be my especial duty to make known our need in those quarters, whence, humanly speaking, additional strength may be afforded: it will be yours, under God, to use to the utmost that which we already possess."—*Second Charge*, pp. 31, 32.

Here then is a solemn call upon the religious sympathy of the people of England. How shall it be met? Various will be the answers which such a question will receive, according as men differ in their views of religion or in their acquaintance with the actual state of the West Indies. Without entering upon the subject controversially, we shall content ourselves with suggesting our own opinion as to the assistance which this country may best supply.

Looking then at the West Indies, we behold a Christian Church, a branch of our own, already not only tolerated, but publicly recognized as the depositary and teacher of the only professed religion; we see this Church to a certain degree provided in every colony, either from local resources or by parliamentary and other grants, with the means of upholding and diffusing our holy faith. We find Churches, Chapels of Ease, and temporary places of worship, with pastors resident in their respective parishes, and faithfully (for the most part) attending to their duties; whilst schools of different kinds have been established under their direction for the Christian instruction of the poor. But this state of things is not, as we could wish it to be, universal. There are

districts—populous districts, nominally called parishes—in which there is as yet neither Church, nor Clergyman, nor school; nor any local means for supplying any one of these; though, in other respects, there is an open field for their introduction. There are also parishes, too extensive for the “effective discharge of ministerial duties” by one pastor, in which “a division into districts as a private ecclesiastical arrangement,” retaining still “the general superintendence of the Rector,” is strongly recommended by the Bishop, (*Second Charge*, p. 28, see also *Primary Charge*, p. 34,) and in which, therefore, further curates are required. What, then, is the great and pressing want of the West Indian Church? A change in its discipline? Not until it shall have been shown, that its present discipline has prevented or impeded the Christian minister in the exercise of his ministry. No: it is not a change in the regulations of the Church that is wanted, but the power to give those regulations full effect. The first and most pressing want, in short, is of *more clergy*. The harvest is great, and the fields are ready; but the labourers are few. The Church in the West needs first of all our prayers to the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest. But prayer must be accompanied by exertion; and much assistance might, perhaps, be rendered in making known to clergymen in England, who may be unemployed, or to young men qualified for admission into Holy Orders, the great demand which there is for their services abroad. We cannot but think that if the matter were generally understood, and if our clerical readers in particular would take the pains of explaining it to young men and others among their acquaintance, numbers might be found, either already in orders or qualified for ordination, who would rejoice to be engaged, though beneath a tropical sun, and with a much better prospect of usefulness than of affluence before them, in publishing the Gospel where as yet it may be scarcely known, or in strengthening its influence where it has already been received. We are aware that merely secular motives will not, nor is it desirable that they should, supply agents for such a work. There may, indeed, be some whose temporal prospects might be considerably improved by a West Indian appointment; or who would at least be satisfied with the kind of competence that it would hold out to them; but to be a welcome and profitable addition to the ministry in the West Indies (or indeed any where), they must, at the same time, be men “clearly determined, by God’s grace, to give themselves wholly to their office,” with hearts devoted to their work. Worldly-minded, disorderly, ignorant, or even lukewarm individuals would be no gain to the Church, but a clear hindrance, both by their example and by their possession of a post which

might be filled by better men. But, surely, the Church of England can supply her offspring in the West with men of a different order—

“ ‘workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth;’ ‘in all things approving themselves as the ministers of Christ;’ in piety ardent; in morals irreproachable; in charity unbounded; in learning well ‘furnished;’ in doctrine uncorrupt; ‘instant’ in preaching; in action discreet; in zeal unwearied; in success, through the grace of God, abounding to the salvation of many.”—*Primary Charge*, p. 41.

Such is the first want of the West Indian Church. True it is, that in the diocese of Barbados there is a College, instituted expressly (though not exclusively) for the purpose of supplying the Church with candidates for orders; but although Codrington College has already made several valuable additions to the ministry, and is likely, under its present effective arrangements, to become, by God's blessing, more and more useful, the demands are too many to be met entirely by this single institution. There must continue to be, for the present at least, an appeal to England for assistance; an appeal which, we trust, there may be individuals to reply to with a cordial offer of such services as would be really valuable in the great work for which they are wanted.

In connection with the subject of clerical assistance we would offer a few remarks on the nature of a clergyman's labours in the West Indies. That they “must necessarily partake much of a missionary character” (*Primary Charge*, 19) is evident; if, at least, by a Christian missionary be meant one who is *sent forth*, by the authority which Christ through his apostles has left with his church, to make known his gospel to those who are wholly or in a great measure ignorant of it. To supply with ministers of the gospel countries or districts that are wholly or even urgently in need of them, and cannot otherwise be effectually provided for, appears to us to be a very legitimate, if not quite a primary, object of missionary zeal. Of such missionary aid there is ample need, especially in some parts of the West Indies. But if by a missionary be necessarily meant one sent forth with an *undefined* commission, and under no control but that of his own discretion, we are inclined to think that such missionaries might (indeed from the very example would) be mischievous in a West Indian diocese. In the case perhaps of the South American Indians in the back woods of Guiana, or of the Maroons in Jamaica, there may be a field for missionary labour of a less stationary description: though even here certain restrictions would be necessary for the good order of the neighbouring parishes. In all other

parts a pastor, we conceive, confined to certain reasonable limits, residing and continually moving amongst his flock, must be infinitely more useful, especially among negroes, who require the most minute and persevering attention, than one whose exertions should be spread over so wide a space as to produce, comparatively, no permanent effect anywhere: not to mention the absolute necessity, where there are several ministers, of preventing confusion, by assigning to each his respective sphere of responsibility. In short, it must not be forgotten, that the duty of the Church of England (and, of course, of the members of her communion,) in regard to our West Indian colonies, is not to plant *anew* a Christian church, as if none existed, much less to subvert or embarrass that which is *already* established there, and, for the sake of doing something new, to destroy what has been done, whether by the colonies themselves or by the nation at large; but to enable the West Indian Church to increase, improve, and extend its labours, and to complete its provisions for the satisfactory instruction, by means of its ministers and its schools, of all, throughout the entire population of the colonies, who may be willing, when invited, to avail themselves of her teaching. If by missionary labour be meant something (as we conceive) compatible with these objects, then may missionaries, or chaplains, or officiating ministers, or perpetual curates, or by whatever other title they may be called—(this is evidently a very subordinate point)—proceed to the West Indies, if actuated by a sound Christian zeal, with every prospect of usefulness before them; but if, on the other hand, the missionary should go forth, *not as from the Colonial Church*, even to the least instructed parts of the colonies, nor as subject to its control, but as sent by and ecclesiastically responsible to some other distinct and distant body, then we do not see how schism and confusion are to be avoided, or how the church in the West Indies can be otherwise than embarrassed by such usurpation of her authority and contempt of her discipline.

We speak, of course, to churchmen; with the measures of dissenters we have nothing to do in the way of advice or suggestion. They must and will take their own course; and in this cause they are fully tolerated, nay more, we may venture to add, they are positively protected by the Established Church; and, since the erection of bishoprics, have been less molested than ever they were before, or than otherwise, in all probability, they would have been still. But be this as it may, and fully acknowledging that those who dissent from the Church are under no restraint from our ecclesiastical discipline (however they may be limited by *their own*), we cannot therefore concede, that it is

reasonable in the members of the Church to pursue a similar course, or to desire the like exemption. Surely, if *all things* in the Church ought to be done decorously and in order; and that by *all persons*, how much more, by the clergy themselves, in regulating their own labours, and *submitting to have them regulated*, so as best by the united efforts of the whole body, co-operating together each in his appointed sphere, not to build up rival congregations in the same district, but to propagate the Church of Christ throughout every parish, however destitute at present of the ordinances of the Gospel;—until all shall be blest with the faithful ministry of devoted pastors! Such, we are persuaded, is the object to be kept in view by the members of the Church of England in their zeal for the furtherance of the Gospel in our West Indian colonies. By Presbyterians and Independents, notions like these may be treated with derision; but from members of the Church of England (who really value the unity of the Church, and think that Episcopacy is more than a mere name), we may expect for them a different reception.

But it is not to the clergy alone that the appeal may be made on behalf of the West Indian Church. Not merely are additional *ministers* wanted, but additional *means* also for their support, as well as for the further erection of chapels, and the extension of religious education, to meet, not so much the growing want—for the want existed before—as the increased facilities of communicating instruction, with which the removal of slavery will, we trust, be accompanied. Surely the members of the Church of England will not be wanting in their succour at such a crisis? Surely they will not see other denominations of Christians pressing eagerly into the field, and hear their own Church earnestly imploring their aid, yet turn away with indifference, as from a matter in which they have no concern? However Christians may differ as to the *mode* of propagating the Gospel in distant parts, and especially in our own colonies, no serious Christian can for a moment doubt, that, in some way or other, it ought to be propagated; and that our Lord's parting injunction to "Preach the Gospel to every creature," though addressed more immediately to his ministers, is one, to the fulfilment of which all his disciples ought, with feelings of a lively interest—nay more, of sacred love and duty,—to be glad and forward, according to their stations, opportunities, and means, to contribute. Nor are opportunities in this instance wanting. Not to mention other societies or minor associations, there has long existed, in close connection with our Church, a "Society Incorporated" by Royal Charter expressly "for the conversion and religious instruction and education of the Negroes;" and among the many anomalies of

human conduct, it has often struck us as most strange, that, whilst so much anxiety has been expressed for the spiritual improvement of the Negro population in the West Indian colonies, a society, having that object *expressly and exclusively* in view, should have received from this great and wealthy nation so small, we might almost say so paltry, a measure of support; and should at this moment be indebted for the chief part of its resources to the piety of an individual, long departed, but never to be forgotten, the truly illustrious Boyle. Looking to the last "Report" of the Society, we find its income for the year 1832 to have been less than £2600, of which only £624:9s. was received in "subscriptions" and "donations." This simple fact speaks for itself. That the Society is not useless, but, on the contrary, useful almost beyond its strength, spending more than its annual income in supporting numerous teachers and schools of great value, might easily be shown, even if its Reports did not furnish the attentive reader with the means of judging for himself. So far, indeed, from being useless, this society has been for years, in conjunction with the Christian Knowledge Society, the chief channel through which the liberality of individuals has been made available to the conveyance of religious instruction, under the direction of the bishops and clergy in the West Indies, to numbers of negroes and others, who, through the divine blessing, have thus been made acquainted with the Scriptures and our Scriptural Liturgy, and brought into the way of knowing and serving the "great God and our Saviour." Whilst vindicating the Society, we are unwilling to bring against the Public the charge of neglect. We would rather attribute the want of support, of which we have with reason complained, to a real ignorance not only of the value of the Society, but even (which is not uncommon) of its very *existence*. Let the Society only take the trouble to make fully known, in a clear and popular form, what it *is* doing, and what for the future it would desire to be *enabled* to do, and we do not doubt that there would be found zealous clergymen, or candidates for orders, ready to answer its call with an offer of their personal services, and numerous other attached members of our Church forward to throw in their mite to meet the increased expenditure, which must necessarily attend an increased provision, whether of pastors or of teachers, of churches, or of schools. We are far, of course, from presuming to dictate to those who may prefer to give their aid through the medium either of the Church Missionary Society or of any other association; but we may be allowed at the same time, without entering into any invidious comparisons, to express a hope that a

society, which has already for years been doing so much good, and which, if adequately supported, is capable (with God's help) of doing so much more, may not be overlooked, especially at a crisis so momentous as the present, when instruction will, by the now emancipated negro, be more and more desired, and in some form or other more and more supplied; and when the Church in the colonies is anxiously looking to the Church at home for assistance in meeting the demands which are daily increasing upon her, that through the divine grace she may be enabled to extend to every part of every colony within her pale the blessings of a faithful ministry and of Christian education, of which to many, (if not to most,) she has already become, under God, the blessed instrument.

We will venture to add only one word more, which shall be from the last Report* (for 1833) of the *Antigua Branch Association* of the *Society* to which we have just adverted:—

“ In the approaching changes, Christian instruction will, on every ground, be more than ever necessary. The removal of outward restraints, and the accompanying increase of various temptations, will render it doubly important to fortify the conscience with the fear of God, and to enlighten it with the knowledge of his will. Most earnestly, therefore, do the Committee of the Antigua Association for the Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroes, implore every pious Christian, who can afford them be it ever so little aid, to grant that little towards the furtherance of so necessary, so sacred a work. Individual contributions may be trifling, but united they form streams, and the streams become a river; and beside that river let us hope and pray, in the language of Holy Writ, that trees may be planted, which “ shall bring forth their fruit in due season,” even “ trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified.”

Such is the cry from Antigua, and it is echoed throughout the colonies: Nearly eight hundred thousand of our fellow-subjects, newly emerged from slavery, call to the Christians of the Church of England to be forward, yea, to be foremost, in assisting to convert their liberty—otherwise but a dangerous boon—into that “ service” which “ is *perfect freedom*.”

* Published in one of the island Prints, and not yet republished by the Society in this country.

ART. III.—*A Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ.* By Andrews Norton. Cambridge: Brown & Co. Boston: Hilliard & Co. 1833. 12mo. pp. 331.

It is not long since we took occasion to pass some strictures upon the modern Unitarianism of England, in connection with the religious lucubrations of Miss Martineau—a young lady—since, “by courtesy” at least, as Lord Brougham has it, she is entitled to be called young—the exhalation of whose celebrity seems vanishing almost as fast as it arose. Possessed of considerable talents, and industry still more considerable, she is yet eventually destined, in common with the hecatomb of other victims, to suffer from the ruinous honours of absurd, because excessive, eulogy. She is no longer the lion, or lioness, of literary and fashionable coteries: we are no longer very gravely told that the mantle of Scott has fallen upon her shoulders, or that every single one of her multitudinous Tales has done more good to the country than the publication of “Paradise Lost:” her “fame” has been of “hasty growth and blight:” the readers have dropped off from her illustrative stories at the sixth, or the twelfth, or the eighteenth, according to their several degrees of patience; and she is gradually subsiding from a prodigy of genius into a clever, and pains-taking, and prolific writer, who has added to facility and skill in composition, a superficial and undigested knowledge of political economy—an acquisition only remarkable because it happens to be feminine. For ourselves, we are quite as anxious that her real merits should be acknowledged, and that the public should not rush from one extreme to the other, as we are glad that the nauseating trash has passed away, which at one time turned a lady of a certain age into an oracle upon the abuses of charity and the theory of population; and we trust that all due praise will still be awarded, when the extravagant outcry of admiration, which made a marvel and a monster of Miss Martineau, shall have been quietly blended with Mr. Bulwer’s secretary, and Sir Samuel Whalley’s notice of motion to abolish the hereditary peerage, and all other things that are exquisitely ridiculous.

But the subject before us requires a more serious tone. If, however, our levity should appear misplaced or indecorous, let it be remembered as something which may render raillery allowable, and which it is quite applicable to our purpose to state, that the modern Socinians attach great weight to what they consider the authority of celebrated names upon their side; and that we have known it urged as an argument in favour of Unitarianism,

that the wonderful Miss Martineau was supposed to be an Unitarian!

With the exception of this lady's productions, we have not lately seen any English work, professing the same religious tenets, which could deserve a careful and separate examination. Many, indeed, have met our eyes; but some of them have borne a nearer resemblance to the incoherent ravings of a lunatic, than the sober inquiries of a Christian; and the rest have been filled with malignant invectives—assertions at once virulent and unfounded, at once disingenuous and fool-hardy—and misapprehensions or misrepresentations of the plain text of Scripture, upon which criticism would be wasted.

The American work, which we now bring before our readers, is written, we think, with more candour and more ability; in a better spirit, and with at least something like an approximation to legitimate reasoning. There are also extrinsic considerations which induce us to bestow upon it a few remarks. The author, Mr. Andrews Norton, as we are informed by a correspondent, upon whom we place implicit reliance, is "a man of large property, of very amiable manners, and great benevolence; and his influence has given his book an extensive circulation in the state of Massachusetts, particularly at Boston and Cambridge, where modern Socinianism is dominant." Very few copies of the work have, we understand, arrived in London, and even these have not been sold; so that the different fate of the publication on the different sides of the Atlantic is a circumstance which may well detain our attention for a minute at the close of our observations. In the first place, however, let us look at the volume itself—a volume not powerful enough, we may safely premise, to become dangerous to the stability of our faith; yet noticeable as showing the kind of Christianity which has sprung up, and is flourishing with but too wide a prevalence, among our brethren of the United States.

As to the origin of his publication, Mr. Norton informs us, in a preface of some pretensions:

"In the year 1819, I published an article in a periodical work, of which a number of copies were struck off separately under the title that I have given to this volume. I have since been requested to reprint it, and some years ago undertook to revise and make some additions to it for that purpose. Being, however, interrupted, I laid by my papers, and had given up the intention, at least for an indefinite time. But having lately received an application from a highly esteemed friend, strongly urging its republication, I resumed the task; and the result has been that I have written a new work, preserving, indeed, the title of the former, and embodying a great part of its contents, but extending to three times its size."—p. iii.

Notwithstanding, however, this augmentation of its bulk, the present treatise, viewed as an exposition of Unitarianism, is singularly incomplete. In the way of direct reference, it is silent about the existence of angels, or the fall of man, or the miraculous incarnation of our Lord, or the great doctrine of atonement by his blood; and it is only from the briefest and most casual allusions, we are enabled to collect that Mr. Norton's sentiments on all these momentous topics are diametrically in opposition to the tenets of orthodox believers. In consequence of the narrow limits to which he has confined himself, the subjects with which he deals are not always carried out to their proper extent; and a mist of confusion and obscurity rests upon the mind, just where it would most wish for a full and precise development of the particular system which the author is disposed to maintain. But we must take his production as it is, rather attending to the positions which he would attack or defend, than to the other portions of the controversy with which he has declined to grapple.

Mr. Norton states, in his first section, as the "purpose of this work:"

"I propose, in what follows, to give a view of the doctrines of Trinitarians respecting the nature of God and the person of Christ; to state the reasons for not believing those doctrines; and to show in what manner the passages of Scripture urged in their support ought to be regarded."—p. 1.

The dispute between Trinitarians and anti-Trinitarians has been, from time immemorial, a discussion partly metaphysical, partly critical, and partly historical. Mr. Norton treats it in these three ways, and, like most other champions of the same cause, feeling probably its utter weakness in the two other departments, puts his metaphysical arguments in the front of the battle. His main force is expended in attempting to show, from *à priori* considerations, that the Trinitarian doctrine is repugnant to reason; and, after going over in review the different shapes which it has assumed, and making quotations from Waterland, Bull, Sherlock, and Howe thus sums up his analysis of Trinitarian opinions.

"This then is the state of the case. The proper modern doctrine of the Trinity is, when viewed in connection with that of the unity of God, a doctrine essentially incredible. In endeavouring to present it in a form in which it may be defended, *one class of Trinitarians* insist strongly upon the supremacy of the Father, and the subordination of the Son and the Spirit. These, on the one hand, must either affirm this distinction in such a manner as really to maintain only a very untenable form of Unitarianism; or, on the other hand, must in fact retain the common doctrine, incumbered with the new and peculiar difficulty

which results from declaring, that the Son and Spirit are each properly God, but that each is a subordinate God. *Another class*, the nominal Trinitarians, explain away the doctrine entirely, and leave us nothing in their general account of it, with which to contend, but a very unjustifiable use of language. *A third class*, those who maintain three distinctions, and deny three persons, have merely put a forced meaning upon the terms used in its statement; and have then gone on to reason and to write, in a manner which necessarily supposes that those terms are used correctly, and that the common form of the doctrine which they profess to reject, is really that in which they themselves receive it. And *a fourth class* have fallen into plain and bald tritheism, maintaining the unity of God only by maintaining that the three Gods of whom they speak are inseparably and most intimately united. To these we may add, as *a fifth class*, those who receive, or profess to receive, the common doctrine, without any attempt to modify, explain, or understand it. All the sects of Trinitarians fall into one or other of the five classes just mentioned. Now we may put the nominal Trinitarians out of the question. They have nothing to do with the present controversy. And if there be any who, calling themselves Trinitarians, do in fact hold such a subordination of the Son and Spirit to the Father, that their doctrine amounts only to one form of Unitarianism, we may put these out of the question likewise. After having done this, it will appear from the preceding remarks, that the whole body of real Trinitarians may be separated into two great divisions; namely, those who in connection with the Divine Unity hold the proper doctrine, either with or without certain modifications, which modifications, though intended to lessen, would really, if possible, add to its incredibility; and those who, maintaining the unity only in name, are in fact proper believers in three Gods. Now we cannot adopt the doctrine of those first mentioned, because we cannot believe what appears to us a contradiction in terms; nor the doctrine of those last mentioned, because neither revelation nor reason teaches us that there are three Gods."—p. 15—17.

In the same strain Mr. Andrews Norton proceeds from the nature of the Deity to the person of Jesus Christ.

"With the doctrine of the Trinity is connected that of the *HYPOSTATIC UNION*, as it is called, or *the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, in such a manner that these two natures constitute but one person*. But this doctrine may be almost said to have pre-eminence in incredibility above that of the Trinity itself. The latter can be no object of belief when regarded in connection with that of the Divine Unity, for these two doctrines directly contradict each other. But the former, without reference to any other doctrine, does in itself involve propositions as clearly self-contradictory as any which it is in the power of language to express. It teaches that Christ is both God and man. The proposition is very plain and intelligible. The words *God* and *man* are among those which are in most common use, and the meaning of which is best defined and understood. There cannot (as with regard to the terms employed in stating the doctrine of the Trinity) be

any controversy about the sense in which they are used in this proposition; or, in other words, about the ideas which they are intended to express. And we perceive that these ideas are wholly incompatible with each other. Our idea of God is of an infinite being; our idea of man is of a finite being; and we perceive that the same being cannot be both infinite and finite. There is nothing clear in language, no proposition of any sort can be affirmed to be true, if we cannot affirm this to be true—that it is impossible that the same being should be finite and infinite; or, in other words, that it is impossible that the same being should be man and God. If the doctrine were not familiar to us, we should revolt from it as shocking every feeling of reverence toward God; and it would appear to us, at the same time, as mere an absurdity as can be presented to the understanding. No words can be more destitute of meaning, *so far as they are intended to convey a proposition which the mind is capable of admitting*, than such language as we sometimes find used, in which Christ is declared to be at once the Creator of the universe, and a man of sorrows; God omniscient and omnipotent, and a feeble man of imperfect knowledge.

“I know of no way in which the force of the statement just urged can appear to be evaded, except by a sort of analogy that has been instituted between the double nature of Christ, as it is called, and the complex constitution of man, as consisting of soul and body. It has been said or implied, that the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ does not involve propositions more self-contradictory than those which result from the complex constitution of man; that we may, for instance, affirm of man, that he is mortal, and that he is immortal; or of a particular individual, that he is dead, and that he is living, (meaning by the latter term, that he is existing in the world of spirits). The obvious answer is, that there is no analogy between these propositions and those on which we have remarked. The propositions just stated belong to a very numerous class, comprehending all those in which the same term is at once affirmed and denied of the same subject, *the term being used in different senses*; or in which terms, apparently opposite, are affirmed of the same subject, *the terms being used in senses not really opposed to each other*. When I say that man is mortal, I mean that his present life will terminate; when I say that he is immortal, I mean that his existence will not terminate. I use the words in senses not opposed, and bring together no ideas which are incompatible with each other. The second proposition just mentioned is of the same character with the first, and admits, as every one will perceive, of a similar explanation. In order to constitute an analogy between propositions of this sort and those before stated, Trinitarians must say, that when they affirm that Christ is finite and not finite, omniscient and not omniscient, they mean to use the words finite and omniscient in different senses in the two parts of each proposition. But this they will not say, nor do the words admit of more than one sense.

“A being of a complex constitution like man, is not a being of a double nature. The very term *double nature*, when one professes to use it in a strict philosophical sense, implies an absurdity. The nature of a

being is ALL which constitutes it to be what it is; and when one speaks of a double nature, it is the same sort of language as if he were to speak of a double individuality. With regard to a being of a *complex constitution*, we may undoubtedly affirm that of a part of this constitution which is not true of the whole being; as we may affirm of the body of man that it does not think, though we cannot affirm this of man; or, on the other hand, we may affirm of the being itself what is not true of a part of its constitution, as by reversing the example just given. This is the whole truth relating to the subject. Of a being of a complex constitution, it is as much an absurdity to affirm contradictory propositions as of any other being."—pp. 17—20.

Now it is easy to say "this is the whole truth relating to the subject," but it would be far more *correct* to say, that, instead of being the whole truth, this is not a hundredth part of the whole truth. But let that pass. We have made these citations chiefly for the purpose of exhibiting, in Mr. Norton's own words, his mode of argument and his style of language.

For the same reason we will give a few more explanatory extracts before we proceed to any critical remarks. Mr. Norton's third section treats of "*the proposition that Christ is God, proved to be false from the Scriptures*," and attempts to show that "*the doctrine, that Christ is God, is opposed to the whole tenor of the Scriptures, and all the facts in the history of Christ*." This part, however, of the work appears to us singularly deficient in originality and force, and instead of demonstrating what the author wishes to demonstrate, only goes to elucidate the orthodox tenet, that Jesus Christ is *man* as well as *God*, "*inferior* to the Father as touching his manhood, but equal to the Father as touching his godhead."

Mr. Norton then comes to the point, "*Whence was the doctrine of the Trinity derived? The answer to the question is important—Reason and Scripture*"—so coolly and quietly are these mighty problems settled—"Reason and Scripture have borne their testimony against the doctrine, and I am now to call another witness, Ecclesiastical History."

Accordingly the fourth section opens in the following strain:—

"We can trace the history of this doctrine, and discover its source, not in the Christian revelation, but in the Platonic philosophy, which was the prevalent philosophy during the first ages after the introduction of Christianity, and of which all the more eminent Christian writers, the Fathers as they are called, were, in a greater or less degree, disciples. They, as others have often done, blended their philosophy and their religion into one complex and heterogeneous system, and taught the doctrines of the former as those of the latter. In this manner they introduced errors into the popular faith."—p. 51.

Mr. Norton subjoins in a note:

"I state the proposition in this general form, in which the authorities to be adduced directly apply to it. But it is to be observed that the doctrine of the personality of the Logos, and of his divinity, in an inferior sense of that term, which was the germ of the Trinity, was immediately derived from Philo, the Jewish Plato as he has been called, which fact I shall hereafter have occasion to advert to."—p. 51.

After quoting from Mosheim's *Dissertation*, "*De turbatâ per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiâ Commentatio*," and bringing forward a curious miscellany of passages from Gibbon, some of the Fathers, Cudworth, Gale, Basnage, Beausobre and Horsley, he thus sums up the evidence.

"I might produce more authorities in support of the facts which have been stated; but I conceive it to be unnecessary. The fair inference from these facts every reader is able to draw for himself. The doctrine of the Trinity is not a doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, but a fiction of the school of the later Platonists, introduced into our religion by the Fathers, who were admirers and disciples of the philosophy taught in this school. The want of all mention of it in the Scriptures is abundantly compensated by the ample space which it occupies in the writings of the heathen Platonists and of the Platonizing Fathers.

"But what has been stated is not the only evidence which ecclesiastical history affords against this doctrine. The conclusion to which we have just arrived is confirmed by other facts. But these, however important, I will here but barely mention. They are the facts of *its gradual introduction, of its slow growth to its present form, of the strong opposition which it encountered, and of its tardy reception among the great body of common Christians.*"—pp. 59, 60.

The fifth section treats in much the same way, "concerning the *history* of the doctrine of the Hypostatic Union," and near the conclusion it is said—

"Let any one ask himself this question—If these doctrines are not doctrines of Christianity, what are they? It is a question that deserves serious consideration. There is but an alternative. If they are not doctrines of Christianity, then they are among the most insane fictions of human folly: the monstrous legends of Hindoo superstition present nothing more revolting, or more in contrast with the truths of our religion."—pp. 85, 86.

Mr. Norton's next endeavour, in the not very logical sequence of his observations, is to remove certain prejudices by establishing correct principles as to "language" and "the interpretation of language."

"The art of interpretation derives its origin from the *intrinsic ambiguity of language*. What I mean to express by this term, is the fact that a very large portion of sentences, *considered in themselves*, that is, *if regard be had merely to the words of which they are composed*, are capable

of expressing, not one meaning only, but two or more different meanings; or (to state this fact in other terms) that in very many cases, the same sentence, like the same single word, may be used to express various, and often very different senses. Now in a great part of what we find written concerning the interpretation of language, and in a large portion of the specimens of criticism which we meet with, especially upon the Scriptures, this fundamental truth, this fact which lies at the very bottom of the art of interpretation, has either been overlooked, or not regarded in its relations and consequences."—pp. 90, 91.

This position is illustrated. Our author adds—

"I will mention, and I can barely mention, some of the principal causes of the intrinsic ambiguity of language. 1. Almost every word is used in a variety of senses, and some words in a great variety. Now as we assign one or other of these senses to different words in a sentence, we change the meaning of the whole sentence. If they are important words, and the different senses which we assign vary much from each other, we change its meaning essentially. 2. But beside their common significations, words may be used in an undefined number of figurative senses. A large proportion of sentences may, therefore, be understood either figuratively or literally. Considered in themselves, they present no intrinsic character that may enable us to determine whether they are literal or figurative. They may often be understood in more than one literal, and in more than one figurative sense; and a choice is then to be made among all these different senses. 3. A very large proportion of sentences which are not what rhetoricians call figurative, are yet not to be understood strictly, not to the letter, but with some limitation, and often with a limitation which contracts exceedingly their literal meaning. 'I do not,' says Mr. Burke, addressing the friend to whom he is writing, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*—'I do not conceive you to be of that sophistical, captious spirit, or of that uncandid dulness, as to require for every general observation or sentiment an explicit detail of the correctives and exceptions, which reason will presume to be included in all the general propositions which come from a reasonable man.' Sentences that are general or universal in their terms, are often to be regarded merely in relation to the subject treated of, or the persons addressed; and their meaning is often to be greatly limited by a regard to one or another of these considerations. 4. In eloquence, in poetry, in popular writing of every sort, and not least in the Scriptures, a great part of the language used is the language of emotion or feeling. The strict and literal meaning of this language is of course a meaning which the words may be used to express; but this is rarely the true meaning. The language of feeling is very different from that of philosophical accuracy. The mind, when strongly excited, delights in general, unlimited propositions, in hyperboles, in bold figures of every sort, in forcible presentations of thought addressed indirectly to the understanding through the medium of the imagination, and in the utterance of those temporary false judgments which are the natural result, and consequently among the most natural expressions, of strong emotion. Dif-

ferent senses in which such language may be understood often present themselves, and it is sometimes not easy to determine which to adopt."—pp. 92—94.

We are further informed that language is "conventional, and the use of it varies much in different ages and nations;" and the conclusion is—

"It is then to the intrinsic ambiguity of language that the art of interpretation owes its origin. If words and sentences were capable of expressing but a single meaning, no art would be required in their interpretation. It would be, as a late writer,* thoroughly ignorant of the subject, supposes, a work to be performed merely with the assistance of a lexicon and grammar. The object of the art of interpretation is to enable us to solve the difficulties presented by the intrinsic ambiguity of language. It first teaches us to perceive the different meanings which any sentence may be used to express, as the different words of which it is composed are taken respectively in one sense or another; as it is understood literally, or figuratively; strictly and to the letter, or popularly and in a modified sense; as the language of emotion, or as a calm and unimpassioned expression of thoughts and sentiments; as the language of one age or nation, or that of another; and it then teaches us (which is its ultimate purpose) to distinguish among *possible* meanings, the *actual* meaning of the sentence, or that meaning which, in the particular case we are considering, was intended by the author. And in what manner does it enable us to do this? Here again a full and particular answer to this question is not to be comprised in the compass of a few pages. The general answer is, that it enables us to do this *by directing our attention to all those considerations which render it probable that one meaning was intended by the writer rather than another.*"—pp. 98, 99.

These remarks are followed up by a section headed, "Fundamental Principle of Interpretation violated by Trinitarian Expositors. No Proposition can be incomprehensible, in itself considered, from the Nature of the Ideas expressed by it." This somewhat astounding dictum is thus explained:

"Words are only human instruments for the expression of human ideas, and it is impossible that they should express anything else. The meaning of words is that idea or aggregate of ideas which men have associated with certain sounds or letters. They have no other meaning than what is given them by men, and this meaning must be always such as the human understanding is capable of conceiving; for we can associate with sounds or letters no idea or aggregate of ideas which we have not. Ideas, therefore, with which the human understanding is conversant, are all that can be expressed by words. If an angel have faculties of a different nature from those which we possess, he can make no use of our language to convey to our minds the results of their exercise. If any being have more senses than we have, he can find no

* Dr. Thomas Chalmers. See the conclusion of the article Christianity, in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia.

words of ours to express to us his new perceptions. It being impossible, therefore, that words should be employed to denote anything but human ideas, whenever they have a meaning, this meaning, though liable to be mistaken, must in its own nature be capable of being fully understood.

"To talk of an incomprehensible meaning, if we use the word 'incomprehensible' in a strict sense, is to employ terms which in themselves express an absurdity. It is the same sort of language as if we were to speak of an invisible illumination. The meaning of a sentence is the ideas which it is adapted to convey to the mind of him who reads or hears it. But if it be capable of conveying any ideas, that is, if it have any meaning, it is merely stating the same fact in other terms, to say that those ideas are capable of being received and understood.

"No one, indeed, will deny that there are many truths incomprehensible by us, which are above reason, or, in other words, which are wholly out of the grasp of our present faculties. But these truths cannot be expressed in human language. Nor while our faculties remain what they are, can they be in any way revealed to us. To reveal is to make known. But what cannot be comprehended cannot be made known, and therefore cannot be revealed."—pp. 113, 114.

And again—

"Propositions relating to inadequate ideas may be altogether intelligible.

"Language then cannot be formed into propositions having a meaning, which meaning is not in itself considered fully to be comprehended. This is merely saying in other terms, that the human mind is capable of comprehending the ideas of the human mind, for no other ideas are associated with, or can be expressed by language. What then is the character of those propositions, said to be derived from the Scriptures, which are called incomprehensible, and which, it is affirmed, express mysteries above human reason? I answer, that so far as they have a meaning they are intelligible, and that many of them are, in fact, propositions which are perfectly intelligible. When I am told that the same being is both God and man, I recognise, as I have before said, a very *intelligible*, though a very absurd proposition, that is, I know well all the senses which the words admit. When it is affirmed that 'the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; and yet there are not three Gods, but one God;' no words can more clearly convey any meaning than those propositions express the meaning, that there are three existences of whom the attributes of God may be predicated, and yet that there is only one existence of whom the attributes of God may be predicated. But this is not an incomprehensible mystery, it is plain nonsense."—pp. 118, 119.

Mr. Norton, having thus fixed his general principles, proceeds to the "*explanations of PARTICULAR passages of the Testament, adduced by Trinitarians.*" Our readers must now have received sufficient initiation in his system, to conjecture what sort of sweeping and slashing work he makes with this department of his labours. In point of extent it is the most considerable of all;

for the passages are divided into eight classes or divisions, namely :

" Class I. Interpolated and corrupted passages.

" Class II. Passages relating to Christ, which have been mistranslated.

" Class III. Passages relating to God, which have been incorrectly applied to Christ.

" Class IV. Passages that might be considered as referring to the doctrine of the Trinity, supposing it capable of proof and proved, but which in themselves present no appearance of any proof or intimation of it.

" Of Prayer to Christ.

" On the Pre-existence of Christ.

" Class V. Passages relating to the divine authority of Christ as the minister of God, to the manifestation of divine power in his miracles and in the establishment of Christianity, and to Christianity itself, spoken of under the name of Christ, and considered as a promulgation of the laws of God's moral government,—which have been misinterpreted as proving that Christ himself is God.

" Class VI. Passages misinterpreted through inattention to the peculiar characteristics of the modes of expression in the New Testament.

" Class VII. Passages, in the senses assigned to which, not merely the fundamental Rule of Interpretation, explained in Section VIII., is violated, but the most obvious and indisputable Characteristics of Language are disregarded.

" Class VIII. The Introduction of St. John's Gospel."—*Contents*, pp. xxxviii. xxxix.

We regret that we have only space for one or two of the shortest specimens: but our regret is lessened by the consideration, that Mr. Norton's interpretations, bold and extraordinary as they sometimes are, present almost nothing of novelty, almost nothing, that has not been said and refuted again and again. He thus translates and explains the striking and remarkable passage,

" John, viii. 52, 53, 56—58. ' The Jews said to Jesus ; Now we know that thou art a madman ; Abraham died and the prophets ; and thou sayest, If a man obey my words, he shall never taste of death. Art thou greater than our father Abraham, who died ? And the prophets died. Whom dost thou make thyself ? Jesus answered, Your father, Abraham, earnestly desired to see my day, and he saw it, and rejoiced. Then the Jews said to him, thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham ? Jesus said to them, I tell you in truth, before Abraham existed, I was he.'

" The rendering of the common version, ' Before Abraham was, I am,' is without meaning."—p. 175.

Εγώ, "*I am*," is without meaning: Εγώ, "*I was he*," is the summit of sound sense and accurate philology !

Again, says Mr. Norton, at page 180,

“ ‘ I have descended from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me;’ that is, I, who bring this religion from heaven, have no other purpose but to perform the will of God.”—p. 180.

Once more.

“ There is a passage thus rendered in the common version : ‘ What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before.’ It has been thought to refer to his ascension to heaven, and to imply that he existed in heaven before his appearance on earth.”—p. 181.

Not at all:—but we will not affront the understanding of our readers with more of Mr. Norton’s particular expositions. They are only valuable as showing the length to which laxity and licentiousness of interpretation can be carried. Our American author goes from passage to passage and sentence to sentence almost like a back-woodsman in his own country, here lopping the branches, here laying his axe to the root. Does a passage favour the Trinitarian scheme of Christianity? It is misinterpreted. Is it difficult to make out the fault of interpretation? It has been mistranslated. Is the translation unassailable? It has been interpolated. Does interpolation seem impossible? At any rate, then, whatever manuscripts and authorities may testify to the contrary, it has been altered and corrupted, in the process of time, and by the carelessness of transcribers. Where there are eight classes of error, it is very hard if a place cannot be found, and a little ingenuity cannot manage to reduce it under one or another. Well, therefore, after darkening the whole sense of the Gospel by words without knowledge, may Mr. Norton thus end the investigation by singing his pæan, and erecting his trophy, albeit that to other eyes his antagonists may still seem in possession of the field.

“ It has been contended by some modern German divines, who appear themselves to regard Christ merely as a human teacher, that he was believed or represented by his Apostles, if not by himself, to have been a pre-existent being, the Logos of God. They appeal, of course, to some of the same passages which are brought forward by Trinitarians and others in support of this doctrine, and in proof of the deity of Christ in which it is implied. But we may here make the general remark, that if the Apostles had regarded their master as an incarnation of a great pre-existent spirit, far superior to man, they would not have left us to gather their belief from a doubtful interpretation of a few scattered passages. No fact concerning him, personally, would have been put forward in their writings with more prominence and distinctness. None would have been oftener brought into notice. None would have more strongly affected their imaginations and feelings. None would have been adapted more to affect their disciples. St. Matthew would not

have written an account of his Master, as it must be conceded that he has, without any where expressly declaring the fact. The Apostles would have left us in as little doubt concerning their belief of it, as concerning their belief of his crucifixion and resurrection."—pp. 184, 185.

Besides the sections already enumerated there is a separate discussion of the doctrine of the *Λόγος*: with an appendix, on which we have no room for remark, relating to "*the expectations of the Apostles concerning the visible return of their Master to earth.*" The closing chapter is thus commenced.

"In concluding this argument, I wish to make a few remarks concerning those general views of religion, that I have directly or indirectly expressed, and which are usually connected with the opinions I have maintained. In doing so I shall drop the singular pronoun, and blend myself with those, whoever they may be, whose sentiments correspond with my own. I speak in the name of no party; I am responsible for no opinions which I do not express; and no man is responsible for mine; but it would be false modesty, or presumption, to regard myself as standing alone.

"We, then, who reject the whole system which among Protestants has been denominated 'Orthodoxy,' as a system of the most pernicious errors, are charged by its defenders with depriving Christianity of all its value, with contemning all its *peculiar* doctrines, with rejecting all but its name. What is it, then, that we believe; and what is it that our opponents believe?

"Christianity, WE BELIEVE, has taught men to know God, and has revealed him as the Father of his creatures. It has made known his infinite perfections, his providence, and his moral government. It has directed us to look up to Him as the Being, on whom we and all things are entirely dependent, and to look up to Him with perfect confidence and love. It has made known to us that we are to live for ever; it has brought life and immortality to light. Man was a-creature of this earth, and it has raised him to a far nobler rank, and taught him to regard himself as an immortal being, the child of God. It calls the sinner to reformation and hope. It affords to virtue the highest possible sanctions. It gives to sorrow its best, and often its only consolation. It presents us, in the life of our great Master, with an example of that moral perfection, which is to be the constant object of our exertions. It has established the truths which it teaches, upon evidence the most satisfactory. It is a most glorious display of the benevolence of the Deity, and of his care for the beings of this earth. It has lifted the veil which separated God from his creatures, and this life from eternity.

"But all this seems as NOTHING; unless it also teach, that there are three persons who constitute the one God; or at least that there is some threefold distinction, we know not what, in the Divinity; that one of these persons or distinctions was united in a most incomprehensible manner to the human nature of Christ, so that the sufferings of the latter

were the sufferings of the former ; and that it is only through these sufferings of the Son of God, that we may hope for the mercy of his Father. The religion of joy and consolation will, it is contended, lose its value, unless it announce to us, that we are created under the wrath and curse of God ; that it is impossible for us to perform his will, unless our moral natures be created anew ; and that this is a favour denied to far the greater part of men, who are required to perform what he has made it morally impossible they should perform, with the most unrelenting rigour, and under penalty of the most terrible and everlasting torments. Such doctrines as these are represented as the *peculiar* doctrines of Christianity, those from which it derives its value ; and our opponents appear to think, that if nothing better was to be effected than to make God known to men, to reveal to them his paternal character, to bring life and immortality to light, and to furnish the highest motives to virtue, it was not worth while for the Deity to interpose in a special manner to effect purposes so unimportant."—pp. 289—291.

These copious extracts may almost afford to our readers a full-length picture of modern Unitarianism in America—a picture to the fairness at least of which no objection can be urged, as we have not ourselves meddled either with the drawing or the colouring. It is now, however, time to observe, that it will be found, upon accurate inspection, a picture teeming throughout with imperfections and deformities, and conveying nothing like an adequate delineation of the original which it pretends to represent.

Of the three parts, into which, as we have already said, Mr. Norton's view of Christianity may be divided, we shall not deal with the two latter at any length. The historical portion of the subject has lately been discussed in England with great learning and ability ; and we therefore feel it to be quite unnecessary to enter upon a detailed refutation of Mr. Norton's errors, partly, because the work has been already done better than we could hope to do it ; and partly, because, in the proper performance of the undertaking, we should be compelled to write, or quote, not an article but a volume ; not a volume but a library. We need not recur to Bishop Horsley's demolition of the pseudo-theology of Dr. Priestley ; although Mr. Norton, we perceive, still clings with a perverse and mistaken partiality to the "History of early Opinions." Still less need we go back to earlier writings : it is enough to refer all who have at heart the support and confirmation of the orthodox faith, to the erudite labours of Dr. Burton, Mr. Faber's valuable work, "*The Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*," which has already come under review in this publication, and met with due examination and merited praise ; the translation of some Epistles of the Fathers, lately put forth by Mr. Temple Chevallier ; and a number of other productions, which set the

question of primitive Christianity entirely at rest. Or, if the "bane and antidote are to come both before us" from the same quarter of the globe, we may mention Professor Stuart's admirable Letters to Dr. Channing; and also the Remains of the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, D.D., lately edited, with a memoir of his life, by the excellent and eloquent Bishop Doane. As this work may be new to the generality of our readers, they will thank us for giving some extracts on the present topics of the Unitarian controversy, from "A short and candid Inquiry into the Proofs of Christ's Divinity;" although it was originally published, we believe, so far back as the year 1791.

"A very slight acquaintance," says Dr. Wharton, "with ecclesiastical antiquity must convince us that the doctrine of Christ's divinity prevailed in the Christian Church as far back as we can trace the history of her tenets. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that in the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles, the materials for Church history are scanty and obscure. The few fragments of Hegesippus preserved by Eusebius are almost the only authentic monuments of a Christian historian which have reached us. But no sooner were regular histories written to record the doctrines and dissensions of Christians, than this primitive tenet appears firmly established and adopted by a vast majority in the Church.

"It has been already observed, that the very first proselytes to Christianity, regarded Jesus Christ as an object of their worship; and we know from the writings of the Apostles, that they acted conformably to this belief. St. Paul, writing to the Romans, speaks of the absolute necessity of confessing 'the Lord Jesus;' a little after, he says, 'Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.' 'How then,' continues he, 'shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?' Here the Apostle plainly intimates the necessity of calling on the *Lord Jesus*, or in other words of paying religious worship to his name. And accordingly we find Stephen, in the agonies of death, calling upon the Lord Jesus, *whom he saw standing at the right hand of God*, 'and praying him to receive his spirit.' It has been already observed that no history exists, to record the religious practices of the first Christians, subsequent to the Apostolic Epistles, and the writings of St. John, in which this doctrine of Christ's divinity appears clearly announced. We may gather, however, from the conduct of the inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem, revealed to this Apostle, and recorded by his own pen, what worship was paid to Christ by the Christian Church upon earth. In the most august representation of celestial objects with which mortal man has been ever favoured, this beloved disciple saw the worship of his Master blended with that of the most High God. 'After this,' says he, 'I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds, and people and tongues, stood before the throne, and *before the Lamb*, and cried with a loud voice, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and *unto the Lamb*.'

And when immediately afterwards the angels 'fell before the throne upon their faces, and worshipped God,' we are informed, that the '*Lamb is in the midst of the throne.*' And thus is the idea of that intimate connexion between the Father and the Son still supported by this wonderful revelation, which is so often inculcated in every other part of the New Testament.

"From these divine attributes and prerogatives, so repeatedly ascribed to Christ by his Apostles, we may easily infer the practice of their immediate disciples. And indeed it is a favourable circumstance to this Christian tenet, that the most sceptical inquirer can have ample evidence in this particular; and what is still more satisfactory, this evidence is drawn not only from the few writings now extant of the primitive Christians, but from the testimony also of every pagan writer who has recorded either their tenets or practice."—vol. i. pp. 303, 304.

His account of the testimony of the Fathers has been in some degree superseded by later and more elaborate disquisitions: we rather turn to the corroborative witness of the heathens, before Mohammed gave his evidence also to the prevalence of Trinitarianism, by affecting to come as the restorer of the unity of God.

"It now remains only to be shown, that the testimony of the Pagan writers is equally conclusive respecting the divine worship paid to Christ by the primitive Christians. A few unexceptionable passages from some of the principal among them will be sufficient for this purpose, and will complete the second part of the argument mentioned in the beginning of this letter. Pliny the younger, while proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus, finding in those provinces a great number of Christians, wrote a letter, still extant, to the Emperor Trajan, consulting him on the mode of his conduct towards them. He tells the emperor, 'That being interrogated, they who complied with his order to sacrifice, affirmed the whole of their guilt or error was, to meet on a certain particular day, before it was light, and to address themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some God,' &c. &c. Here these apostates, who had, probably, but a slender knowledge of Christianity, confess, however, that divine worship was paid to Jesus Christ. In this they could not be mistaken, although very ignorant of the unity of the Godhead.

"Antoninus Pius, successor to Adrian, in an edict directed to the states of Asia, tells them, that 'it is more eligible with them (Christians) to be persecuted and die *for their God*, than to continue in life.' Soon after, he says, 'as to earthquakes, past or present, it may not be amiss to admonish you, who are desponding whenever they happen, to compare your own conduct with theirs. On such occasions they place their confidence firmly in their God.' He censures them moreover for not *worshipping the Eternal, and for persecuting the Christians who do worship Him.* Thus distinguishing between the eternal and the particular God of the Christians, whom he did not know to be but one only God.

"Lucian, in his History of Peregrinus the Philosopher, after relating many particulars concerning him, mentions his becoming an eminent

professor among the Christians, who, says he, ‘*Adore that great Person who had been crucified in Palestine, as being the first that taught men that religion.*’ And again, ‘*since they separated from us, they persevere in rejecting the gods of the Grecians, and worshipping only that deceiver who was crucified.*’ In these words does Lucian bear testimony to the perpetual worship of Christ among Christians, from their first origin down to his time. Porphyry, whom St. Austin calls the ablest of the philosophers, composed a work against the Christian religion, divided into fifteen books, which the Heathens looked upon as a divine performance. In it he relates, that a certain person, who had asked Apollo what god he must apply to, in order to make his wife relinquish Christianity, received this answer from him: ‘*It would perhaps be easier for you to write upon water, or to fly in the air, than to reclaim the spirit of your impious spouse; leave her, therefore, in her ridiculous error, to hymn in a faint and mournful voice the dead God, who was publicly condemned to a cruel punishment by judges of singular wisdom.*’ During a cruel pestilence, which ravaged the empire in the reign of Gallienus, Porphyry expresses himself thus respecting that calamity: ‘*Are men surprised that Rome has been afflicted with a plague for so many years, when Æsculapius and the other gods have abandoned us? and since Jesus has been worshipped, no one has experienced the public assistance of the gods.*’ To conclude this body of Pagan evidence, which might easily be increased to a great extent, the Emperor Julian, who was educated a Christian, when he afterwards became a most subtle and powerful persecutor, composed a work against the Christian religion, in which, among a variety of other calumnies, ‘*he reproaches the Christians for worshipping two Gods, contrary to the express command of Moses.*’ Julian was slain in the year 363 in a battle against the Persians. With him fell idolatry; and Christianity became the religion of the Roman empire and its sovereigns. Thus, my friend, have I endeavoured briefly to trace this important tenet, from the first promulgation of the Christian system, to the downfall of Paganism. I have shown that it was taught by Christ’s own Apostles, and their immediate successors; that the adversaries of this doctrine were regarded as heretics by the brightest luminaries of the primitive Church; and that the practice of the ancient Christians, whenever it is mentioned by contemporary Pagan writers, bears additional and solid testimony in its favour against them.”—vol. i. pp. 312—314.

But the case of the Unitarians is still weaker upon the point of philological interpretation than of ecclesiastical history. It is hardly worth while to break a lance with Mr. Norton upon his theory of the laws of interpretation; for the dispute, in almost every case, would turn not so much upon the principle itself, as upon the particular application of the principle: and long debates might ensue, in each separate instance, how far, after admitting the external evidence in favour of a divine revelation, we are at liberty to recur to abstract considerations of probability or improbability, drawn from the nature or the fitness of

things. We may even grant to Mr. Norton—not indeed from the necessity of the concession, but from the strength of our cause—the canons of criticism for which he contended; provided only he will add two others to his list, which, we conceive, are most plainly reasonable, and most incontestably just. The one is, that every passage of the Bible, as of all other compositions, is to be understood in the common obvious meaning of its terms, unless there is some strong decisive reason to the contrary; and that the metaphorical or more recondite interpretation is to form the exception and not the rule. The other is, that the probability against the correctness of a metaphorical and far-fetched interpretation, increases in a large geometrical ratio with the number of passages which, in their literal acceptation, assert the same doctrine, and the number of writers in which such passages are found. If, therefore, in only a single passage, or on only a single occasion, a figurative explanation is required, it may be admitted with less difficulty; if in two passages, or two writers, similar expressions occur demanding a similar license of interpretation, the difficulty is doubled or quadrupled:—and so on, until, as more writers and more passages come into the calculation, the improbability may swell to an almost infinite amount. If these two simple principles were borne in mind, confusion would be avoided, and the legitimate distinctions would be easily made. For instance, a clear line of separation is thus drawn between the doctrine of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and the Real Presence of his body and blood in the Eucharist: nor are we compelled, by any parity of reasoning, to renounce the doctrine of the Trinity, because we give up the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

In the present case, however, there is this to be added, that, whatever may be Mr. Norton's theory of interpretation, his practice is such that, if it were generally pursued, almost any possible sentence might be made to bear almost any imaginable signification. We could undertake, for example, to affix to any passage in his own book a meaning the most opposite from his own intentions. Thus,—to take the opening sentence of his attack,—“The proper modern doctrine of the Trinity, as it appears in the creeds of later times, is, that there are three persons in the Divinity, who equally possess all Divine attributes: and the doctrine is connected with an explicit statement that there is but one God.” Now, let us comment upon the beginning of Mr. Norton's paragraph in Mr. Norton's manner. “The *proper* modern doctrine of the Trinity,” &c. Here the whole sense of the passage turns upon the meaning of the word “*proper*.” Some expositors have very erroneously implied the phrase “*proper*

modern doctrine" to signify the modern doctrine usually recognized as orthodox and correct. Nothing can be more erroneous;—nothing more remote from the true force of the term; nor, indeed, could such an interpretation have originated with any person less ignorant of the laws of criticism than Dr. Chalmers. The word "proper," it is evident, means "peculiarly appropriated;"—in the place which we are now considering, it cannot by possibility mean any thing else. "Proper" is opposed to "*common*." Thus grammarians oppose "*proper name*" to "*common name*." The inference, then, is inevitable, that the word "*proper*" here signifies *uncommon*, or *unusual*; and the expression "*the proper modern doctrine*" signifies the uncommon, or unusual modern doctrine. It is plain, therefore, as the light, that there must have been some other usual or common doctrine regarding the Divinity quite different from this doctrine. We have, then, to inquire what that other doctrine was. Now we may reasonably suppose it to have been as follows.—And so we might proceed, after the example of our author, first coming to a most ridiculous conclusion, and then tranquilly and complacently taking that conclusion as the foundation of a fresh argument.

Glad, however, as we should be, if we had room, to meet Mr. Norton upon any ground which he has taken, we must adhere to our resolution of not dwelling upon this branch of the controversy. Two things are broadly manifest. Mr. Norton has done injustice both to the force of single texts, and to the authority of their collective multitude;—and he has done still more injustice to the *events* of the Gospel, than to the *texts*. For let it be always remembered, that we may appeal for the proof of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, not merely to words, which may be liable to mistranslation or misinterpretation, but to facts, which speak, and can only speak, one universal imperishable language. If it were a mere man who was born, the occurrences related in the beginning of the New Testament are absolute fictions:—if it were a mere man who lived and taught, what are we to think of the wonders which happened at His baptism, at His temptation, at His transfiguration,—or of His command over winds and waves, over disease and death; or of His *creation* of food for the support of thousands of men?—if it were a mere man who died, how can we believe the self-foretold and self-achieved resurrection; or the mysterious powers of motion and transition in the body that was raised; or the glories of the ascension; or the gift of miracles communicated to his disciples; and the promise of the Holy Ghost, who should descend from Heaven? Either the entire history is an imposture, is a lie; or

the facts of the history refute for ever the *monophysite*, or, at least, the humanitarian hypothesis. The superior nature of the Redeemer lies imbedded in the rocks of our religion, and runs like a vein of ore beneath its surface; it is as necessary to the credibility of the Evangelists as to the whole economy of the Christian faith.

To the discussion concerning the *Logos* we can scarcely even allude. Let us merely suggest that the beloved disciple may, or may not, have written his gospel to refute the heresy of Cerinthus, or the Ebionites; he may, or may not, have wished to preserve the purity of the faith from the *Œons* and other puerilities of the Gnostics;—but it is a matter not of probability or conjecture, but of plain and positive certainty, which we may feel without travelling one inch beyond the record of inspiration, that St. John intended to identify the *Λόγος* with the Redeemer of mankind. It is impossible, we think, unless a wilful or judicial blindness be upon us, to read the commencement of the first chapter without perceiving the identity. Mr. Norton may tax his ingenuity to the utmost: German commentators may indulge their fancy or display their erudition in latitudinarian explanations; and the Unitarians of England may translate particular chapters of their commentaries, and import fragments of their labours; but unless they can expunge St. John's exordium from the Bible, they have not advanced a step. We should be quite content to rest the issue of the whole controversy upon this single point, that St. John intended to represent the *Λόγος*, or Word, as a pre-existent and Divine being, by whose operation this world was framed: that, according to the Evangelist, this *Λόγος*, or Divine Being, became incarnate; that he was heralded by John the Baptist, that he was no other than Jesus Christ. We would go no farther than the seventeen opening verses of the chapter, and the train of ideas which they embrace. Dr. Wharton appears to us to have rather understated the argument which is deducible from the other Evangelists, and from the Acts of the Apostles; but his remarks upon St. John are so satisfactory in their pith and conciseness, that we cannot refrain from quoting them.

“To bear ample testimony to Christ's divinity, seems to have been the chief object of St. John in writing his Gospel. He sets out by declaring the pre-existence of the *Logos*, proclaims him to be God, and the Creator of the universe.* In many passages of his Revelation, he repeats this doctrine in the clearest words that language can furnish.† He styles Jesus Christ the *Alpha* and the *Omega*, the *beginning* and the *end*, intimating thereby his eternal pre-existence and duration. He

* John, i. l. 2, 3.

† Rev. i. 8; xxi. 3, 6, 7; iv. v. &c. &c.

ascribes to Christ the very attributes, under which the Eternal, in other passages of Scripture, designates his own essence. 'Thus saith the Lord the King of Israel and the Redeemer the Lord of Hosts, I am the first, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God.*' In a word, there is scarcely a prerogative or a property of the Divinity, which this Apostle does not attribute to the Redeemer, and he is full and explicit in exhibiting him as the object of Divine worship to the celestial inhabitants.† It appears to me, that the most zealous advocate for Christ's Divinity would find it difficult to adopt a more pointed language, a more explicit phraseology, or a greater perspicuity of expression, than that which St. John makes use of upon this subject. And yet the Apostle Paul in several of his Epistles seems, if possible, to have announced this mystery with still greater accuracy, and to have thrown around it a blaze of evidence still more powerful and conclusive. To select the most proper words for conveying his meaning with energy and precision, he appears to have exhausted the copious language of the Greeks. He styles Him 'the irradiation of His glory, and the character, or the express form of the substance of God:' or, as our Bible translates it, the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person.‡ He calls Him, repeatedly, the Creator of all things,§ and lest this should not be sufficient to designate His divinity, he tells us,|| that 'He who built,' or made, 'all things, is God;' from which premises no other conclusion can possibly follow, than that Christ is God.¶ Without denying the authority of St. Paul, and of the ancient prophets, who were unanimous in alleging the character of the Creator, as an essential quality of the Godhead,** can human subtlety elude the force of the following argument: 'He who made all things is God; but Christ made all things; therefore Christ is God.' St. Paul seems to dwell with peculiar complacency on Christ's quality of Creator, without the remotest hint at any delegated power in His mighty work. 'By Him,' says he, speaking of Christ, 'were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible; whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist.'†† In thus designating Christ as the *Universal Creator*, the Apostle effectually obviates the cavils, which in aftertimes have been suggested against this glorious prerogative."—pp. 298—300.

With these extracts we must hasten to close this part of the discussion. We would only add, that the business of a Christian student is twofold, or, perhaps we might say, *threefold*. It is one office, as Dr. Chalmers says, to hammer out the meaning of a passage by the aid of a grammar and lexicon: it is another to

* Isaiah, xlv. 6; xliii. 11; xlviii. 12;

† Rev. v. 13.

‡ Heb. i. 3.

§ Ibid. ii. 10.

|| Ibid. iii. 4.

¶ He says that the whole plenitude of the Deity dwells corporeally in Him, not as in a shadow, figure, or representation, but *vitally* as the soul dwells in the body.—Col. ii. 9.

** Isaiah, xlii. 5; xlv. 24. Jer. x 11, 12.

†† Col. i. 16.

look at the reasonableness of the proposition, when the fair grammatical meaning has been obtained. These are two separate and independent departments of rational inquiry. But it remains likewise to take them together as well as separately: to test *each by each*; and not merely to subject the one to the other. It is unphilosophical in the extreme to make abstract conceptions *all*, and positive texts *nothing*; to make philology bend the knee to metaphysics, and not *also* to check the excursiveness of metaphysics by the legitimate conclusions of philology.

But this latter part of his task is precisely what the Unitarian disdains. There is a perpetual reference in his mind to conclusions already formed. The antecedent improbability, established as a positive conviction, is carried with him all along, and used as the sole guide of his inquiries, and supreme arbiter of the meaning of Evangelists and Apostles. But when a man sits down with a determination, that, whatever be the obvious grammatical meaning of a passage, such or such a signification it must not, and cannot, and shall not have, we may conjecture tolerably well at what point his investigation will terminate. The will will be too strong for the understanding to have fair play; the bias of the thoughts will warp and pervert all natural soundness and acuteness of judgment; and critical sagacity will be exhibited only in putting a false gloss upon expressions, and straining the construction of sentences, and stretching every particle upon the rack.

It is no wonder, then, that verses, and whole chapters, when passed through the alembic of this intellectual chemistry, should afterwards be scarcely recognized. In fact, this propensity of reading Scripture or any other composition by the light of some *à priori* hypothesis, when indulged without restraint, amounts almost to a disease. Philology is set at nought; the authority of commentators is disregarded; history and ecclesiastical tradition are treated as an old wife's tale, unless they favour the previous impressions; and some airy and fanciful conjecture is allowed to outweigh the accumulated testimony of language upon subjects which are beyond the limits of human comprehension, or where, as Mr. Norton himself acknowledges, "our ideas are most inadequate."

It is often said, that the Bible is to the believer in Christianity what the book of nature is to the physical inquirer. In such a case, most assuredly, the Unitarian, instead of adopting the inductive philosophy of Bacon and his followers, adheres to the ancient method of the schools, which either despised experiment and observation, or attempted to *force* all the palpable phænomena before them into a reluctant conformity with their preconceived

and *a priori* generalizations. Thus does the love of abstract truth degenerate into a prejudice, and men become, we will not say the bigots of reason—but the pedants and slaves of theory.

We are free, however, to admit, that the pioneers and soldiers of any science may be often right to carry their general principles with them in their immediate investigations, provided a diffident and modest spirit also bears them company. We would allow, again and again, that the question between Trinitarians and Unitarians, where it touches upon modes of interpretation and canons of criticism, is very frequently a question of degree, or a question as to the particular application of general principles. We may concede to the Unitarian many of his premises, and yet deny the validity of his conclusions. We may allow, that some things are in their own nature so incredible, that no evidence would induce us to believe them; and that they could not be true, even if they were as plainly discernible in the Scriptures as the stars in the firmament of heaven; but we utterly deny that the twofold nature of the Saviour belongs to this category. We may reject the "*credo quia impossibile*," and yet maintain the doctrine of three persons in the unity of the Godhead. We may allow, that the *rationale* of the Gospel is to be kept in view as well as the letter, and yet deny that Trinitarianism, when properly understood, is irrational; and think that we are yet preserving the due and all-important distinction between that which is above reason, and that which is contrary to reason. We may admit, that, if any religion, or any part of religion, is clearly inconsistent with the intellectual deductions or constitution of the being who is to embrace it and be judged by it, or refuses to address itself to the reason of that being, it must go, it must perish, it must be dissolved, it must drop away from the moral universe like an annihilated planet from the expanse of space:—it will meet its doom, and its doom will be merited; for it cannot be of God, from whom the reason is a gift prior to the revelation. But all these admissions, we humbly imagine, include nothing fatal, nothing dangerous, to the faith which we profess.

And thus we approach, or rather, in fact, we have been partly anticipating, the main argument on which modern Socinianism relies, as its strength and fulcrum, using the philological and historical discussions merely as subsidiary and tributary to its importance: the argument, we mean, which declares the *irrationality* of the Trinitarian system, and the antecedent improbability or impossibility that it should be true.

Here there are two or three considerations to be mentioned, of which a sober and humble Christian will never lose sight.

1. In the first place, the Trinitarian scheme must be carefully

separated from imprudent exhibitions or fanciful illustrations of it, attempting to support themselves by analogies which will not bear a severe and impartial scrutiny. For these things, thank God, neither the Bible is responsible, nor any orthodox creed. In the Bible itself there are no logical forms, no abstract, technical, or scientific terms; no methodized arrangements of doctrine. But it becomes useful, and even necessary, for men to systematize and combine the scattered statements of Scripture, in order to facilitate the purposes of explanation and analysis; to bring religion into a regular plan, and to display the mutual connection and dependence of the parts, as well as the symmetrical harmony of the whole;—and to treat the *science* of theology, like other departments of science, with that accurate precision which is demanded by the established usages of philosophy, and the intellectual constitution of man. We should expect the revelation of God to be brief and authoritative, because they are the edicts of an omniscient sovereign; the comments of men must be more laboured and methodical, because their strength must be derived not from authority but from reason. Hence the introduction of the word Trinity has been found indispensable to the exposition of Scriptural truth: and the use of the phrase, three *persons*, as applied to the Godhead, is more than defensible; although we may allow, that the word *person* is loose and vague, and we only employ it, because human language has none better to supply its place. But when individuals would go further, and pretend fully to explain the essence of the Trinity and the nature of the distinct personality, they alone are responsible for their several indiscretions.

2. In the second place, the distinction, as we have already hinted, must always be observed between that, which exceeds the limits of our faculties and that which involves a contradiction in itself; between that which, however expressed, is beyond the sphere of our reason, and that which, when clearly enunciated, is hostile to its dictates. Most freely do we acknowledge that neither man, nor angel, nor any imaginable intelligence in earth or heaven, can believe an impossibility, can believe a contradiction. Most freely do we acknowledge, that if a man states himself to believe it, either he mistakes his own mind, or he has not examined his own tenets. But to assert, in naked and unqualified terms, that all which is incomprehensible is incredible, is to assert a proposition absurd in itself, and hourly belied by every man's experience. We all, at every moment of our lives, believe a hundred things, which we cannot understand. If our faith were compelled to stop at the extreme boundary of our comprehension, short indeed would be its progress, and narrow indeed

would be its extent. The man could believe little upon the evidence of his senses; and the child could believe nothing upon the authority of its parents; and evidence would be always in the inverse ratio to knowledge.

But Mr. Norton may say that this is a misrepresentation of his meaning, when he affirms, that "no proposition can be incomprehensible, in itself considered, from the nature of the ideas expressed in it." The fairest way then is to refer our readers to the quotations on this subject, which we have already extracted from his book. His argument seems to be,—for we merely gather and connect his own words,—our ideas may be most inadequate, but the propositions into which we can throw our ideas, are intelligible and not mysteries. Whatever man expresses, he can understand; for, unless he understood it, he could not put it into language. Here, with deference be it spoken, he is altogether at sea. There are two fallacies in this argument: the one is, that we can fully understand all the terms which we use. But must not our language partake of the imperfection of our notions? The position is not true even of single terms. What does Mr. Norton think of the words, *Spirit—Time—Space—Life—Eternity*—and a thousand others? But while it is by no means true that the separate terms which we use are all strictly intelligible, it is still more preposterous to contend that the propositions are strictly intelligible, which the words form, when they are put together. For instance, we may understand the word "same," and the word "another;" but how incomplete is our comprehension of the statement that hereafter the human being shall be another and yet the same? It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand the identity between the infant and the man; it is infinitely more difficult to understand the proposition, that *we shall all be changed*, and yet that we shall maintain a consciousness of identity with our earthly selves throughout our future and immortal existence. We might pursue this train of remarks into the awful and intricate points of liberty, necessity, foreknowledge of contingent events; the moral responsibility of the creature to the Creator; and other solemn mysteries of ethical and metaphysical research: but the general truth must be too familiar to our readers to require that we should rush into a labyrinth of illustrations.

In short, if our ideas are most inadequate, how can our language be clearer than our ideas, or our comprehension more adequate than our language to the vast and countless mysteries within us and around us? With the three wondrous worlds, the world of existences, the world of ideas, and the world of signs, can we suppose, in our case, that the second should be a perfect mirror of the first, or the third a perfect representation even of the second?

Is man then the maker of the universe, or the highest being which it contains ?

In this as in every other matter there are two opposite extremes. It is equally absurd to insist that our language is ever utterly unintelligible, and conveys no meaning to the mind,—for unless it conveys *some*, perhaps shadowy and imperfect meaning, why do we employ one word rather than another?—or to contend that all the propositions which we express, must be perfectly comprehensible in their terms. But this is the length to which Mr. Norton must push his argument ; for otherwise it is of no use to him. For the point which he would demonstrate is, that in our statements, there can be nothing that is not fully intelligible to ourselves ;—that we have no right, therefore, to talk of the mysterious and the incomprehensible, in connection with our own definitions of the Trinity, or the Hypostatic Union : and therefore, again, that unless we make our doctrine altogether intelligible, we have it at last altogether incredible.

A wiser man than Mr. Norton would at least have paused before he uttered such crudities. And certainly it would have been well if Mr. Norton himself, in his speculations concerning the divine nature, had kept in more steady remembrance the immeasurable distance which must here always intervene for any human intelligence between the capacity of knowledge and the object. The heathen philosopher, who, when asked what God was, first demanded two days for his answer, and then four, and then eight, might have taught something of modesty to the modern Unitarian. We use the terms, and to a certain extent we know what we intend by them ; but after all, how vague, how miserably vague, how superficial, how deplorably superficial, are our conceptions—we will not say of the essence of God, for of the essence we are darkly and entirely ignorant—but of the attributes and qualities of God :—of self-existence—of existence without beginning—of the creation of something out of nothing—of spirit forming matter, and acting upon matter—of omnipresence, or of a being filling all things, and yet displacing nothing—existing everywhere at once, and yet more intimately present in some places than in others. And does not Mr. Norton recognize the distinction, that we may know the meaning of our terms when we employ them in their primary sense and upon ordinary occasions, and yet have no accurate impression or image placed before us, when we are compelled, from a want of more appropriate phraseology, to extend their application to substances and properties, with which we have and can have but a most limited acquaintance? Hence it happens, to take again our former example, the word *Person*, as applied to the Godhead, is neither

exact nor unequivocal: but we adopt it from necessity in our utter bankruptcy of adequate words and ideas, when we would cope with the nature of Divinity: and the same remark is applicable to the word "Son," when transferred from an earthly to a heavenly relation.

But the the topic is too trite to require that we should descant long upon the presumption of a finite being attempting to scan the infinite. The human mind can never hope to grasp the dimensions of the divine. We might as well think to hold the whole material creation in the hollow of our hand. The Christian may be contented, in the genuine philosophy of meekness, with admiring and striving to appreciate the marvels that are revealed, instead of "rushing in where angels fear to tread." We pause, therefore, upon the threshold of the boundless immensity stretching out before our view. We are afraid and ashamed to dogmatize: though Mr. Norton seems to imagine that the depths of Deity are fathomable by the plummet of human reason; and that man is capable of determining *a priori* what is, or is not, compatible with the essence, the attributes, and the counsels of God. Our answer is, in one word, that man is altogether incompetent to determine anything of the kind, which has any actual and proper bearing upon the Trinitarian doctrine. Mr. Norton cannot prove a contradiction against us: and, unless he proves a contradiction, he does nothing. That the Godhead contains Unity in one way and Trinity in another, is a tenet which so far mocks our faculties as to baffle our powers of explanation, when we would define or mark out in *what* consist the distinctions or divisions of the Godhead; and in *what* its oneness or integrity: but it is no more contradictory, no more incomprehensible, than other attributes and agencies which we ascribe to the great, eternal, all-pervading, and all-directing "I am." Inexplicable as it is, it is hardly more inexplicable than the palpable fact that all things in the world are "one yet manifold;"—than that Plurality in Unity and Unity in Plurality, which is absolutely as a main, universal, characteristic law, impressed even upon the physical universe.

We are anxious, however, not to stretch or overstrain this wonderful analogy. Our purpose is accomplished, if our remarks have tended to demonstrate that the *a priori* argument quite breaks down with the Socinians of our day. To us it appears, that, with as much ease, and with infinitely more justice, we might build up an abstract *a priori* argument in favour of the Trinity. But this is a ground, which, in consistency with our principles, we scarcely feel authorized to tread. We say nothing, therefore, of the satisfaction and delight—the indescribable and indestructi-

ble support, which the Trinitarian derives from his belief that his God has appeared for him in the three persons, or characters, of Creator, and Redeemer, and Sanctifier. We shall not be tempted to dwell upon the intellectual and moral influences, inseparable from the doctrine of the incarnation of Divinity, or the union of two natures in the person of Jesus Christ, when taken in conjunction with the doctrine of imputed righteousness, and a vicarious satisfaction for the sins of the human race. Yet these doctrines, apparently, neither shock the judgment, or degrade religion into superstition. These doctrines have nothing which can rob the Deity of one sacred or one glorious attribute, for they rather complete and harmonize all celestial perfections:—nothing which, in introducing an endearing relation with the creature, can sully the majesty of the Great Framer of all things;—nothing which can derogate from the honour of God, in attaching and arresting the sympathies of man. These doctrines are mysterious indeed, but surpassingly and sublimely noble, from the boundlessness of wisdom, and mercy, and even tenderness, which they display to us in their author: and, even if they were not from God, they would be worthy of God. They are doctrines which the human mind, although incapable of imagining them for itself; receives; when once communicated, with avidity and transport. They speak to all our faculties and all our necessities: they commend themselves to the understanding, and the imagination, and the affections: they give us what we want, yet could not dare to pray for: they satisfy the cravings of an immortal spirit: they fill up the void of the moral universe.

Nor are these doctrines less admirable in their effects, than we might expect from their character. The Christian may appeal, from speculations on the divine nature, to the centuries of experience gathered by communities, and families, and individuals. These doctrines have practically infused into the Gospel its vitality, and energy, and power: they have breathed into it the breath of life: these doctrines have been the real improvers of our species:—the parents and the nurse of human virtue: the foundation and corner-stone of self-humbling piety and self-sacrificing philanthropy; the centre and point of convergence for love to man and love to God; the perennial sources of all hope, and of all peace, and of all strength, and of all consolation.

Our readers must pardon us if we seem to have been transgressing our own rule. But they will find that, in point of fact; we have been reasoning backward rather than forwards. And is it not better to carry a light from the words of inspiration and the history of ages, that may guide us across the awful and inscrutable gloom of what may be called celestial metaphysics, than urge

dubious *a priori* subtleties in opposition to the fruits of experience, and the truths interwoven with the whole texture and frame-work of the Bible? Nor let the Unitarian forget, that the argument of antecedent improbability, which he would press against the doctrine of the orthodox Church, is a two-sided weapon, which has been wielded by Hume and other infidels, to prove the impossibility of a rational belief in *any* form of Christianity upon the external evidence of miracles.

Other considerations also come forth to solicit our notice. We are arguing the matter, be it remembered, not as between the Christian and the infidel, but as between the Humanitarian and the believer in the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ. The Unitarian rests mainly upon the reason of the thing: here, as he fondly thinks, is his stronghold and impregnable fortress. If this platform be struck from under him, his entire system must fall to the ground. For what does he do? He would obviate difficulties by reconciling or paring down the record of inspiration to his own views of rationality and truth. But this process must perpetually recur; because, beset by his metaphysical subtleties on the one hand, and the letter of Scripture on the other, there is no spot where he can pause. He can find no rest for the sole of his foot, as he ranges over the boundless deluge of uncertainty which he has made. For is there no *difficulty* no *unreasonableness* in his view of the matter? The doctrine of the Trinity—the mystery of the Incarnation—the divinity of our Lord, are at irreconcilable variance with his preconceived theories. He cuts them off at one blow from the scheme of Christianity. But if the Messiah pre-existed at all in heaven, although merely with a derivative and subordinate being, still a superior nature must have been blended with an inferior,—an immortal with a mortal; and therefore violence will have been done to the literal sense of the Gospel, without escaping from the mazes of the metaphysical labyrinth. The pre-existence, therefore, must be denied. The same supposed necessity which exacted the first sacrifice, exacts a second and a third; nay, sacrifices continued without end. And thus the faith of the Christian must be smoothed and simplified more and more, again and again. Other mountains must be levelled, other obstacles must be removed, other rough places and irregularities of surface must be made plain, until at last, in the vain endeavour to bring the transcendental tenets of revelation within the reach and grasp of the human mind on earth, religion and reason are in danger of perishing together, and the understanding itself is darkened as the light of the Bible is eclipsed.

The correctness of these speculations is fully borne out by the annals of religious heresy. The Socinian descends into a lower

deep than the Arian, and the modern Unitarian plunges into a still lower than the ancient Socinian. There are exceptions, we are aware; and, as an example of them, we extract from the newspapers an advertisement, intended, we suppose, as an explanation or summary of Mr. Christie's work on "the Divine Unity."

"Unitarianism has been calumniated as denying the divinity of the Son of God. It does no such thing. As there are Trinitarians who believe three distinct persons in the Divine Being, and Trinitarians who believe three somewhats in the Divine Nature, so there are Unitarians who believe that the Christ was a mere man, and there are Unitarians who attribute his inferiority to God only to his filial relation to him. Unitarianism does no more than affirm that the Supreme Being is One Person, and One Person only. Every Christian who bona fide recognizes 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ,' is a Unitarian. Every Christian who says faithfully that 'Christ is God's,' is a Unitarian."

We have seen nothing of the house which Mr. Christie has built, except the brick which he thus sends round as a specimen. But while we learn from it that the Unitarians are still at war among themselves, still unable to fix and consolidate their creed, we are tolerably sure that Mr. Christie will find himself in a decided minority; that the space which separates Unitarianism from Deism is growing gradually less; and that the one is becoming more and more a kind of stepping-stone or frontier to the other.

But, then, what anomalies arise, what incongruities, what insurmountable impediments to "joy and peace in believing"! Let us conceive Unitarianism arrived at its modern goal! For one melancholy moment, let us take it for granted that the Humanitarian hypothesis is right. Christ then is a mere man, and only called the Son of God, because more virtuous and more favoured than his fellow-creatures. Oh, how dense a cloud of something gloomier and more painful than uncertainty must pass over the spirit! For what then becomes of his own words, which provoked his enemies and misled his disciples? What becomes of the faithfulness of his ministrations?—what of his meekness—what of his unworldliness—what of the unambitious purity and unostentatious holiness of his mind? How unfortunate is it, to say the least, that where explicitness is most demanded, his expressions are obscure; where misapprehension is infinitely dangerous, it is almost inevitable. The types, then, have no antitype; the figures no counterpart; the long pomp of announcements, the glorious train of prophecies, the visions of the seer, and the proclamations of the herald, lead but to a child of clay and weakness, like ourselves: the mighty drama of the divine government ends with a mean and insignificant catastrophe; there is no longer any cor-

respondence between the preceding and subsequent parts of one and the same dispensation, and the whole is as a mutilated and unfinished work, full of startling inconsistencies and monstrous disproportions. This is much in itself; but this, all this, sinks into nothing by comparison. The climax of evil is, that unless the New Testament be a tissue of perversions and interpolations, Jesus Christ represents himself to have been, in nature, and origin, and office, what he was not, and could not be. Less true to God than Moses or Elijah, equivocal at least in action and utterance, he exceeds his commission and betrays his trust; he gives occasion to error, and lays a snare for the religion of mankind. How vain is it to say that his words, which sound ambiguous in our ears, were only metaphors and figures intelligible and familiar to his immediate hearers, when his immediate hearers, nevertheless, mistook them for literal affirmations! Instead of submitting to be worshipped, should he not, like Paul and Barnabas, have forbidden the worshippers, by crying out and saying, "Sirs, why do ye these things? we also are men of like passions with you." We can discern sufficient reason why he should sometimes have kept back the assertion of his divinity, although he was divine: we can conceive no legitimate reason why he should have pretended to be divine, if he was merely human. Nay, of all inconceivable things, if there can be degrees in such a matter, it would appear the most inconceivable, that the completion of predictions, and the development of a religious system, should be wholly centred in one, who, *being a mere man*, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God;" that the Almighty, in his infinite prescience, should have conferred the power of working miracles, of raising the dead, and controuling the elements, upon one who should usurp a portion of his sovereignty, and strip him of his glory as the Lord of the Universe; or intrusted the revelation of his will, and the manifestation of his splendours, to one who should involve the globe in a bewildering darkness, and plunge it again into an almost universal idolatry.

Yet is not this the result, upon the supposition which we are assuming? And is not the moral character of Jesus Christ impeached in the sight of earth and heaven? He stands convicted of an ambition, illimitably more gigantic than all the blended aspirations of conquerors and legislators,—of a pride, before which all other pride shrinks into the tamest humility,—of a fanaticism, which divests all his precepts of every atom of authority, or of an imposture which confounds all virtue and all religion in one common ruin.

This form, then, of Unitarianism is the most untenable of all theories. It cannot, we emphatically repeat, *it cannot* be the *final*

religion of mankind. It can hardly, we think, be the final creed of any single individual. It cannot be a *resting-place*; too often, we apprehend, it will scarcely be a halting-place. It adds a thousand difficulties to natural religion, without bringing in return any accession of strength. Yet it is to this form that Unitarianism is driven, after its previous stages have been passed, and its other phases have been exhibited and condemned:—such shapes, for instance, as the belief, that Christ is a *subordinate* and *secondary* God, or a mysterious, unintelligible, pre-existent being, neither God, nor angel, nor man, or a compound of two natures, neither of which is strictly divine:—shapes, which, while they render the doctrine of the atonement almost null and void, are hedged and beset by other manifold and insuperable objections. The tendency of Unitarianism in general is towards the Humanitarian scheme; but the Humanitarian scheme, as stated by Mr. Norton, then becomes itself but a half-way, or middle passage, from which man is handed over to yet thornier regions of entanglement, pushed as it were from the extreme border of positive and revealed religion into the trackless wastes of unassisted reason or conjecture. Mr. Norton would recognise nothing beyond humanity in the nature of Jesus Christ; but yet he admits that he was a messenger from God, and still seems inclined to maintain the inspiration of Holy Writ. But latitudinarianism, when it has travelled so far, has strong temptations to advance farther. Therefore the German expositor steps forward: he assures us that plenary inspiration is out of the question; that Christ is a human teacher and therefore fallible: that the Bible, after being well weighed and sifted, is to be taken with certain qualifications and allowances; for that its truths are not immutable and eternal, but meant to be accommodated to the progressive changes of society; and, at last, we suppose, to drop off one after another, until the peculiar hues of Christianity melt and vanish into the pure colourless light of matured and perfected science, and its essential forms and tenets evaporate into the calm ether of some universal and philosophical theology. When some can begin to talk of Jesus Christ as only a purer Confucius, a wiser Zoroaster, a better Socrates, others will venture to doubt whether he was as wise, as pure, or as good: and thus Unitarianism and unbelief will be merged and fused together, and nothing will survive but an undistinguishable chaos of perplexity.

If Mr. Norton should be still disposed to object, that we have mis-stated the facts of the case, we can only appeal from him, and men like him, who have placed themselves by their preconceived theories beyond the pale of conviction, to any impartial, dispassionate, unbiassed peruser of the sacred writings. To *them*, indeed,

what is it, that the Trinitarian argument is a collective and cumulative proof, not resting upon a single passage, but upon the number, the multiplicity, the curious harmony and concordance of many passages; progressively rising, as we believe, in strength and clearness, but all concurring, as the Unitarian must think, in being so strangely metaphorical, and so extraordinarily loose, as almost of necessity to blind the understanding and entrap the credulity of millions? What is it to them that the Jews took up stones to cast at the Messiah, for ascribing to himself the prerogative of divinity? What is it to them that the Athenians looked upon St. Paul as a setter forth of *strange Gods*, because he preached Jesus and the resurrection? What is it to them that the early Christians were derided and persecuted, because they worshipped as God a malefactor who was crucified? What is it to them that the disciples adored Christ, and that he accepted their adoration? There runs, we are told, for there *must* run, a wide and general error through the whole account. The transactions must be falsified, as the several parties who were addressed must have misconceived the words of the Son of Man. Mr. Norton, it is true, is at issue with both the disciples and the Pharisees; and the words recorded in the Scripture have been differently understood in the streets of Jerusalem at the moment and on the spot, and in the state of Massachussets after the lapse of eighteen centuries. But what then? The inhabitants of Judea were unacquainted with the true principles of interpretation; the light of modern criticism had not shone upon their heads; they had not the key of a Socinian hypothesis to the signification of terms in their native tongue. God forbid that we should speak with irreverence upon subjects so sacred! But we may add, in self-defence, that if any ridiculous associations are thus connected with religion, they are attributable, not to our representation of the matter, but to the astonishing incongruities of Unitarian expositors.

But there is still another point of view in which the controversy must be placed, if we would thoroughly understand the dilemma in which Mr. Norton and his coadjutors are involved. Trinitarianism exists—nay, it is almost universally prevalent, wherever Christianity is known. The Unitarians are and have been, in comparison, an exceedingly small and uninfluential minority. The testimony of Mr. Norton himself is decisive as to the fact.

“It is from the public professions of nations calling themselves Christians, from the established creeds and liturgies of different churches or sects, and from the writings of those who have been reputed orthodox in their day, that most men derive their notions of Christianity. But the treaties of European nations still begin with a solemn appeal to the “Most Holy Trinity;” the doctrine is still the professed faith of every Established

Church, and, as far as I know, of every sect which makes a creed its bond of communion; and if any one should recur to books, he would find it presented as an all-important distinction of Christianity by far the larger portion of Divines. It is, in consequence, viewed by most men, more or less distinctly, as a part of Christianity. In connexion with other doctrines, as false and more pernicious, it has been moulded into systems of religious belief, which have been publicly and solemnly substituted in the place of true religion."—Pref. p. v. vi.

Now, in what way are we to account for this phenomenon? The diffusion of Christianity itself has been reputed a miracle, quite incapable of achievement by the incommensurate power of the human agents, without the special favour of the Almighty inspiring the propagators, and resting upon the faith. But are we to conceive that the spiritual favour of God has rested upon a perversion of the Gospel, and sanctified a delusion, by which, according to the Unitarian, God himself is debased and dethroned? The supposition is almost blasphemy. We must look, then, simply and entirely to the human means. But we are told that the Trinitarian schemes were all unknown to the primitive believers; "*these systems*," says Mr. Norton, in the words which immediately succeed our last extract, "*have counteracted the whole evidence of divine revelation*;" while they outrage the Deity, they insult the understanding of man; and they are as repugnant to reason, as they are at variance with the written word. Still, however, the change *has* actually been wrought. The undeniable *event* starts up in our sight from every quarter of the Christian world. The question, therefore, returns upon us—this change, which, as all parties must agree, was most unlikely to be gratuitously received, or to occur in the common progress of thought;—this change, which completely alters the whole character of the Christian religion, which transmutes it from a mere code of moral institutes, either into a plan of redemption and salvation for mankind, wonderful, stupendous, glorious, beyond expression or conception, or into a new and degrading form of idolatry and polytheism:—how has it been wrought? Why, if the Unitarian assumptions are correct, this creed—which is grounded and rooted in an utter obvious impossibility, which is so monstrous as to involve a contradiction in terms, which is either an incomprehensible jargon, or a naked phrensy, which disgraces piety and puts philosophy to the blush,—has been introduced in spite of Scripture, in spite of tradition, in spite of usage; has been borrowed from the Pagan theories, with which the Gospel expressly rejects all communion or alliance; has been imposed upon men whose feelings, habits, and professions must all have been adverse to the innovation; engrafted upon a stock which it could only tend to destroy, and in-

corporated with a faith professedly jealous, exclusive and unaccommodating, amidst the triumphant progress of that faith, and with scarcely a murmur of remonstrance or dissent. We know,—for Popery and many other systems present the melancholy example,—that some abuses and corruptions may creep into a religion which comes from God, and by degrees intermix, although not amalgamate, themselves with the truth; but we unequivocally deny, that they afford anything like a parallel or precedent for the universal usurpation of Trinitarianism, if the other statements of our opponents be correct. We confidently affirm that the result, *under such circumstances*, would be an effect without a cause, or rather, an effect directly in opposition to all the operating causes, whether human or divine.

According to Mr. Norton, that form of Christianity which has been deemed orthodox for ages, has sprung, like noxious reptiles from the mud of the Nile, from a mere congeries of mysticisms and sophisms. After pretending to describe the confusion of ideas produced by the confusion of the meanings of the word "Logos," he subjoins, "*It was from the shapeless, discordant, unintelligible speculations which have been described, ex tanta colluvie rerum, that the doctrine of the Trinity drew its origin.*" EX TANTA COLLUVIE RERUM! Let our readers think again of the result, as well as the supposed source; of the streams which have flowed from fountains represented as so hideous and impure. For our own parts, if the tenets which the noblest beings, who have ever worn the garb of our erring mortality, cherished in life and death; if "the virtue which has gone out" of the Trinitarian system; if the comfort, which the orthodox Christian experiences in his belief, that the Deity has for his sake humbled himself to humanity, has borne the burden of his sins, and is always at hand to succour and sustain him; that God so loved him, that he has not withheld from him his only begotten Son;—if these, the first articles of Faith, are, after all, the dreams of the enthusiast, the delusions of the fanatic, and must be exchanged for a cold jejune emasculated exhibition of the Gospel, a meagre and fleshless skeleton of Christianity; if they are only Platonic superstitions, and the Unitarians have reason on their side, still we might almost be ready to exclaim, in a new application of the words, "*Mallet, mehercle, errare cum Platone, quam cum istis rectè sentire!*" But is it possible to attach a moment's credit to any thing so preposterous? Mr. Norton, we perceive, half hopes to enlist even Bishop Horsley under his banners. But that learned prelate, as might be expected, directly contradicts his theory. His words are, as quoted by Mr. Norton,

" "I am very sensible that the Platonizers of the second century were

the orthodox of that age. I have not denied this. On the contrary, I have endeavoured to show that their Platonism brings no imputation upon their orthodoxy. The advocates of the Catholic faith in modern times have been too apt to take alarm at the charge of Platonism. I rejoice and glory in the opprobrium. I not only confess, but I maintain, not a perfect agreement, but such a similitude, as speaks a common origin, and affords an argument in confirmation of the Catholic doctrine (of the Trinity) from its conformity to the most ancient and universal traditions."

"In another place he says, 'It must be acknowledged that the first converts from the Platonic school took advantage of the resemblance between the Evangelic and Platonic doctrine on the subject of the God-head, to apply the principles of their old philosophy to the explication and confirmation of the articles of their faith. They defended it by arguments drawn from Platonic principles, and even propounded it in Platonic language.'—p. 58, 59.

That there was some similarity, perhaps coincidence, of views between the primitive Christians and the later Platonists, is one thing; it is quite another, that the primitive Christians were the mere plagiarists of a perversion of Platonism. In reasoning with the Unitarians, we must turn to the antecedent probability, rather than advert to the positive fact, that, upon their view of the matter, the Apostles must have Platonized before Philo wrote; the Redeemer himself must have Platonized before, as Gale says, "The learned Christians, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, &c. made use of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, which was at this time wholly in request, as a *medium* to illustrate and prove the great mysteries of faith, touching the Divine λόγος, word, mentioned John i. 1, hoping by such *symbolisings*, and claiming kindred with these philosophic notions and traditions (originally Jewish) touching the Platonic λόγος, νοῦς, and τριάς, [the Platonic Trinity,] they might gain very much credit and interest amongst these Platonic Sophistes." We ask, then, which of the two is in itself the most *probable* supposition, that the Christians imported the doctrine of the Trinity from the Heathen sect, and thus wilfully corrupted to the very core the religion for which they were prepared to sacrifice their lives; or that, the doctrine of the Trinity being already in existence they wished to attract the philosophers of the day, by showing that it might derive support even from the opinions of the school of Plato? It would be just as rational to contend, that the Unitarian system has been borrowed from the mythology of the Hindoos, because something like a Trinity has been discovered in Hindooism; and the only Supreme Being "manifests himself, it is supposed, under the hypostases, as the Creator, Brahma; the Preserver, Vishnu; and the Destroyer, or Changer

of Forms, Siva." Of course, we take this picture of the Hindoo religion merely as an elucidation of an argument, without pretending to decide whether it is right or wrong; or to impugn the Monotheistical system of the Veds, as defended by that illustrious, or egregious, philosopher, the Rajah Rammohun Roy.

Upon the whole, then, are we not entitled to retort upon our adversaries the charge of *unreasonableness*; and to urge against the modern Unitarian the enormous and astounding difficulties under which *his* doctrine labours? If it is right, for we must now bring our observations to a focus, then,—not upon points involving no practical consequences, such as the Millennium or the precise time when the world shall come to an end; but upon points vital to faith and truth—the disciples were seduced into an error, which it seems to our eyes almost impossible for them to have avoided: then the Jews were ignorant of the force of their own language, and the modes of expression common among themselves; it was reserved for men of other times and other nations to discover the true latitude of meaning couched under the Hebrew terms, and the true signification of the oriental metaphors, quite foreign to the idioms and the habits of the discoverers. To such absurdities and paralogisms are the modern Socinians reduced; and thus can the champions of reason proceed in a hardy unabashed defiance of common sense. Happy are they who can discern, before it is too late for their peace of mind, that men only bewilder themselves in the sloughs and by-paths of paradox, when they leave the high road of the Scriptures; and that, in attempting their short cuts to truth, they only plunge deeper and deeper into quagmires of uncertainty, “and find no end, in wandering mazes lost.” If the Unitarian doctrine is right, then the Roman Emperors hunted unto death men who had merely adopted the speculations of Grecian sophists; and the arena of the amphitheatre flowed with the blood of zealots, who perished for a delusion which they misunderstood; and the humble but heroic victims, who endured shame, and poverty, and torture, who were stoned, and crucified, and devoured by wild beasts, for the faith of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, were martyrs by mistake to a corrupted Platonism. Those parts, then, of the Gospel, which have clothed it with its surpassing power, its transforming efficacy, are only an error and a dream, a misconception of some old heathen philosophy; and the world has blundered into the sublimest and most transcendent conceptions which the reason or the imagination of man has ever entertained. And this is the belief maintained by the sages of incredulity, and they who strained at the gnat, can thus swallow the camel.

“O, miseras hominum mentes! oh pectora cæca!”

We have now done with our strictures upon Mr. Norton and his volume. The writer, we sincerely believe, is a man of great talents and good intentions. We only regret that his ingenuity has been perverted, his acuteness worse than wasted, his research worse than thrown away. On many points, we respect him as a candid antagonist, superior to the common tricks of flippant impudence and vulgar abuse. His personal aims and motives are, we make no question, no other than he states them to be, in the eloquent and feeling conclusion of his work. We combat his opinions: we have no enmity against himself. His mistaken views, we imagine, and have endeavoured to show, arise from the radical fallacies, that we cannot believe more than we understand, or that faith cannot proceed a step beyond comprehension: that we can know the essence of Deity, and reason downwards from that knowledge:—that Revelation is not contrary to the scheme of Unitarian metaphysics; or, if it seems to the contrary, must be altered, or explained, or brought by some process or other into an accordance with it. In that case, however, we must say, that for the sake of the vast mass of readers, and the common order of intellects, not merely the orthodox articles ought to be re-cast, but the Bible itself ought to be re-written.

But we cannot conclude without touching upon one or two more excursive considerations. In the first place, we would just recapitulate our sentiments upon the universal bearings of the Socinian heresy.

Unitarianism, we know, is a very Proteus in its shape and aspect. But, if we were to lay down any general propositions respecting its character, we should say, 1st, that the system has its origin in antecedent and metaphysical conceptions quite independent of the Bible; and that the new interpretation put upon the disputed passages was an after-thought arising from the felt necessity of harmonizing and reconciling the Scripture with the hypothesis;—that the foundation, therefore, of the scheme is rotten, and that its career is vicious from the outset. 2dly, That the inevitable *progress* and *tendency*—the natural *dip* of the system—when men have abandoned the belief in mysteries upon the authority of the word of God—is always into the flat shallows of mere rejection and negation; for that there must be perpetual accessions to the first impulse, based upon the same principles; and the same speculative reasons, with the same temper of mind, which rendered incredible the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity of Jesus Christ, must lead men to deny the doctrine of his pre-existence, and refuse him any place in the hierarchy of heaven. 3dly, That the system, in its *descent*, must afford less and less satisfaction to the minds of its advocates; for that the

difficulties on the one side will increase in a larger ratio than they seem to be cancelled on the other, and the discrepancies with Scripture will become at every step more apparent than the agreements with philosophy: and therefore, 4thly, that the natural end, or *euthanasia*, of the system, is either in a vague, hopeless, and shoreless scepticism, or in that sort of nominal Christianity which regards the Gospel as a beautiful code of morals, fallible indeed, and in some parts imperfect, but upon the whole well adapted to Europe and America, as Mohammedanism is more suitable for the nations of the East. Oh! that the stream, of which we fondly thought the fountains to be divine, which ought to fertilize the whole earth in its progress, and flow onward into that ocean of truth where "God is all in all," should be lost and dissipated in bogs and sands like these!

It has been sometimes insinuated, as an objection to such remarks, that the Roman Catholic may urge against the Orthodox Protestant the same line of argument which the Orthodox Protestant thus urges against the Unitarian. But there is not, in fact, the slightest analogy between the two cases: the ground of the Unitarian is always rocking beneath him: the Orthodox Protestant stands upon the most stable of all possible supports. For he takes the Bible, and the Bible only, as the standard of his doctrine; the Bible, as its sense is to be collected from the fair meaning of its terms; not the Bible, as subjected, at every instant, to an extraneous jurisdiction; as made to vary with the caprices of metaphysical conjecture, and to be accommodated to the particular idiosyncrasy of any fresh inquirer.

In the next place, we would look at the general nature of Unitarianism in immediate reference to the mother-country and the transatlantic offspring.

The state of the matter is soon told. Unitarianism is likely to become—if it has not already become—the fashionable and predominant religion in the United States of America. Do we wish it to become the fashionable and predominant religion on our own shores? If we do not, let us bear in mind that like causes will produce like effects. The causes which have generated and fostered Socinianism in America are too palpable to be mistaken. They are sufficiently indicated by Mr. Norton. Some writers, indeed, in the indulgence of their fancy, have hinted to us, that the form of religion depends upon the form of civil polity; and that there is a kind of spiritual temperature which blends and varies itself with the political atmosphere. According to this theory, Popery is the form of religion suited to a despotic government, orthodox Protestantism to a limited monarchy, and Unitarianism to a republic. Now we are far from denying that the modes of thinking and

acting upon political and religious subjects, will, in every state, have a connexion and affinity between themselves; and that the religion of a country will be modified by the spirit of its constitution as well as by its social position in intelligence and moral virtue. In a free state, therefore, freedom of inquiry will push itself alike in all directions; and, without a proper system of checks and balances, may in all directions push itself into licentiousness, so that Unitarianism may be sometimes called, with a certain semblance of justice, the democracy of religion. But to draw our speculations beyond this point is to draw them too fine. The spread of Unitarianism in America may be accounted for, partly, we think, from the national temperament and habits, mechanical and calculating, rather than fervent and profound—partly from the kind of knowledge and mental cultivation influenced by the temperament and habits, and acting upon them in return; but mainly from the want of an Established Church, which by its Articles may maintain a standard of doctrine, and from its resources furnish a constant supply of regularly ordained and well educated ministers. The Episcopalian Church in America, valuable and admirable as are many of its individual members, must be from the circumstances quite inadequate to the work. The consequences are disastrous in two ways. On the one hand, rival sects and individual teachers, having scarcely any landmarks before their eyes, run a race of enthusiasm one against another: on the other hand, men of stronger nerves and shrewder penetration, shocked, scandalized, and harassed by the excesses of religion, are either driven by disgust into total unbelief, or take refuge from extravagance in the cold embrace of Unitarianism. We wish nothing to be taken on our bare assertion. The picture of religion in the United States, as given both by Mr. Norton and Dr. Wharton, although writers of the most opposite principles, affords sufficient demonstration that it cannot be in a healthy state. Dr. Wharton spoke many years ago of “a time when the Unitarian writers are making such efforts in America;” and since that date, the cause of orthodoxy, we much fear, has not been gaining ground. Mr. Norton, whose work was published in 1833, writes in language far more decided. He makes a kind of apology to himself and others for employing his time and powers of composition upon a subject so little likely to be popular or palatable as theological controversy. He throws out some striking remarks, to which we may soon take occasion to recur, since few topics can be of wider and more vital moment, upon the complete disconnection and alienation of general literature from religion; as if literary and scientific men were ashamed of their ostensible creed, and faith and piety, as usually professed, were nothing more

or less than a conventional hypocrisy. In one place he speaks of the very general indifference that is really felt towards Christianity; of the little hold it has upon men's inmost thoughts and affections: in another place, he says, with a particular reference to America,

"In our country, if I am not deceived by feelings of private friendship, true Christianity has found some of its best defenders. But the forms in which it is presented throughout a great part of our land, and the feelings and character of many who have pretended to be its exclusive disciples, are little adapted to procure it the respect of intelligent men. They are producing infidelity, and preparing the way for its extensive spread. They are giving to many a distaste for the very name of religion, and leading them to regard all appearance of a religious character with distrust or aversion. In no other country is the grossest and most illiberal bigotry so broadly exhibited as among ourselves. Nowhere else, at the present day, have so many partisans of a low order of intellect risen into notice, through a spurious zeal, not for doctrines, for these are changed as convenience may require, but for the triumph of a sect; and no other region has of late been ravaged by such a moral pestilence as, under the name of religion, has prevailed in some part of our land; an insane fanaticism, degrading equally the feelings and intellect of those affected by it."*—Pref. p. xvi. xvii.

If such be the state of things, our wonder is less than our regret, when we find Mr. Norton hoping and anticipating that Unitarianism will prevail. In England it is not hitherto making much way. Its snows are only lying under the shelter of hedges, or upon the barren hills, instead of spreading their chilling influences over the surface of the land. In England it is confined as yet principally to half-learned mechanics, infected with a rage for novel simplifications; or politicians of the new Utilitarian school; or men who use it as a cloak for infidelity, and are in fact but Deists in disguise. Nor is Unitarianism likely to gain ascendancy among us, unless a state-education, by omitting all the mysteries and peculiarities of Christianity, shall inoculate with Socinian tenets the whole rising generation, under the pretence of avoiding disputes. In England there may be too much of latent or *couchant* irreligion, but it is felt that the establishment of Unitarianism would soon cause it to be *rampant*. In England it is still *felt*, that when men leave the port and landing-place of sober, rational investigation, they are either tossed for ever upon the open sea of scepticism, and can no more repose upon its tumbling billows than Peter could find a steadfast footing upon the waves; or else, dissatisfied at last with their own private judgment, and sick of the liberty which they have abused, they turn for the sake of quiet

* "If any one should think these expressions too strong, let him make himself acquainted with the transactions which not long since were taking place in the western part of the state of New York. Authentic documents respecting them exist; but such scenes have not been confined to that part of our country."

to an infallible church; and Catholicism may acquire votaries from the very wildness of schismatical dissent. In England it is still *felt*, that if the Unitarian could lay prostrate the Established Creed, the triumph, in all human probability, would be fatal to his own: since he would be encumbered and overbalanced with difficulties which would *then* have become scarcely worthy of defence; it would be almost a matter of *taste* whether a man should attach himself to natural religion or revealed; and thus, if it could ever happen that Unitarianism should flourish upon the fall of Orthodoxy, the next step would be that unbelief would flourish upon the fall of Unitarianism. In America, it appears, the case is very different. In America—strange to say—Dr. Priestley is still a “Magnus Apollo” upon points of doctrine. In America, Mr. Norton tells us, “some degree of attention to the fact is necessary, to be aware of the general and gross ignorance that exists concerning almost every subject connected with our faith.” But his more detailed description has been already given. We turn, then, from a spectacle which it is painful to contemplate. Only, if the difference is in our favour, let us guard the blessings out of which it springs. Oh, let not the example, the warning be lost! We have now an Established Church! Let us uphold it with veneration and gratitude. That Church is the most scriptural and most liberal of all churches, distinguished alike for its learning and its moderation. Let us study to preserve it in the integrity of these distinctions, not giving way to latitudinarian innovations, and yet not divorcing religion from reason, nor thinking a man to be a worse divine, because also he aspires to be a philosopher. Yes, it is our happiness, and should be our pride, that amidst conflicting extremes and errors, our Church has hitherto pursued its even path, untainted either by fanaticism or libertinism of opinion. On the one side, reason is set at nought, under the pretence of maintaining its supremacy; and in the hope of preserving abstract and *à priori* truths, the greatest of metaphysical absurdities has been indulged; and from this primary and fundamental mistake have flowed the hundred streams of delusion and extravagance. On the other side, men have exhibited a fondness for multiplying mysteries, because they could not remove them; have been unwilling ever to descend from the region of the intangible, the mystic, the incomprehensible; and would have reason attempt nothing, because it cannot achieve all. Between these opposite excesses the Church of England has stood secure upon the rock of the everlasting Gospel, holding the balance equal in her hand, encouraging the erudition as well as the piety of her sons, and assigning their legitimate province both to intellectual scrutiny and implicit faith, both to ecclesiastical authority

and individual judgment. It is with no cold or formal lips that we pray for perpetuity both to her benignant empire and her characteristic lineaments.

There is much in the annexed extract—the last which we can afford from Mr. Norton—which may command our assent; there is not one word which does not deserve our attention.

“ In the present state of opinion in the world, it is evident that he is assuming a responsibility for which he is wholly unfit, who comes forward as a teacher or defender of Christianity, without having prepared himself by serious thought and patient study. The traditionary believer, if he have taken this responsibility upon himself, should stop in his course till he has ascertained whether he is doing good or evil. A conflict between religion and irreligion has begun, which may not soon be ended; and in this conflict Christianity must look for aid, not to zealots, but to scholars and philosophers. Our age is not one in which there can be an esoteric doctrine for the intelligent, and an exoteric for the uninformed. The public profession of systems of faith by Christian nations and churches, which are not the faith of the more enlightened classes of society, has produced a state of things that it would seem cannot long continue. We may hope that in Protestant countries its result will not be, as it was in France, general infidelity. We may hope that it will not end in a mere struggle between fanaticism and irreligion, as seems to be the tendency of things in some parts of our own country.”
—*Pref.* pp. xxxv. xxxvi.

Absit omen! Oh, whatever we are doomed to lose, may we keep inviolate our moral strength, based upon our sound religion! Oh, may the opposite mischiefs not be permitted by Providence to degrade our population, and shatter our institutions into fragments. These, although the mightiest elements of good and evil—these are the things which statesmen too often overlook, and noisy orators think beneath their notice. These things they can arrogantly neglect, or ignorantly depreciate, although ten thousand times more important to the welfare of communities and the improvement of mankind than the ordinary objects for which they intrigue in closets and bluster in debate—for which kings send forth ambassadors, and nations fit out fleets and armies. If these things are disregarded, we must, indeed, begin to weep and tremble for the coming destinies of our species; if they are kept steadily in view, all other misfortunes must be in themselves comparatively light, and will fall upon heads and hearts tempered and fitted by Christianity to endure them.

ART. IV.—*Remarks on Clerical Education.* By the Rev. H. Raikes, A. M. Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester. London. Hatchard. 1831.

It certainly is a most remarkable circumstance that, of all the flourishing churches under heaven, the Church of England should be the most heinously unprovided with any thing like a systematic professional education for her ministers. Almost every other church that can be named, insists upon some express and specific course of theological preparation. What this course may be in Germany, we are not in a condition very accurately to point out. But, as the author of the work before us observes, the present state of divinity in that country is quite sufficient to show that there is no defect of theological erudition there. The learning of the German divines may indeed be most grievously perverted; but it is, at all events, various and abundant; so abundant, that it is to them their Urim and Thummim, the *glory of their excellency*; so abundant, that it seems to have well nigh supplanted the power and illumination of the Spirit among them! In the Swiss churches, a stated period of two years, immediately subsequent to the academical course, is regularly devoted to the study of theology; so that every candidate for holy orders is expected to come prepared to read the Scriptures in the original languages wherever the volume may be opened. In the American Episcopal Church, the preparation is still more rigorous and more complete: for there full three years are dedicated to biblical literature. The following is the scheme of study and discipline which, as Mr. Raikes informs us, is required in the Seminary at New York:

“ 1. Oriental and Greek literature, comprising the knowledge necessary to the critical study of the Scriptures in the original languages,

“ 2. Biblical learning, *i. e.* every thing relating to the criticism of the sacred text.

“ 3. Interpretation of Scripture, comprising the principles of interpretation, and the meaning and practical application of the Bible.

“ 4. The evidences of revealed religion, external and internal; including a review and refutation of infidel objections, and also a view of moral science in its relations to theology.

“ 5. Systematic divinity in all its branches, including a particular view and defence of the system of faith professed by the Protestant Episcopal Church.

“ 6. Ecclesiastical history in general, and the history in particular of the Church of England, and of the North American Episcopal Church.

“ 7. The nature, ministry, and polity of the Church, particularly of the Protestant Episcopal Church, its liturgy, rites and ceremonies.

“ 8. Pastoral theology and pulpit eloquence, explaining and enforcing

the qualifications and duties of the clerical office, and also including the performance of the service of the Church, and the composition and delivery of sermons. This last branch of study was for years under the direction of the late Bishop Hobart. He informed the friend, by whose kindness I am furnished with these particulars, that the students attended him every Saturday during each term or session, when they were engaged for several hours in recitation, and in the delivery of sermons composed by themselves; and on certain days they read in turns, as a devotional exercise, the service of the Church. These sermons, as well as the mode of reading the liturgy, and of preaching, were made the subject of the professor's remarks. The students assemble daily in morning and evening prayer; divine service is regularly celebrated, and the sacrament stately administered in their chapel every Sunday. The students also have charge of a large and flourishing Sunday school."—pp. 24, 25.

So much for the Protestant Churches of Christendom. In Roman Catholic countries, it is perfectly well known, the training of the priesthood is a matter of anxious concern. We are, it is true, in the habit of hearing a vast deal of the ignorance of the Papal clergy: and ignorant enough a great portion of them undoubtedly may be of the things which it is most needful for a minister of the Gospel to be acquainted with. But we believe it would be a great mistake to imagine that they are left without a regular and painful course of preparatory labour. Even in Spain, a country most deeply immersed in Romish superstition, the candidates for the priesthood, if we are rightly informed, are subjected to a course of several years. And though a large portion of this time may be wretchedly wasted on canon law, and Romish hagiology, still the system is, to all intents and purposes, a system which recognizes the necessity of some appropriate education for the men who are destined to minister at the national altars. In Ireland, the case is similar. We little think of the elaborate scheme of discipline by which many of her clergy are girded up for their duties. Whether their training is what, in our judgment, it ought to be, is a totally distinct question. But it is, undoubtedly, such as the Romish Church deems best fitted for the perpetuation of a body of faithful and devoted ministers. It is a scheme which may keep them in ignorance of many things which a Christian man should know for his soul's health; a scheme, too, which hides from them the triumphant labours of them who toiled and suffered for the extirpation of Romish artifice and corruption. But it is, nevertheless, a scheme which is fitted to make them very formidable adversaries. It puts the pupil in full possession of the strength of his cause, while it carefully conceals from him its weakness and its defects. It covers him, from the head to the heel, with a panoply of prejudice, moulded into the

shape of argument. It exhibits the Protestant objections under the most disadvantageous form. It invests tradition with an authority which reconciles them to the practice of sealing up the Scriptures. It exercises the faculties by the study of the canon law, till they have acquired a sort of perverse and pettifogging subtlety. And, lastly, we fear, it does much to mutilate the natural supremacy of conscience, and to enthrone, in the place of that representative of God within us, the infallible authority of *the Church*. Now all this, it will probably be said, is miserable work. And such, in truth, it may be. But still it is *the* work which is actually done by our adversaries, for the purpose of perpetuating what we deem to be a most pernicious fabric of error and superstition. The Romish Church, of course, must be expected to train and drill her own ministers in her own way. But still she *does* train them in some way or other; and train them, too, for the most part, very laboriously, and very systematically. And this is the thing which it is our present object to impress upon the public attention.

That a fit education for the clergy entered deeply into the scheme of our great reformers, is notorious to all. Had the purposes of Cranmer been carried into effect, every cathedral church in England would have been a *School of the Prophets*. There is extant at this day a plan drawn up by the archbishop himself, for remodelling his own cathedral at Canterbury, with an express view to this very object.* But this, and many other glorious designs were defeated, partly by the crooked counsels of the Romanists, who naturally dreaded every thing that might give strength, and stability, and honour, to the Protestant Church, and partly by the detestable cupidity of laymen, who valued the Reformation solely, or chiefly, as a great revolution of property. And grievously are our teeth set on edge at this hour with the transmitted flavour of those sour grapes which our forefathers did eat, even in the season of that blessed vintage. A man might meditate, even to madness, on the magnificent opportunities, then thrown away, of placing the Church, as an *Establishment*, on a foundation broad and deep, and, humanly speaking, indestructible. If, in this our day, the *Establishment* is to be "done to death by slanderous tongues," and by ruffian hands, it is partly because they, who in former times should have been her nursing fathers, bestowed upon her such care and vigilance as the wolf bestows upon the sheepfold. They stripped her of her wealth—they wrested from her the means of providing for her ministrations a perpetual succession of well instructed scribes—they did nearly all that human selfishness could well do to render her contemptible, and consequently weak: and having thus maimed and

* See *Cranmer's Remains*, vol. i. p. 291.

mangled her, they have left to their posterity a most convenient pretence for crying out that she is no longer fit to live, and that it is high time to administer the *coup de grace*, which shall put an end to her useless and despicable existence. In truth, it is not easy to imagine a condition much more appalling, than that in which our Ecclesiastical Establishment is at this moment standing. She has wealth enough, *in the aggregate*, to make her an object of sacrilegious rapacity; but at the same time she has far, very far, too little, to secure to her that extended efficacy and influence, which is needful to make her respected from one end of the kingdom to the other. Some *few* posts she still possesses, whose splendour is perpetually speaking to the ignorant people, of that "gorgeous nuisance," a pompous and bloated hierarchy; while she is pining, throughout many of her districts, with a widespread indigence, which is constantly working its natural effect in her feebleness and degradation. How it is that, under circumstances like these, she has been enabled to achieve the wonders which actually have been wrought by her,—nay, how she has been enabled so long to preserve her very existence—it were hard to say, if we were to confine our thoughts and our researches to human agency alone. For our part, we are content to avow that, in our persuasion, *this is the Lord's doing*; and, truly, *it is marvellous in our eyes*. Surely the Divine blessing cannot have departed from a National Church like ours, which, with all her defects, and with all her wrongs, and with all her losses, is still, in the judgment of every sober-minded Protestant throughout Christendom, the mightiest stronghold and sanctuary of Scriptural religion now to be seen on earth.

And here we cannot resist the impulse which prompts to ask, for what cause it is that the people of England are still kept in darkness, or at least in doubt, touching the exact amount of those enormous ecclesiastical resources, which, of late years, have so vehemently stirred the virtuous indignation of Sectarians, and Anarchists, and Infidels, and which, we greatly fear, have caused the palms even of many a lord and gentleman to itch? A commission, we all know, has been issued by the Crown to ascertain the revenues of the Establishment. It is likewise known that the labours of the commissioners have been some time since completed. For his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer has been heard to declare in his place, that there is nothing in the amount, thus ascertained, which calls for *retrenchment*. But still the document itself has never been produced. We ask therefore, again, why has it not been produced? * And if his Majesty's ministers have been reluctant to produce it, why have not the

* Since the above was written, the document in question has been laid before the world.

prelates risen in their places, and demanded its production? Why have they not insisted on the publication of a record, which must tie, for ever, one of the hundred tongues of falsehood, and open the sleepy eye of apathy itself. Nothing which calls for *retrenchment*! Had he, who uttered these words of languid and treacherous vindication, accompanied them by the production of the record in question, it would then have been seen, that merely to deprecate *retrenchment*, was, in effect, to insult our plundered and mutilated Church. It would have been seen, that, in ages past, the work of *retrenchment* had been already carried on in a spirit of havoc, which has positively beggared more than one half of our parochial clergy; and that, so far as human discernment can penetrate, nothing but the support and benediction of heaven could have preserved to the Established Church the hold which it actually retains upon the confidence and veneration of the people.

But to return to the subject from which, for a moment, we have been wandering. The project of Cranmer for the establishment of provincial schools of theology, having been strangled by the gripe of secular avarice and of papal craft, nothing has been left to us but our two Universities. Now, by a process which it is needless to trace, these foundations have become a sort of gymnasias for the exercise and developement of the human faculties in general, rather than schools for the acquisition of professional knowledge. Persons who are destined for the professions of law, or medicine, or divinity, go thither, *not* principally for the purpose of imbibing the elements of those sciences respectively, but rather with a view to the general discipline of their mental capacities. When this sort of preparation is completed, the lawyer goes to the office of a special pleader, and frequents the inns of court. The medical or surgical pupil walks the hospitals, and attends the usual course of lectures. And in this manner they each of them gradually win their way, as they best can, into the confidence of the public. With the youth who is destined for the Church, the case is altogether different. Having proceeded to his first degree in arts, he devotes a certain interval to the attainment of theological knowledge; and with the acquisitions thus made, in addition to what may have been picked up at the collegiate or academic lectures, he procures a title, and becomes a candidate for ordination—in general without any other earthly prospect, but that of a curacy before him. And it is in the exercise of his office as a curate, that he has, actually, the most important departments of ministerial duty to learn. His curacy is to him nearly what the student's box at Westminster and Guildhall is to the young lawyer, or what the hospital is to the pupil in surgery or medicine: with this manifest disadvantage, however, that, compared with the

lawyer or the surgeon, the youthful divine is almost a self-taught man. He is left, without a helper or a director, to accomplish himself, somehow or other, for the duties of the desk, or the pulpit, or the chamber of sickness and of death. We are here speaking of those cases, by far the most numerous, in which the first step from the bachelor's degree is into the labours of a parish. The instances, comparatively rare, in which the fellow of a college migrates, at a mature, or perhaps advanced period of life, from his cloister to his parsonage, exhibit a still less satisfactory prospect of usefulness. For, in cases of this description, theological study has probably been long suspended,—self-indulgent habits have been almost inevitably formed,—and little can be reasonably anticipated but a drowsy and lifeless routine of decorous regularity.

All this, upon the face of it, appears deplorable enough. And how then, it may fairly be asked, are we to account for the vast aggregate of serviceable accomplishment and energy, which, after all, in spite of these seemingly fatal disadvantages, is actually found to distinguish the clergy of the present day? And in reply to this question we hardly know what to say; for the power required seems to spring up, *a man knoweth not how*. In part, however, we may ascribe it to that peculiarity in our system, which, by many, is regarded as its most intolerable abuse; we mean, the discharge of so considerable a portion of clerical duty by young and unbeneficed men. Without stopping to consider whether this practice be, *in itself*, defensible or not, it cannot well be denied that a very considerable amount of good has, in fact, been fortunately elicited from it. For youth is the season of activity and enterprise, and frequently of fervent zeal and cordial affection for the service of God. And if, *under the existing system of patronage*, this junior class of ministers were to be swept away, it is difficult to detail, or even to imagine, the mischiefs which might follow. We then might see the double curse of ignorance and of apathy inflicted on the church: for then would there be no minister ordained, until there were a vacant benefice ready for his reception; and the consequence would be, that men would delay their entrance into the sacred profession until a permanent station and provision should be open to them. In other words, the ministry of the Gospel would be no longer taken up at an early period of life, when the heart is fresh, and the feelings unhackneyed, and when the faculties have as yet lost none of their elastic power. It would, in a vast multitude of cases, fall into the hands of men considerably advanced in years, and lamentably deficient in all the principles, and all the attainments appropriate to the sacred profession: whereas, at present, the imperfect qualification

of our youthful curates is powerfully corrected by that ardent devotion to the ministry which is frequently found among them, and which so often and so rapidly supplies, in a very material degree, the defects of their academic training for the sacred office. Another remedial cause is the vast apparatus of help, which is provided for our commencing divines, by the press. We have Elements of Theology, and Introductions to the study of Divinity, and numberless other compilations, which, to say the very least, are sufficient to rescue the junior members of the clergy from the charge of gross ignorance,—and, if their diligence and zeal be exemplary, to furnish them with a very respectable measure of accomplishment within a reasonable time. And when afterwards the course of parochial labour and duty is once entered upon, there are various other works at hand, of no formidable dimensions, which afford to the sincere inquirer a large store of information and suggestion towards the effective fulfilment of his ministry. And with all these appliances and means, it certainly does happen that the church is able, at this moment, to produce a greater number of competently learned and substantially useful ministers, than she has ever done since the period of the Reformation.

We are clearly aware that many distinguished scholars and zealous men among us, are disposed to lament over the multiplication of those elementary treatises and convenient abridgments, which are now in such general use among the younger clergy. They complain that this is neither more nor less than to attempt the preparation of a royal road to Theology; and that all these schemes of *Divinity made easy*, tend only to break down the solid and massive Biblical scholarship which was once the pride of England; and to substitute, for the giants of the former days, a feeble, dwarfish, degenerate race of workmen, unfit to handle the ponderous axe and hammer which were wielded by our spiritual forefathers, when labouring to build up the Church of God. We must confess that we cannot altogether sympathize with the feelings and the apprehensions in which these dismal bodements originate. Undoubtedly, we should very much prefer to see a constant and unfailing supply of men mighty in the Scriptures, and in all the learning which bears upon the Scriptures; of men who should disdain to content themselves with compendium or compilation; and who should be satisfied with nothing short of a profound and original course of Biblical study. But the worst of it is, that this, under *any* system of clerical education, is manifestly an impossible state of things; and that, in the actual condition of clerical education, no considerable approximation to such a state of things can ever be achieved. Time, money, books, opportunities,—all are wanting to the greater number of those individuals

who are perpetually rushing in, to fill the vacancies in the host of our twelve or fourteen thousand clergymen, in every successive generation. We contend, therefore, that, instead of discouraging our aspirant divines, by pouring contempt on their *comparatively* superficial acquirement, it rather is our wisdom thankfully to avail ourselves of the multiplied aids which intelligent and pious writers are constantly pouring in, to rescue the younger clergy from despairing and helpless ignorance. In saying this, however, we are anxious not to be understood as maintaining that all is as it should be. On the contrary, we are potently convinced that there is ample room for great and essential improvement; and under the influence of this persuasion we are fully disposed to receive with attention and gratitude the suggestions of able and devoted men—such as the author of the Treatise now before us.

By him, a strong and urgent appeal is made to the Universities of our land: but, in truth, we greatly doubt whether the Universities will ever be found to make a lively response to this appeal; for, even in the estimate of many wise and pious men, the Universities are now doing for the mind of our youth, if not exactly, yet very nearly, that very thing, which, under all the existing circumstances of society among us, is most urgently demanded. We believe that it is the judgment of many of those to whom the Universities are best known, and who combine with this knowledge a cordial anxiety for the honor and the usefulness of our church, that those venerable foundations have, on the whole, chosen the better part, in confining themselves principally to the general training and accomplishment of the youthful intellect, and in preparing it for an effective application of its powers to any one among the various professions, to which it may, in after life, be dedicated. Besides, it must be remembered, that in the whole realm of England the Universities are but two; and it is a very questionable matter, indeed, whether these two great bodies would not be undertaking more than they could well perform if they were to convert their colleges into professional schools. Mr. Raikes observes that, “while all due acknowledgment is offered to the ardour with which secular learning is prosecuted, and for the splendid bounty with which exemplary attainments are rewarded by them, they must be implored to compare the encouragement and assistance offered to the student of science, and that which is extended to him who is occupied with the study of divinity.” Now this is a remonstrance which at first sounds “trumpet-tongued” in the ear of those whose hearts are fixed upon the advancement of divine truth. A moment’s reflection, however, will possibly be found somewhat to mitigate the severity of its intonation; for, it must not be forgotten that, if secular

learning be splendidly encouraged, it is, for the most part, encouraged, not as an end, but rather as means to an end most comprehensive and most important. It is encouraged with a view to the expansion and invigoration of the faculties. It is further encouraged for the purpose of enriching the pupil with a certain measure of those mental accomplishments, the absence of which is counted almost disgraceful in these days of restless and discursive activity. And surely it cannot be desirable or even safe, that the clergy should appear to halt far behind the rest of the community in the race of literature, and so expose themselves to the imputation of belonging to an ancient and obsolete system, the fashion of which is rapidly passing away. We hold it to be a matter of the utmost moment that the ministers of Christ should have *their* precious offerings and costly treasures,—their gold, and their frankincense, and their myrrh,—to present unto their Saviour and their king; and that they should be placed in a condition to satisfy the world, that science and erudition never show so gloriously, as when they were consecrated to the service of God, and laid down humbly at the foot of the Cross.

Besides, it may be very gravely doubted, whether the spirit of Theological Education would not be dangerously violated by a scheme, which should prodigally apply the excitements of literary emulation to the study of Divinity. A system like this might, indeed, produce a more ample supply of mere theological scholarship. But there is some reason to apprehend that it might, eventually, lower the tone of religious principle and affection among the aspirants to the ministry; and desecrate, in a certain degree, the pursuit of Christian Theology, by the introduction of ambitious motives, which are not always much in harmony with the Christian temper. The best approximation to a beneficial system, in our humble opinion, has been made by the University of Oxford; for, there, the study of Divinity is not rewarded by academic distinction; but a certain amount of theological attainment is made a preliminary qualification, without which no one, whether destined for the Church, or not, is allowed to become a candidate for the literary honors of a Degree in Arts.

But then, if no material alteration is to be expected in the system of our Universities, what, it may be asked, is to be done? Are things to remain in their present unsatisfactory condition? Is nothing to be attempted, by the church of England, towards the establishment of an effective system of strictly clerical education? The Dissenters, we find, though they have no Universities, have still their theological seminaries, for the preparation of their ministers. Is the national religious establishment, then, to rest content without the possession of a similar advantage? To these grave questions we have to reply, in the first place, that *our* thoughts

are constantly reverting to the noble scheme of Cranmer, which would have made every cathedral city in the realm a seminary for the training of those who are destined for the church. That the scheme is not altogether impracticable, is shown by the illustrious example of Durham. And although the wealth of other chapters may not be sufficient to enable them speedily to follow that example, we know not why we should despair of seeing the same design eventually adopted by those Chapters which are the best endowed. If there were only five or six such seminaries established in the kingdom, it would be a mighty and a glorious resource. In that case, those of our young men who propose to enter on the ministry, might migrate from the Universities after their first degree, or even before it, to one of those provincial institutions; there to crown their literary attainments with the acquisition of that knowledge which is more immediately appropriate to the sacred calling. Or, should their circumstances render it more convenient, they might be admitted at once to one of those seminaries, and thus pursue their literary and their theological course, in combination with each other. In the mean time, however, can *nothing* be effected by our Universities, without an alarming sacrifice of the principles by which they have hitherto been guided? And to this question our answer is, that much undoubtedly might be done by them, without any essential change in their character, as places devoted to the general exercise and development of the human capacities. If our Prelates could agree among themselves upon a plan for gradually raising the standard of qualification for holy orders, and were to promulgate their scheme, there is great reason to hope that the Universities would likewise gradually accommodate their system to the proposed advancement of the scale of clerical proficiency and knowledge. Much in fact *has* actually been done by Oxford: and still more might be done, and probably would be done, were the whole Bench of Bishops to unite in accumulating the necessary impulse. With regard to Cambridge, the matter is more doubtful. Without assuming the language of accusation, we may be allowed to state the *fact*, that the spirit of mere secular accomplishment appears, by some means or other, to have got much more complete possession of that University, than of her sister. It must be confessed that mathematical and physical science are there pursued to an extent very far beyond that which is required for the purpose of giving strength, activity, and perseverance to the youthful understanding. Her candidates for honours have, in some instances, been known to sacrifice not only the health of their bodies, but the soundness and equilibrium of their minds, to the intensity of their application to the profounder

mysteries of analysis. Yes,—to speak plainly—young men have actually gone mad, in their preparation for the senate house; not permanently mad, perhaps, but mad enough to make a considerable interval of repose and careful treatment needful for the restoration of their deranged and overlaboured faculties. Even a few instances of this kind are sufficient to indicate the perilous excesses of the present system. And, after all, the result of this almost idolatrous devotion to science has, on the whole, been sufficiently humiliating. For it will scarcely be contended that it has secured for this country any commanding supremacy in the empire of philosophy. So that there may be some grounds for the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Raikes, that “there is reason to fear that the neglect of our Maker’s claims may have withheld that blessing which alone gives efficiency to human exertions.”

We are willing, however, to hope that even in the very fortress and citadel of physical science, the claims of the Queen of Sciences may, at length, obtain a more patient and reverential hearing; and that *religious education* may be allowed to form a more substantial and integral part, than it does at present, of the *sound learning* which is cultivated there. At least we *should* be ready to entertain this hope, were it not for certain recent and formidable indications which would seem to speak of despair. For, truly, if that *Pestis et Ira Deûm*, “the Spirit of the Age,” should be permitted to come up, and to haunt our academic shades, and to bring with it all the various forms of belief and unbelief, and to invest them with academic honor, and influence, and power,—why then, it is to be feared that the cry, “*Let us depart hence*,” may soon be heard amid the cloisters of our venerated retreats of learning. And then will it be altogether a vain thing to look to them, for the due preparation of the men who are to minister at our altars. We trust, however, that with the blessing of God, another spirit is arising in the land, before which the “Spirit of the Age” will vanish like a guilty thing; and that the walls which our fathers have raised up, and the groves which they have planted, may yet escape the desecration that now seems to be hanging over them.

It would be to no purpose to present our readers with an analysis of the little volume now before us. It is too brief to admit of abridgment. Thus much, however, we may say of it, that,—whether or not it be successful in awakening the hearts of men to the necessity for improvement in our scheme of clerical education,—no student in divinity, and no youthful minister can peruse it without signal advantage, in the prosecution of his studies, and in the acquirement of those habits which may render his labour fruitful. The work may be numbered among those helps to which we have before alluded, as furnished in profusion

by the press to supply the existing deficiencies of regular preparation for the Church. We must content ourselves with one or two desultory remarks. Among the requisites for the profession of a clergyman, the author enumerates oratory, or the power of expressing opinions with facility and distinctness. He dwells on the assiduous labour with which this great accomplishment was cultivated in classic times; he adverts to the incessant practice of declamation, which is spoken of by Cicero and by Pliny, as forming part of their domestic habits; he insists on the vast influence which is exercised by the power of public speaking in popular assemblies; and he expresses a wish that something of an oratorical course should be instituted for our clerical students. We should very gladly see any system adopted which might augment the command of our clergy over the attention of their people. Nevertheless, we greatly doubt whether there is any probability of this desirable consummation. We fear that eloquence is not indigenous to our soil. With us it is a sort of exotic. Something may be done for it by careful and very artificial culture; but there is not, we apprehend, in these northern parts, a national aptitude for it. We want the ardour, the vivacity, the flexibility of mind, which is required for the perfection of this quality. We are not, indeed, without our great orators, and our great preachers; but still, with us, the faculty of utterance in public must, generally speaking, be acquired rather against nature, than with the aid and concurrence of nature. We, accordingly, much question whether such a thing as a school of oratory could take root in this country; we might almost say, in this *climate*. It is a thousand to one that it would be fairly laughed down, before it could get any hold of the public mind. We may be mistaken; but such are our honest apprehensions. The Dissenters, it is true, have their schools of declamation; they form, in fact, a part of their regular system of preparatory discipline; and some able speakers this system may occasionally produce. But the general success of the system, as exemplified among the Dissenters, we think, is scarcely such as to furnish any powerful recommendation to the adoption of it by the Church of England. At all events, the experiment is one which would be attended with most formidable difficulties. In the first place, where are competent teachers to be found? At present, we know literally nothing of oratory as an art. What eloquence there is among us, is principally a gift, accorded by nature to the individuals who possess it. How they got it, they would probably be unable to tell; and, of course, they would be utterly at a loss to communicate the secret to others. For ourselves, in spite of a well-known proverbial maxim to the contrary, we are strongly disposed to believe, that a great orator is, in all countries,

nearly as much the work of nature as a great poet. And if, in this respect, nature has been less bountiful to us, than to people of a warmer and more impassioned temperament, it is but a hopeless thing to attempt the production of a regular supply of ten thousand effective public *speakers* in every passing generation. And for this reason, among others, it is, that we should regret the general substitution of extemporaneous for written sermons. In the hope of getting rid of the dulness, and the drowsiness, and the monotony of recitation, we might soon find that we had involved ourselves in the more pernicious evils of vagueness, and confusion, and endless repetition; not to mention the danger of much false pathos, and much unhealthy excitement. Nevertheless, we would not be understood to speak as if we were desirous of repressing the activity and zeal of those who may be anxious to set on foot any practicable measures for improving the gift of utterance among our clergy. And even should it be found a desperate undertaking to qualify them for speaking with effect, without dependence on a manuscript, probably something might be done to enable them to give life, and energy, and spirit, to their recitation from the manuscript. A sermon, we doubt not, may be so recited as to have much of the effect of a spoken address. And no pains would be too great to diffuse so desirable an accomplishment as this among the great body of our preachers.

We are sometimes told, that the language of eloquence is, in fact, the language of nature, and of truth; and that where the grand and awful realities of the Gospel are deeply felt, no serious difficulty could be found to impede the ready communication of the preacher's impression to his congregation. All this sounds very plausible, and very satisfactory; but we are persuaded that expectations of this sort would prove delusive, with reference to the pulpit. Sudden and violent emotions, indeed, will often loose the stammering tongue, and brace up the most unsteady nerves; but it is idle to imagine, that the depth of the preacher's convictions alone will furnish him with the needful excitement on a stated day in every week, and at stated hours on each day. If the faculty of utterance, and the power of self-possession, be not personal and habitual endowments, nothing short of a perpetual series of miracles could convert the slow, and perhaps, timid man, into an impressive orator, Sunday after Sunday throughout the year. And, fortunately for our Church, there is no such urgent necessity for this splendid and captivating quality. Our religious services are so framed as, themselves, to preach the Gospel; and to preach it so solemnly and eloquently, as utterly to deprive of all excuse those whimsical and fastidious persons, who are perpetually complaining that the Gospel is not preached in our churches. And

we hold, that the ministry of the plainest and homeliest preacher might be rendered signally useful, by incessantly pointing out to his people the blessings and the treasures of that invaluable Liturgy, which is too frequently set at nought by itching ears, and by restless and impatient hearts.

Mr. Raikes, we are confident, will forgive us, if we also venture to express considerable doubt relative to one of his remarks on the composition of a sermon. He insists, very properly, on the value of an application of the subject to the persons assembled: but, he adds, that "a sermon without an application, is like a letter without an address. It may be good, useful, and instructive; but it seems to belong to no one; and no one, therefore, takes it to himself, or is profited by it." This, we are aware, is no new observation. We have repeatedly met with it before. But it has always appeared to us to contain a very exaggerated statement of the truth. A letter without an address! Why, the congregation are met for the express purpose of hearing the *letter*; they know that the *letter* has been composed with a direct view to their instruction and their profit; they know that it *belongs* to every one of them without exception. We should rather say, therefore, that it has a resemblance to letters *patent*, which are issued for the information of all whom they may concern; and it is scarcely possible for any person present in the congregation to be ignorant that, among those concerned, he must, himself, inevitably be one. We are not, indeed, contending that a sermon is not so much the worse for being left without an application; and we are distinctly aware that, among the various excellencies of preaching, none is more conspicuous than the art of so pointing the application, that every individual of the assembly shall feel as if the preacher had been searching his conscience in particular. But we are likewise persuaded that this is an art, the attainment of which is, of all others, the most difficult and the most rare. It is an art which implies a profound knowledge of human nature, and a singular command over all the resources of brief, pointed, and energetic expression. A man, who with many hundreds before him, can find his way to the heart of almost every one of the number, and seem, as it were, to single him out from the crowd,—is in possession of powers which are vouchsafed to very few indeed among the sons of men. And if all sermons are utterly *profitless*, which exhibit no such mastery, it is awful to think how many of our churches may be constantly echoing to the *sounding brass*, and the *tinkling symbol*. Again, however, let us not be mistaken; the perfection in question is undoubtedly one which should be sought by every preacher with unwearied labour, and, above all, with instant prayer. But still, we see no wisdom in aggravated representations of the mischief to be ap-

prehended from a deficiency in this particular. Their tendency *may* be to depress and discourage many conscientious, but not very skilful, preachers; and their tendency *must* be to satisfy many an indolent hearer that his minister is in fault, when the chief blame righteously belongs to his own dulness and inattention.

We cannot close our remarks on this interesting volume without expressing our cordial approbation of the scheme of Biblical study recommended by the writer in his fourth chapter. There are three methods of studying Divinity: according to the first of these, the sacred volume is to be opened just as if it contained a science wholly new to the inquirer, and in which he is to proceed, from the simplest elements regularly on to the deepest mysteries; the second method is, to take the Confession of some particular church, and to resort to Scripture chiefly as supplying the confirmation and illustration of the doctrines laid down in such Confession; the third method is that which takes the Bible itself for its directory. Of these methods, the first is scarcely practicable. In a Christian country, no understanding which is informed about any thing, can be without some information, and some prepossession, relative to the subject of religion. A state of philosophical indifference on that subject is a pure fiction. The study has been, though unconsciously, commenced at the earliest period of childhood; and, as Mr. Raikes very justly observes, men would only deceive themselves if they imagined it possible for them to commence the prosecution of theology with minds which should combine the maturity of reason with the simplicity of childhood. Besides, human life is, generally speaking, too short for so vast and comprehensive a scheme of scientific inquiry: at all events, such a method is wholly incompatible with the engagements of a laborious parochial minister. The second plan is open to objections almost equally formidable; of which objections, perhaps, the most fatal is this,—that the scheme of Divinity which results from it, is too apt to resemble a canal, hewn out by mortal art and toil, rather than a mighty river which is the work of God. The last of these plans is, therefore, the most hopeful one. It follows the majestic stream of Revelation throughout all its magnificent and graceful windings, as it sweeps onward towards the ocean of God's unfathomable counsels.

“ Let the student of Divinity, then, begin with his Bible, and use that at least as the *syllabus of his course*, and he will have no want of system to complain of. : He will there have the scheme of redemption sketched before him, not by the hand of man, but by the Spirit of Truth. Let him be content likewise to take what he finds there, *as it is, and as he finds it*, and not yield to the prurient curiosity which tempts him to pry into that which God has hidden from it. Let him leave the Eternity

which precedes, and the eternity which is to follow, in the obscurity which belongs to it, nor wish to be wise above what is written. The Message of Reconciliation may be urged with as much effect; the blessedness of a godly life may be inculcated as forcibly, as if he were able to lift up the seals of God's decrees, or to describe with the faculties of an eye-witness the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."—p. 75, 76.

There are some few particulars in which we find ourselves unable perfectly to agree with the author of this book. For instance, he complains of "those great and learned men, known under the name of the Latitudinarian Divines, and who, to the injury of the church, quitted the high vantage-ground of Scripture, and came down to combat on the ground which their adversaries themselves had chosen;"—a sort of proceeding which surely is sometimes inevitable; unless the adversary is to be left to the unmo-
lest occupation of *his own ground*, and there to clap his wings and crow like chanticleer, as if the cravens dared not to approach him. Again, we cannot altogether assent to his *unqualified* approbation of Milner's Church History. But these are subordinate matters, and do not substantially impair the value of the work; which we recommend to the attentive perusal of all young clergymen, and, moreover, of all others who are fervently interested for the honor and efficacy of the clerical profession.

ART. V.—*Belgium and Western Germany in 1833; including Visits to Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, Cassel, Hanover, the Harz Mountains, &c. &c.* By Mrs. Trollope, author of "*Domestic Manners of the Americans.*" 2 vols. 12mo. London: Murray.

MRS. TROLLOPE has been outrageously abused in certain quarters for speaking the Truth somewhat plainly concerning America. Nevertheless, as we think her both a very penetrating and a very agreeable writer, we sincerely rejoice that she has not been discouraged by the yell of Transatlantic Criticism, reverberated in some instances from our own shores. We are pleased, moreover, that she has now committed to the Press her Notes concerning a people, who, in proportion as their *Domestic Manners* are more civilized and more attractive than those found in the United States, are on that account more likely than the natives of the latter Country to be satisfied with a faithful representation of them.

In the beginning of June, 1833, Mrs. Trollope, accompanied by her son and Mr. Hervieu, proceeded to Ostend in a Steamboat, which, by way of propitiation for past offences, is pronounced to have been lamentably inferior in all its equipments to

any of the unnumbered similar conveyances abounding in every part of the United States. An accident prolonged the stay of the travellers at Ostend to ten days, which do not appear to have passed heavily. The Church of the town, and the gardens of the highly-cultivated neighbourhood, afforded sources of amusement; and Mrs. Trollope saw, among other *Lions*, M. Paret, the master of a village Inn, who must be well known to many of our readers as the skilful Naturalist by whom was prepared the skeleton of the Whale exhibited a few years since in the (now levelled) Royal Mews. She was also gratified with the proverbial cleanliness of a Flemish Farm-house, notwithstanding the dairy-maid skimmed cream with her fingers; for which operation, an excuse is provided by an assurance that the Nymph was Ruben's-like and *ποδοδάκτυλος*. Her mistress exhibited a pair of holiday stays, devoted only to solemn occasions. They weighed several pounds, were furnished on both sides with huge iron bars, inclosed ribs of steel, and about half way down were provided with a solid roll of stuffing nearly surrounding the waist, and intended to assist the suspension of the petticoats; differing, as we imagine, in nothing but size from our vernacular "*Busble*."

At Bruges 16,000 of the inhabitants, very nearly a moiety of the whole population, receive aid from public charities, yet distress never meets the stranger's eye. Among ourselves, on the contrary, wherever Poor Rates are most burdensome, Poverty is sure to be most apparent. At Antwerp all applications for a view of the Citadel were eluded; why, we are unable to determine. Brussels, notwithstanding its great deterioration in consequence of the Revolutionary changes, and its abandonment by many families both native and foreign, is represented to be still a most delightful residence. In the Chamber, the Debates resembled those which used to occur in an Irish House of Commons; and frequently terminated in a hostile meeting. Even during Mrs. Trollope's short stay, M. Gendebien, a popular orator, was thus called to account for one of his speeches by M. Rogier, the Minister of the Interior. The reputation of the former as a good shot stood so high, that the seconds placed the combatants at the unusual distance of thirty-six paces; nevertheless, the opposition Deputy wounded his official antagonist in the mouth; because, as Prince Auguste d'Arenberg not unaptly explained the transaction afterwards, "he wanted to stop his tongue." After a fatal rencontre, no other course seems pursued but that of *going out of town* (as it is called) for a few days, and this rustication ordinarily takes place on the morning appointed for the Funeral of the fallen Duellist.

Mrs. Trollope carried with her to the Field of Waterloo a

readiness to believe, and therefore to be gratified, which is far more pleasing than all the wiser scepticism which discredits every anecdote related on the scene of a great event. *Croyez-moi l'Erreur a sa merite* is a maxim in which there is not a little truth ; and although it has been proved a hundred times over that Napoleon never gave the command, "*Sauve qui peut !*" we should feel it as little less than criminal to impugn the veracity of the guide who points to the spot on which it is said that the imaginary words were uttered. We do not reject the account of a visit paid by that extraordinary man to the Tomb of Charlemagne at the Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. The vault under the centre of the dome is covered by a huge stone inscribed CAROLO MAGNO.

"The sacristan, who went over the church with us, told me that he had accompanied Napoleon and Josephine into every part of the building : they were followed, he said, by a numerous cortège of the staff. When Napoleon read these words, he retreated from the verge of the stone, rendered sacred by such an inscription, and having remained for a moment to gaze upon it, walked slowly round, without placing his foot within its limits, but with his eyes still fixed on the venerated name.

" ' Il y avait quelque-chose de bien frappant dans son regard,' said the man, ' mais aussi quelque-chose de bien drôle dans l'insouciance avec laquelle ses officiers suivaient ses pas, en évitant de toucher la pierre ; mais pourtant, sans avoir l'air de partager du tout son sentiment.' "—vol. i. p. 121.

Another anecdote of Napoleon, which we do not perceive any reason for doubting, is not a little striking.

"One of the ladies, to whom I had the pleasure of being presented during my short stay at Ems, was the Countess d'H——. The father of this lady was one of the many conspirators against the life of Napoleon ; he was arrested, and condemned to death. Before the day fixed for his execution, his wife, a high-born German lady, obtained admittance to the Emperor, and besought her husband's pardon, in that tone of deep and true feeling which generally finds an answering chord to vibrate with it in the hearts of others. Napoleon was vexed—distressed—doubting—and deeply touched. The trembling wife stood before him, waiting a double doom. 'Madame,' he said at length, 'while such proof as I have here, (drawing a paper from a bundle that lay on his table,) while such proof as I have here exists, I cannot pardon your husband.' As he spoke he placed in her hand a paper, in which the crime was too surely acknowledged, under the signature of the accused. She clasped the scroll firmly, and fixing her eyes on those of Napoleon, read something, even as he turned them from her, which gave her strength to rush towards the hearth ; and, in an instant, the record had blazed and perished. The happy, but trembling woman, once more sought the eyes of the Emperor, but in vain ; one hand hid them from her view, and the other waved her from him. The sentence against her

husband was revised ; and proof of his guilt being imperfect, the doom of death was changed to that of banishment."—vol. ii. pp. 133, 134.

In the Market-place of Coblenz stands a Monument erected by order of the Conqueror while on his route to Russia, which bears the following Inscription :—" *Anno 1812. Méorable par la Campagne contre les Russes, sous le Préfecture de Jules Douzan;*" to which vaunt the following quiet addition has been subjoined : " *Vu, et approuvé par nous, Commandant Russe de la Ville de Coblenz, le 1^{er} Janvier, 1814.*" No more speaking commentary on the instability of human greatness could be offered ; and it answers its purpose far more effectually, and in a more dignified spirit, than any petty and ignoble defacement of initials or dislodgment of Statues.

The Theatre at Frankfort seems to be admirably conducted ; the acting is excellent ; the house is so justly proportioned that no expression of the features nor intonation of the voice is lost ; and the duration of the performance is confined within the limits of fatigue. Indecorum is so carefully banished that Ladies may attend with the most entire confidence ; and the entertainment closes sufficiently early to allow of the assemblage of evening parties after the play or opera. This, no doubt, is realizing the *beau idéal* of a Theatre ; but while we agree with Mrs. Trollope that such an establishment " adds a great intellectual pleasure to life," we cannot but fear that it is only to be obtained in a city of limited population ; and that it is hopeless ever to look for similar rational enjoyment in so huge a labyrinth as London.

" How delightful it is to come away from such an entertainment as this with the spirits perfectly fresh and unwearied ! Instead of dragging to bed, with the head aching, the heart asleep, and the imagination utterly extinguished, we leave the theatres of Germany exactly in a state to feel, or fancy, ourselves above all mortal cares and discomforts ; and I think the evening parties which succeed them must see the very best of our social faculties in activity."—vol. i. p. 235.

The following passages will be read with deserved interest :

" Before leaving Francfort, I took the liberty of requesting permission to wait upon her Royal Highness the Landgravine of Hesse Hombourg, which was most kindly granted. Her Highness's beautiful residence is about two hours' drive from the city ; and, even if it had not the interest of being the abode of a princess of England, it well deserves to be visited.

" The town of Francfort is situated on a plain, the extent of which, at least in the direction of Hombourg, almost marks its territory ; for, after passing by one of the old towers, which stand like sentinels round its limits, the country gradually rises ; and the town of Hombourg is situated on a beautiful elevation, which seems to rise on purpose to look

out upon the noble line of the Taunus hills, and down upon the lovely valley which stretches towards them.

"The residence of our amiable princess is just what a loyal English subject would wish to see it;—noble in style and dimension, beautiful as to its site and the country which surrounds it, and adorned throughout with that exquisite finish of perfect comfort which perhaps only an English princess would require, and which certainly no other could so well succeed in bringing about her.

"The princess had returned only a few days before from Hanover, and spoke with great enthusiasm of the beauty of the scenery through which she had travelled. 'I can never forget Windsor and Richmond,' said her Royal Highness, 'but Germany is a glorious country!' With the condescending good humour for which she has always been distinguished, she herself led us through the noble suite of rooms that look towards the richly-wooded ridge of the Taunus hills, or mountains, as we should certainly call them in England. The view from these rooms is superb.

"The road leading to the castle, though very steep, had not prepared me for the bold declivity on the other side, over which this range of apartments looks. The gardens of the palace lie at its feet, and the whole scene is one of great beauty and magnificence. It was with true English spirit that her Royal Highness showed us her noble library. 'I brought these volumes from England with me,' she said; adding, with a smile, 'I am proud of my library,'—and she might well be so, for not only does it contain a very large and excellent collection of books, but every thing in the room announces it to be the favourite retreat of a person of literary habits and refined taste. It is the only room that I saw in Germany at all in the same style. There are many in which books are found in abundance, but I saw none so calculated for the elegant indulgence of literary leisure. Yet it appeared that all the hours of reading were not spent here, for I think there was scarcely one of the apartments, in the fine suite which we saw, that had not books in it by some contrivance or other. Sometimes there was an elegant little table with a row of volumes forming the back of it—sometimes a small portable case, just large enough to contain a set of miniature favourites; and in one room, filled with all kinds of pretty things, the whole space below the hangings is lined with a wainscoting of books.

"In many of the rooms are portraits, some of them very fine ones, of the royal family of England. I stopped before one of George the Third, being struck by the powerful likeness: 'You know that portrait?' said the princess, 'it is my father—it is quite perfect.'"—vol. i. pp. 253—256.

We should willingly linger awhile among the ruins of Heidelberg, which Mrs. Trollope has described with much good taste; but we must hurry on to Baden-Baden, in which the visit to the Castle unquestionably forms the master-piece of these volumes. The enchanting scenery in the neighbourhood of this "Prince of Watering-Places" exceeded even the high-wrought expectation

with which it was approached; and the *agrémens* of the town itself, especially those arising from Chabert's splendid establishment, are quite enough to justify the avidity with which it is visited. The single drawback (and its grievous deformity is justly and indignantly exposed by Mrs. Trollope) arises from the admission of gaming into the ordinary course of public amusement. The *rouge-et-noir* Table, which is frequented indiscriminately by all the company in the place, by ladies as well as by gentlemen, is placed in a handsome room, formerly the Choir of a Jesuit Church.

"I doubt if anything, less than the evidence of the senses, can enable any one fully to credit and comprehend the spectacle that a gaming table offers. I saw women distinguished by rank, elegant in person, modest, and even reserved in manner, sitting at the *rouge-et-noir* table with their *râteaux* and marking cards in their hands; the former to push forth their bets, and draw in their winnings; the latter to prick down the events of the game. I saw such at different hours through the whole of Sunday. To name these is impossible; but I grieve to say that two English women were among them."—vol. ii. p. 45.

The most modern of the two Castles at Baden was founded in the eighteenth Century; it is still entire, is known as *the Residence*, and has peculiar interest attached to it from its connection with a Body whose very name is redolent of Romance—the Secret Tribunal. The Judgment House in which this formidable Court pronounced its sentences, and the dungeons to which its victims were consigned, still exist in their original terrors; and it is to these that we shall now accompany Mrs. Trollope, with the "lively black-eyed Alsatian girl," who officiated as her guide. The travellers, having descended a spiral stair-case in an outer flanking tower, passed through a large vaulted room sufficiently lighted by grated windows placed high in the wall. Two similar chambers beyond, a third, in which are the remains of a Roman swimming bath, and a fourth still admitting daylight, are to be passed before the range of prisons themselves is entered. At this point the conductress

"sought and found several candles, which she placed in our hands; saying, that the passages we were about to enter were such as to render it highly dangerous to run any risk of being without a light. She then unlocked a small door, and descending two steps, we entered a narrow passage, which terminated in a square vaulted room. The aspect of the passage, and still more the dismal horror of this vault, removed all fear that I should not find the dungeons terrible enough. It is quite impossible that stone walls can convey a feeling of more hopeless desolation. From this square room branched more than one opening; but the utter darkness, and the irregularity of arrangement in

the horrid cells they led to, prevented our being able to conceive any very correct idea of their relative position.

"On reaching the termination of one of these passages, we were stopped by a door of stone, a foot thick, hewn in one piece out of the granite rock. This door stood ajar, and our guide opened it by thrusting a thick stick that lay near into the aperture. She then asked Henry to assist her, and between them they contrived, by using the stick as a lever, to move the heavy mass sufficiently to enable us to pass it. 'This is the first prison,' said she; and paused long enough to let us see its dismal horrors. Utterly dark, and totally without ventilation, it struck damp and cold both to body and soul.

" 'This is the second,' she continued, as she passed through another massive door of rock, constructed in the same manner as the former; and again a dismal vault opened before us. In this manner she led us into ten distinct dungeons; some of these are hewn out of the solid rock, as well as the passages which lead to them, and others are constructed of immense blocks of stone.

"After passing through several passages, which I should be loath to travel without a guide, we reached a chamber of larger dimensions, the aspect and atmosphere of which might have chilled a lion's heart; our guide paused as she passed the threshold, and said, '*Voici le chambre de la question.*' Many massive iron rings, fastened into the walls of this room, give indications, sufficiently intelligible, of the mode in which the questionings were wont to be carried on there: and so strongly did visions of the past rise up before me, that, with a strange clinging to horror which makes so puzzling a part of our nature, I remained gazing on these traces of vengeance and of woe, till our lively Alsatian declared she would wait no longer.

"One of the openings, that led from this frightful room, terminated at a wall, along which another passage ran at right angles. Exactly at the corner where the turn was made, the footing of solid earth or rock, that we had hitherto trod, was changed for a flooring of planks, which, if not quite loose, were yet so placed as to leave considerable interstices between them. She suffered us to pass over these, and when we entered the door-way, that stood at right angles, stopped, saying, "*Voilà! this is the oubliette;*" and pointed, as she spoke, to the planks we had passed.

" 'And what is the oubliette?' was the natural question; though the untranslatable word had already conveyed the idea of eternal oblivion.

"I suspect that the dark-eyed damsel had studied her business with considerable tact; and the tone in which she answered this question, was not so much the effect of emotion, as meant to be the cause of it.

" 'It is the fatal *baiser de la vierge*,' she replied; 'when a prisoner was sentenced to be *forgotten*, he was made to pass from the judgment-hall through this door: these planks then sunk beneath him, and he was heard of no more.'

"The thrilling feeling, made up of horror and curiosity, which these words excited, induced us all to apply our candles to a dark space of half a foot wide which yawned between the wall and the boards covering the abyss. Henry threw himself across them: and thrust his candle down

to the extent of his arm—but all in vain ; if darkness can indeed be called visible, he saw it, but nothing else.

"The girl smiled, as she watched his vain efforts. 'You are not the first I have seen,' said she, 'who seemed as if they would gladly have torn those boards from under them, rather than not see the gulf below—but a little dog, they say, managed the matter better than any of you.'

"We eagerly inquired her meaning ; and she told us a story, that I have since seen in print, of an accident that happened about thirty years ago. A gentleman, who came to see the dungeons, was followed by a favourite dog : the animal was small, and while sniffing about the aperture, contrived to squeeze himself through it, and fell with a fearful yell to the bottom. The gentleman, who was greatly attached to the little creature, had influence enough to obtain permission to seek for him. Workmen, carrying lights, were let down by ropes ; and not only was the little dog restored alive to his master, but fragments of garments and of bones, and detached morsels of a wheel stuck full of knives, were found on the spot where he had fallen.

"After listening to this dark history of the pit, on whose verge we stood, we followed the narrator to an iron door of curious workmanship, which creaked most hideously upon its rusty hinges as she opened it. 'This,' said she, 'was the hall of judgment ; here the members of the Secret Tribunal assembled to examine the prisoners before their doom ; and *there* is the entrance by which they came to it from the castle on the hill.' As she spoke, she held up her light to show us an opening high up in the wall, but which was closed by stones at the distance of a few feet.

"'Here are traces,' she continued, pointing to stones that projected at intervals from the walls, 'of the seats that were placed round for the judges.'

"'Has that passage ever been traced from one end of it to the other ?' said I.

"'Oh yes, very often ; but not of late years. Part of the roof fell, and it was thought dangerous ; so it has been closed at the two extremities to prevent mischief.'

"We would have given much, and willingly have run some trifling risk of broken heads, could we have obtained permission to enter this curious passage ; but it might not be, and we turned to retrace our steps. Suddenly, our young guide stopped in one of the passages, which appeared connected with many of the chambers, and told us to look upwards. We did so ; and at a great height above, perceived the light of heaven faintly glimmering through an opening, apparently about three feet square ; this opening descended, like a huge chimney, to the spot where we stood.

"'It was by this entrance,' said the girl, 'that all prisoners were brought into the dungeons : that light proceeds from the chamber at the very top of the castle.'

"'Can we not see it ?' said I.

"'You would see nothing but an ordinary chamber,' she replied, appearing to evade the question ; and then added, 'by this descent they were let down in a chair, which they were sure to sit in ; as it was the only one in the room to which they were led.'"—vol. ii. pp. 32—39.

Curiosity was strongly excited by this mysterious account of the upper chamber, and the inquirers accordingly on another day renewed their visit to the Castle, in the hope of obtaining admission to that part of it. First, however, they were locked up for half an hour in the dungeon which they had formerly traversed, in order to give Mr. Hervieu time to make a sketch of the passage leading to the *oubliette*. "*Faire un tableau là! mais c'est drole,*" was the very natural observation of the young Alsatian, when she agreed to the proposal, on condition that the applicants would submit to this short incarceration, as she was particularly enjoined never to leave the vaults open. Mrs. Trollope half believed that the object in this stipulation was chiefly to try her courage, which, however, remained unshaken by the experiment; and she held a light over the verge of the fearful pit till the sketch was completed. The gaoler was punctual to the moment in releasing her prisoners; "nevertheless," as Mrs. Trollope most ingeniously confesses, although their watches confirmed the girl's assertion, "it appeared to be the longest half hour I ever passed." They were then led to the promised secret descent; in order to understand the situation of which we must return to the entrance of the Castle.

"The great door-way opens into a vaulted hall or vestibule; traversed at the farther end by a wide passage, leading on the right hand to the principal apartments of the *rez de chaussée*, and to the offices on the left. Immediately in front of the vestibule are three pairs of large folding doors. The one on the left opens upon a flight of steps leading to the gardens; and that on the right upon an enormous spiral staircase: that in the centre our guide did not open to us. In visiting the picture gallery and the apartments of the dowager grand duchess, we had mounted by this spiral staircase; and it was by the same that we were now led to the top of the building. On both occasions the construction of this staircase had struck us as being very singular. It was, as I have said, spiral; but the column around which it turned was of enormous dimensions; and the stairs themselves, as if to be in proportion with it, were at least six feet in width.

"On this second occasion, we continued to mount the same flight, without any diminution of its width, for three stories; when we found ourselves in a sort of open garret: and close behind the spot where the spiral staircase ended, our guide pointed to a network of iron, fastened by a padlock over a hole that sunk deeper below it than the eye could reach. We immediately perceived that the monstrous staircase we had mounted wound round this aperture; and consequently that the castle had been built with a view to this frightful entrance to its vaults. When we again reached the foot of the stairs, our attention was directed to the centre pair of folding doors; which, it now appeared evident, must open upon the interior and hidden descent. Henry put his hand upon the lock; but the damsel stopped him.

"*'Il n'y a rien là, Monsieur, vous avez tout vu.'*"

"We persisted, however; and at length, half laughing, half scolding, at our pertinacity, she permitted us to enter.

"These large and stately doors opened upon a closet, which had much the air of a butler's pantry; but upon examination we found that it communicated both with the dungeon below and the secret entrance from above. From this arrangement it appears probable, that in some cases, when the unhappy victim, marked for *oblivion*, was brought into the castle, he was immediately led by this handsome entrance into what we may easily suppose might have had the appearance of a small ante-room; and there, without further delay, lowered to his slaughter-house and his tomb."—vol. ii. pp. 64—66.

The spire of the cathedral at Strasburgh is stated by Mrs. Trollope to be five hundred feet in height. This is probably a mistake; but, be the elevation what it may, it is certainly very great; and half of it is gained by scaling steps on the outside, protected by a very slight rail, the supports of which are far apart from each other. It is said that three women, at different times, overpowered by momentary delirium, have thrown themselves from its summit; and the guide who escorted Mrs. Trollope's son to this airy pinnacle declared that he himself had witnessed the last of these catastrophes about ten years before.

"He said that the unfortunate creature was quite a young girl; and the first symptom she gave of her senses wavering, was excessive mirth. She laughed and shouted, as if in ecstasy; and having reached a point where nothing intercepted her view of the abyss below, she sprang off, screaming wildly as she fell.

"The sound of that cry, as she passed down, was terrible."—vol. ii. pp. 75, 76.

Mrs. Trollope is not occupied during her travels solely by attention to the picturesque. On a subject which at present greatly engages public attention, we meet with the following observations, in which we think there is much good sense. We subjoin them purposely without comment, leaving each reader to draw his own inference from them on the much-contested subject to which they relate. They are occasioned by an accidental visit to the Prussian *National School* at St. Goar.

"In this little village, as in every other part of the kingdom of Prussia, the education of the people is the business of the state. So deeply are the benevolent and philosophical lawgivers of this enlightened country impressed with the belief that the only sure method of rendering a people pre-eminently great and happy is to spread the light of true knowledge among them, that the government leaves not the duty of providing instruction for the children of the land to the unthinking caprice of their ignorant parents, but provides for them teachers and books, selected with a degree of vigilant circumspection which would do honour to the affection and judgment of the tenderest father. Nor is this all:—not only

are the means of instruction thus amply and admirably provided, but the children of the people are not permitted to absent themselves from school on any plea except that of sickness, which must be authenticated by the certificate of a physician.

"This system, already so prolific of the happiest results, has attracted the attention of all Europe; and England, among the rest, is said to be taking a lesson on this most important branch of government from the benignant absolutism of Prussia. Assuredly she cannot do better; but let her not put in action one part of this immensely powerful engine, while another part, on which the whole utility of its movement depends, is left neglected. Woe betide the politician who shall labour to enforce by law the art of reading: while he slothfully, viciously, or from party spirit, continues to advocate the unrestricted freedom of a press which fills every village shop with blasphemy, indecency, and treason! Let him not dare to imitate the pure and holy efforts of Prussia, to spread the blessing of knowledge through the land, till he has manfully set to work to purify the source whence it is to flow. He who shall best succeed in making the power of reading general throughout England, while this monstrous mass of impurity is permitted to spread its festering influence through the country, will have a worse sin to answer for than if he forced all to drink of a stream he knew to be poisoned. In Prussia the purity of all that issues from the press has become so completely a source of national pride, that were the parental care which guards it withdrawn, it would, I have been well assured, be long before vice would grow sufficiently audacious to attempt speaking by so uncorrupted an organ. Infamy would dog the heels of the publisher, and prompt justice be done on the miscreant author who should dare to violate the sacred pledge given by the king to the people, that sin shall not be the fruit of that knowledge which he has thought fit to enforce.

"Another vitally essential part of the Prussian scheme of national education is its watchful religious superintendence of practical morality.

"It is so very easy a thing to teach children to read and write, that were these the only objects in view, it would be scarcely worth while for the government to interfere about the business. A very poor man may contrive to pay twopence a week to obtain this for his children; and multitudes may easily get my lord, or my lady, or the squire, and madam, to pay it for them. But it is the cautious, systematic selection of persons proper for the office of teachers, and the impossibility that individual whim should interfere in the choice of them, which can alone ensure a profitable national education.

"And how is this all-important business transacted with us? In some places, a teacher is appointed by the clergyman, who would regulate his parish school with the same anxious care which he exercises in the government of his own family. In others, some vain and canting Lady Bountiful has the power of nomination,—and selects a person who shall look sharply after the uniform, and take care that the children show themselves off well upon all public occasions.

"In one village, a staunch constitutional Tory shall exert his utmost influence that the little people about him may be brought up to fear God

and honour the king. He may watchfully see them led to the venerated church of their fathers, and teach them to look up, with equal love and respect, to the institutions of their country.

"In the very next, perhaps, a furious demagogue may insist that every lesson shall inculcate the indefeasible right to rebel. And, if the poor rogues be taught any religion at all, it may be with the understanding that each and every of them, when they are big enough, will have as good a right to be paid for preaching as the parson of the parish.

"What can that whole be, which is formed of such discordant elements? And would not it be better for our rulers even to enforce such a mode of instruction as might give a chance of something like a common national feeling among the people of England, instead of letting them be blown about by every wind of doctrine as they are at present?"—vol. ii. pp. 169—173.

The expedition to the Brocken is a fitting companion-piece to the descent into the vaults of the Secret Tribunal; and it is equally well related. The entrance to the mountain route which Mrs. Trollope adopted (the most difficult, but the most interesting,) commences at the wild looking village of Ilsingbourg (Iesingberg); whence, having been provided with three mules and a guide, at the "Red Trout," the adventurers proceeded at eleven A. M. on the last day of August. The road for the first two miles rises gently by the side of a placid stream, which gradually changes its character; and as the soft turf is lost in bare stone, and the bright green beech gives way before the dark and cheerless pine, so does the "quiet rivulet" become "a dashing, bounding, rock-defying torrent." Slight log bridges cross it at intervals, till the path altogether ceases; and on quitting the margin, the mules appear to wander at random amid loose gigantic masses of granite.

"By degrees the trees ceased altogether: the mosses and lichen apparently ceased with them; and a monstrous expanse, entirely covered by detached, bare, dry, sun-whitened rocks, stretched upwards, and all around. It was a desert at which an Arab might tremble.

"The idea that I had still to sit upon my weary mule, amongst, and over, these steep, smooth crags, made me shudder. It seemed to be the exact spot which fiends would choose wherein to keep their holiday; and I almost expected to hear impish laughter from behind some of the stones, or out of the hollows between them, through which dark, brackish streams were heard, and occasionally seen, trickling down the mountain.

"The scaling this hideous precipice was the most tremendous part of the expedition, and by far the most difficult feat I ever achieved. My saddle was furnished with a strong handle before and another behind; and, by dint of holding against the latter, and pulling myself up by means of the former, I contrived to keep myself on the poor creature's back; but it was painful to feel the strong working of her muscles. Having mastered this most arid and desolate portion of the mountain,

we again reached symptoms of vegetation. Whortleberries, moss, and a twisted growth of dwarf pines, covered its rugged side. Here again the guide stopped, and bade us turn and look below ;—but what combination of words can convey an idea of all which that look showed us ? First came the rocky desert,—next a wavy sea of unnumbered forest-covered hills, in every shade from black to grey, as the capricious clouds swept over them—then came the wide-spread world below, bright in unmitigated sunshine, with here and there a small speck that might be a beacon, tower, or village church ; but all so blended in one flood of light, that, contrasted with the dark forest enclosing us, it seemed almost like an opening of the bright and sunny heavens, rather than any view of earth.”—vol. ii. pp. 248—250.

The *Gast-Haus* on the summit was erected and is maintained by the Prussian Government, a person being appointed to keep it open for all comers during summer, and to furnish provisions at regulated and moderate prices.

“ This building is constructed in a manner that shows, at a glance, what it has to endure. The granite walls are six feet thick, and the small windows are set even with the internal surface ; so that before each of them there is a deep square embrasure.

“ On entering the house we found ourselves in total darkness. A passage runs through the whole length of the building, and exactly divides it,—several doors open into the passage from the chambers on each side. When any of the doors are open a gleam of light reaches this cavern-like passage ; but when this is not the case, no dungeon can be darker.”—vol. ii. pp. 251, 252.

After making a circuit of the wonders in its immediate neighbourhood, ascending “ the Devil’s Pulpit,” scrambling through “ the Witches’ Orchestra,” and shivering round their “ Lake,” their “ Spring,” and their “ Dog-stone,” the astonished visitors returned to dine at the *Gast-haus* ; and, as *non cuivis homini contingit*, i. e. as it is not an every-day occurrence to bait at the half-way house to heaven, it may not be superfluous to add, that their fare in this *sky-parlour* consisted of soup, bouilli, potatoes and bread, all excellent in their kind, and was flavoured by an admirable bottle of Steinbergen. Thus refreshed, they mounted an immensely strong tower, which forms the centre of the building, and which, rising a few feet above the low roof, commands an unbroken circular horizon. Here they enjoyed the most magnificent sunset which ever gladdened mortal eyes ; and here also they projected, a few hours afterwards, to have watched the rising of the moon, at that time but one day past her full. They were prevented from fulfilling this design by “ such a storm of wind and rain as might make the foul fiend seek shelter.”

“ We were told, soon after entering the Brocken-House, that there were no bed-rooms for us, as a party of botanists had bespoken all in the

building; but that a small room with three couches and a stove was at our service. When we first heard this the weather was bright, though cold, and we were all full of schemes for watching the effect of moonlight upon so singular a spot; and this, with the determination of meeting the sun, and his attendant spectre giant, in the morning, made us extremely indifferent about the accommodation for the night; but now that all this was perfectly out of the question, and a tempest howling without that seemed increasing every moment, the prospect of sitting all night to listen to it, was far from agreeable; yet it was the only one before us. We went to the door of the Gast-haus, to look out upon the night; and though the moon was high in the heavens, and nearly full, all that its light could do was but to show the gloom that seemed brooding over the earth—lately so bright and lovely. It was like the change from life to death; but a death that had no rest in it. The hurricane was frightful. Though the door we opened was deeply set, like the windows, and placed even with the interior surface of the wall, it was not without difficulty that we were able to close it again; so powerful was the blast that rushed in upon us. At length we retired to our warm but dismal chamber; a small dim lamp was placed behind the stove, that those who could might sleep, and each of us reclined upon a hard and narrow couch, to wait for the morning.

“Many must have cause to remember the fearful night that preceded the 1st of September, 1833. The gale that blew that night caused more wrecks than any that has been recorded for years; and we felt and heard it in a manner never to be forgotten.

“There was something new to me and very awful, in the sound of the wind, as I listened to it through the hours of that tedious night. There were no trees, no buildings, among which its wild howlings might be either tamed or lost; and I thought that there were notes in its unmitigated voice, more solemn and appalling than any to be heard elsewhere. At intervals a blast struck so rudely against our low, strong-set shelter, that I fancied it could never before have withstood such a storm; and that we and it should speedily be scattered and shattered among the rocks of the mountain. But when for a while the fury of the attack remitted, and that hollow sound succeeded, which in every storm seems to indicate an intermission of its strength, or its rage, there was something so solemn and so wild, in the mystic wailings which followed, that all the legends I had ever read rose to my memory; and more than once I caught myself listening, as if I expected to detect articulate sounds. It certainly requires very little invention, in addition to a tolerably lively fancy, to tell that voices have been heard and words spoken, amid such sounds as swept along the Brocken on that night. Occasionally, fatigue conquered all the excitement of this singular position, and I slept for a few minutes; but by far the greater portion of the night was passed by me in listening to these unearthly noises,—and yet strange to say, I was conscious of a species of pleasure in this occupation,—my spirits were in a sort of balancing see-saw between fear and enjoyment; and I felt as if I had for a while quitted the earth and all its ordinary emotions,

and had attained, by accident, some other state of being."—vol. ii. pp. 262—265.

On the following morning, after Mrs. Trollope had been tied, pinned, and packed up in defiance of the storm, she commenced her descent through the thickest of all possible fogs. The downward route, however, proved much more easy than that by which she had mounted; and, before she had proceeded a mile, "all that was alarming or disagreeable had utterly disappeared." We are almost selfish enough to regret that there are no more difficulties to be recited. Few female travellers, as we imagine, have preceded Mrs. Trollope in her most arduous undertaking, and she has the candour to sum up her account of it by doubting whether, notwithstanding the interest and enjoyment which the expedition afforded, she can "fairly recommend" a similar exploit to the generality of her sex.

We will not weaken the effect of this part of the narrative by treading the remainder, of the easy journey homeward; nor will we diminish any value which may attach to our general praise of two very delightful volumes, by pausing upon minute criticism. The knowing *Sosius* from whose mart they issue has doubtless hurried on their publication, in order that they might not be too late for the London book-season; and the few *incuriæ* which are scattered over the pages may easily be corrected in future impressions; in which we venture especially to recommend a most vigilant review of a good deal of false German.

ART. VI.—*Sermons, Fragments, &c., attributed to Isaac Barrow, D.D.* Collected and Edited by the Rev. J. P. Lee, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London. 1834.

THIS volume contains eight Sermons, two Fragments, and two Dissertations. The style of the first four Sermons resembles the style of Barrow, about as much as the sparkling and fantastic jets of a fountain resemble the steady flow of a copious stream;—about as much as the sharp, ringing, desultory fire of a rifle corps resembles the deep and continuous roll from a column of musketry. That they are *not* the work of Barrow it is impossible to doubt, in spite of their being among the Barrow MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. How they came there it would be difficult to say. But they are written on a smaller paper than the rest, and in a hand very different from that of Barrow. But, even if this were otherwise, nothing but his own voice from the grave should persuade us that they were of his composition.

The remaining Sermons have a better title to the honours of his name. They were found, in manuscript, in that part of the Public Library at Cambridge which belonged to Bishop Moore, and was afterwards purchased by George I. and presented to the University. The handwriting bears a strong resemblance to that of Barrow; and there is nothing in their style to negative the presumption expressed in the following inscription at the beginning of the book:—" *Hic liber, ut ex manu videtur, fuit Viri Doctissimi Isaaci Barrow.*" But even if they be his, we do not know that his reputation would have sustained any grievous loss, had they been permitted to sleep the sleep of oblivion. They are, if anything, rather below than above his usual excellence, and probably had not received his last finish. The same may be said of the Fragments.

The two Dissertations, it seems, are unquestionably in the handwriting of Barrow. It is, however, next to certain that the first of them is not of Barrow's composition, although he appears to have taken the trouble to transcribe it. It is, in fact, a short treatise on Future Punishment, in which the writer contends that the doctrine of a penal eternity is not, with any certainty, to be inferred from the language of Scripture. Now this opinion is in direct contradiction to the tenor of the eighth of the foregoing Sermons, *on the Unfruitfulness of Sin*, in which we find the following passage:—"How will it fill a poor soul with vexation and "disquietude to think that, after the revolution of many thousands "of years in flames, and yet in darkness, it is still no nearer a release from its unspeakable tortures than it was at the first entrance of the pit! for neither the worm dies, nor will the fire "go out." Besides, there are certain foot-notes in Latin attached to this disquisition, expressive of doubts respecting the soundness of it, and containing the germ of various arguments against it, and having all the appearance of short memoranda, set down by a person who contemplated the project of a treatise in opposition to what is called the more merciful doctrine. We, therefore, are strongly impressed with the conviction, that the Dissertation in question is the work of some unknown individual, and that the Latin notes are the work of Barrow, made by him, possibly, with the intention of framing a reply.

We now come to the second of the Dissertations, "*Relating to Dissenters*;" and this, in all probability, was drawn up by Barrow himself. Every one who knows anything of the history of those times, knows the rancour with which the whole fabric of the Church of England was assailed by the Nonconformists. No design could be more worthy of the powers or the zeal of Barrow, than to confound her adversaries. And how was this

design to be best accomplished, but by first collecting their *strong reasons*, and putting them forth in their utmost force, and then laying them prostrate by hearty and irresistible blows. Now this, in all likelihood, is precisely what Barrow *intended* to do. This was the method pursued by him in composing his incomparable treatise on the Supremacy of the Pope; and, doubtless, it was with a similar intent that he threw together these notices respecting the whims and prejudices of the Protestant Dissenters of his day. Unfortunately, however, he has left his design unaccomplished. He has given us the attack, but not the vindication; and under these circumstances, we gravely doubt the discretion of giving publicity to the paper. We should have no apprehension for the issue, if the great advocate who produced the objections could also be heard in reply. But as it is, we may probably soon hear a more vigorous explosion than ever of the ancient cavils against our whole ecclesiastical system, and then be told that the illustrious Isaac Barrow was the engineer who had done us all this mischief! We repeat, therefore, that, in our judgment, the wisdom of the serpent might have dictated the suppression of the *ex parte* documents now before us; and this without the moulting of a single feather of the simplicity of the dove. Here, however, the document is; and since it *is* here, there is nothing to be done but to premonish the public, that the arguments (if arguments they can be called) which are to be found in it, are there set forth, not with the stamp of the writer's approbation, but obviously for the sole purpose of doing righteous execution upon them.

After all, however, there may be something to interest our curiosity at least, in this fragment from the portfolio of such a man as Barrow. It cannot but be curious to note the murmurs of discontent which were incessantly sounding in his ear, and to compare them with the variety of howls which, at this hour, and from all quarters, are assailing our own. Let us, therefore, devote a few minutes to this comparison; from which, if we mistake not, it may be gathered, that there is in Dissent, as in almost every thing else, a sort of fashion, which differs, in many particulars, from age to age; that *Nonconformity* is itself a thing most *multiform* and variable, and that it "never continueth in one stay."

The Dissertation in question, then, begins with a very brief enumeration of the "many advantages which the Church hath against Dissenters; which (other means being used) might help to reclaim them." It then adds—"He that shall consider these and the like advantages, may admire how so potent a faction should be maintained against the Church; but there are

“ considerations which may abate such admiration. There is a
 “ complication of divers causes, which concur to these effects of
 “ division and dissent; many of which may not be so easily dis-
 “ cerned, nor their influence so convincingly shown. But the
 “ most obvious ones seem to be these”:—then follows the enu-
 meration of alleged objections.

Among these objections, the “ Defects in the Service” occupy the foremost place. The complaint at that time was, that it was not apt to edify;—that it had no vivacity or pathos!—that it might have suited the temper of former ages, but in that age was somewhat flat, and unapt to stir affection;—that it was monotonous and long, and might therefore be better fitted for the cloister, than for congregations of tradesmen, and merchants, and men of business and despatch. And then, it had much wearisome repetition; and, in practice, consolidated three services into one, &c. &c. &c.

Now we have here one remarkable instance, in which a change appears to have come over the spirit of Dissent. The Dissenters, it is true, still adhere to their own practice of unwritten, though not always unprepared, supplication. They complain, as heretofore, that prescribed forms of devotion impose trammels upon the spirit, and that the iron of this restraint would enter into their very soul. But, nevertheless, the most eminent and most intelligent among them are loud in their encomiums of the Liturgy as a series of devotional compositions. What would such men as Robert Hall, or Richard Watson, now say to any of their people who should venture to assert, in their presence, that the Liturgy was flat, and vapid, and deficient in pathos, and unapt to stir affection, and fitted only for the solemn leisure of the cloister? Robert Hall, it is well known, placed the Liturgy next in order to the inspired writings; and Richard Watson used it in his family, when detained by accident or illness from public worship. In short, we believe it would be extremely difficult, at the present day, to find ten individuals among the decently educated Dissenters, who would be ready to echo the voice of this miserable and shallow criticism,—so difficult, that if Barrow were now living, he might feel himself pretty well absolved from all necessity of exposing its absurdity.

With regard to certain other objections, viz. the length of the Service—its frequent repetitions—the obsolete cast of expression—the controverted doctrines involved in the Liturgy (such as Baptism, Absolution, General Redemption), it is not very hard to divine in what manner Barrow would have disposed of them, had he lived to complete his design. What he thought of the complaint of “ repetitions” is sufficiently obvious from the lan-

guage in which he has adverted to it. "It [the Service] hath many repetitions of the same things, *which is nauseous to "squeamish folks."* He would, questionless, have reminded the malcontents that they had wretchedly mistaken the nature and object of prayer, and the position of a sinner when supplicating for mercy, if they were offended either with the constant use of the same service, or with the frequent occurrence of similar petitions in the course of that service. He might, probably, have silenced them (if anything could silence them) with the words of Richard Hooker. "If prayers were no otherwise accepted of God than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of present occasions; if it be right to judge Him by our own bellies, and to imagine that He doth loathe to have the self-same supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers be actions which ought to waste away themselves in making; if being made to remain, that they may be resumed, and used again as prayers, they be but instruments of superstition,—surely we cannot excuse Moses, who gave such occasion of scandal to the world, by not being contented to praise the name of Almighty God according to the usual naked simplicity of God's Spirit; for that very hymn of Moses grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewish Liturgy; and not only that, but sundry others sithence invented." *Squeamish*, indeed, must those *folks* be, whose spirits are more fastidious than the Father of all spirits; for surely He loveth nothing better than the holy and importunate iteration of a truly contrite suppliant. Let such persons ask themselves what would become of their *squeamishness*, if they had to beg their lives of an offended earthly potentate? Would they then ever be weary of repeating their cry for mercy? Would they then *nauseate* and *loathe* the frequent, the incessant, recurrence to the one topic, which engrossed all their capacities of thought, of feeling, and of utterance? What folly, then—we had almost said, what impiety—is it, for sinful dust and ashes gravely to talk of weariness and loathing, when they hear their own suit, for blessings and for mercies, again and again sent up before the presence of the Living God!

But, in truth, we know not how to go on vindicating the Liturgy against all the fantastical brood of charges and cavils which are swarming and buzzing round us in all directions, without transcribing a great part of the fifth book of Hooker. Those who are oppressed and overdone by the length of the Service, we must refer to the thirty-second section of that book; and proceed to the portentously stupid complaint of the antique and obsolete cast of the language! We apprehend that this is a complaint to which

no one, at this day, who has any care for his reputation as a man of taste, will venture to give utterance. There are probably not half a dozen words in the whole Prayer-book which the most dainty critic would wish to see altered.* And if there actually can be found, either among Churchmen or Dissenters, a dunce of such prodigious crassitude, as to be repelled by the racy and venerable archaisms of the Liturgy, why, the same dunce would, of course, be still more offended with the national version of the Bible. And, of such a person, we should feel strongly tempted to say, let him instantly be brayed in a mortar; not, indeed, in the expectation of changing him, (for he would, doubtless, remain just what he was before,)—but at least with the hope of rendering his folly somewhat less sonorous and troublesome. For ourselves, we protest that we consider the version of our Scriptures as among the most inestimable possessions, not only of our religion, but of our literature; and we cannot forbear seizing this opportunity of declaring our hope, and our hearts' desire, on one point—namely, that, if it should ever be thought advisable to revise that version, two solemn and strict injunctions may be given to the persons entrusted with the task—first, that they carefully saturate their mind with the simple, idiomatic diction of the olden time; and secondly, that whenever they attempt to introduce a new sense of any passage, they ask themselves this question—viz.—in what words would King James's translators have expressed this sense, if they were now assembled for the purpose of putting it into English?

As to the complaint that certain controverted doctrines are embodied in the Liturgy, it may surely be disposed of without great difficulty. If the doctrines are false, they ought to be discarded from the whole scheme of our theology. If they are true and important, what can be more desirable than to have them enshrined in the services of the Church? If, however, no doctrines ought to be admitted at all, but those which are uncontroverted—and if all are to be excluded which may “*give offence to some people,*” the work of reformation will be brief and simple indeed! Our theology then might be bounded in a nut-shell; and he that should carry it about with him might walk scarcely a whit the heavier for his burden.

Next to the Liturgy come the Articles and Homilies. The Articles, it seems, were thought to be “not very nervous, acute, and pithy;” and the “Homilies were too coarse for the delicacy

* Among these may be reckoned the expression in the Marriage Service—“With my body I thee *worship*,” though one would imagine that the application of the same word, *worship* and *worshipful*, to magistrates, at the present day, might be sufficient to remind us all that term is here significant only of respect and honour.

"of modern ears." And, here again the ancient and modern Nonconformists are as far as possible from being in the same tale. The Homilies and Articles are now scarcely thought worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the *grievances of our Dissenters*; at least if the Socinians be excepted. The Homilies, indeed, have pretty well fallen into desuetude; for, with us, every clergyman is a preacher from the first moment of his ordination as deacon. And as for the Articles, not a syllable do we ever hear now from the orthodox separatists, to the disadvantage of their *pithiness* or *acuteness*. If there be any *grievance* touching the Articles, it is that the clergy do not preach up to them—that the ministers of the Church are false to the cause for which her Reformers went to the stake—that if they did but dispense to the people the truth as embodied in the *Articles*, then, indeed, Dissent would "begin to pale its ineffectual fire!" It might puzzle the understanding even of Barrow himself, if he were now living, to frame an answer that should meet these various and almost contradictory imputations. In our century the Articles are naught; they are wanting in nervousness, and pith, and pointedness of statement. In another century they are so nervous and pithy, as to put to shame the puny, sapless, degenerate theology of the time!

The next head of accusation is a very copious, and extremely complicated one—much too copious and complicated for the scanty pages of a notice like this—namely, Ecclesiastical Discipline. It seems to be allowed by Barrow, that "as all discipline in time is apt to be slackened by remissness, enervated "by devices, and perverted by abuse, so, perhaps, may ours be, "in some particulars." The truth is (as every one knows who is acquainted only with the merest outline of our Church history), that in this respect our Reformation was left unfinished. The labours of Cranmer and his colleagues were defeated by the premature death of Edward VI.; and all subsequent attempts to complete them were rendered abortive, partly by Queen Elizabeth's dragonlike jealousy of her prerogative, partly by the repugnance of that profligate age against the restraints of spiritual authority. It would, however, be foolish, as well as dishonest, to shrink from the avowal, that a scheme of effective and searching ecclesiastical discipline, must, from the very nature of the case, be a matter of almost insuperable difficulty, under a great National Establishment, and in a state of society like ours. No one who will take the trouble of carefully examining the subject in all its bearings, can fail to perceive that this is so. And if there be any who deem this consideration fatal to the policy which allies the Church with the State, we have only to beg that they will so far task their

candour and their patience, as to inquire how much the matter would, in all probability, be mended by an abolition of that alliance. A great National Church, it may be true, can never exercise over those who are really, or nominally, within her communion, the same vigilant and rigorous controul that a private society or club can exercise over its members. But even if this should be admitted, it will still remain extremely questionable whether it would be wise, or humane, or pious, to reduce the Church of England to the condition of a mere sect. The subject, however, is one to which no sort of justice can be incidentally done in the brief and fugitive pages of a journal. We must, therefore, content ourselves with adding, that we have no wish to discourage the endeavour to improve our ecclesiastical code. Something considerable may undoubtedly be done for this purpose; and everything that can be done ought vigorously to be attempted. Nothing, we apprehend, could well be more chimerical and visionary than the hope of raising our spiritual discipline to the purity in which it flourished when the believers were comparatively a little and independent flock. But this is no good reason for suffering anomalies or abuses, if such there be, to spread into rank luxuriance, and to deepen the disaffection of the people towards their spiritual mother.

The "*Ceremonies*,"—which come next in order,—need not detain us long. We hear very little about them now. In the time of Barrow, indeed, the surplice,—he tells us,—was held to be "a glaring habit, *not generally taking!*" In the present day, however, a Dissenter will often condescend to visit the church, and to sit the whole service through, from beginning to end, (if he hopes to hear an *acceptable* preacher), without any inconvenient qualms from the sight of surplice, and hood, and scarf, and other reliques of superstitious abomination. At all events, the surplice is but seldom denounced as a fragment of Babylonish finery. With regard to ceremonies, strictly so called, those enjoined by the law were allowed to be "few and grave." But there were other practices prevalent in Barrow's days which he says were "displeasing to most of the people:" such, for instance, as bowing to the "altar, and singing the prayers." The Church suffers but little molestation or disparagement, on account of such things, now. The prayers are never sung in our parish churches, and only a portion of them in our cathedrals: and bowing to the altar is almost, though not entirely, gone into disuse. It is, therefore, needless to enter into a vindication of these matters. And yet, something might be said for both, if occasion required. Bowing to the altar, more especially, is a

custom, one would imagine, which could distress none but a very stiff-necked generation. If we mistake not, we have heard of such a thing as bowing to the vacant throne in the House of Lords, on certain state occasions. And they who do not think that practice intolerably absurd, need not to be grievously offended at a similar mark of reverence paid to the sanctuary of the King of Kings. With respect to the practice of "reading the Psalms alternately" (which is somewhat oddly placed among the objectionable *ceremonies*), what can we say about it,—what could Barrow himself say—more than has been said by Hooker?*

Among the faults and blemishes of the Church, we might, of course, expect to hear of that portentous evil, the non-residence of her ministers. And, behold, here it is; with all its brood of miserable consequences and accompaniments. And when either the zealous Puritan, or the factious Dissenter, lifts up his voice, to *lament* for this heavy abomination, may not the Churchman exclaim,—“ what’s he whose grief bears such an emphasis?” May he not say, with the Apostle,—*who is offended, and I burn not?* And well may he burn!—burn with deep anguish, and bitter indignation. For what, in three words, is the history of this matter? In the sixteenth century, the Church is pillaged, without remorse, by a profligate, rapacious, and godless laity. A large portion of the parochial clergy are reduced to beggary. A resident incumbent upon every benefice in the realm, becomes an absolute *physical* impossibility. And now, the descendants of those very plunderers, who then made havoc of the Church, have the effrontery to join in the savage outcry against abuses, which the iniquity of their forefathers has rendered positively inevitable! The Church, in short, fell among thieves, which stripped her, wounded her, and departed, leaving her half dead! And now, the thieves, or their representatives, actually rise up and revile her as deficient in strength, activity, and comeliness,—complain that she has “ neither heat, affection, limb, nor beauty,”—and, to crown their unrighteousness, they scruple not to reproach her with some of the worst consequences of the poverty which they themselves have inflicted.

The ecclesiastical commissioners have recently told us what are *now* the *net* revenues of the clergy. Their Report is as follows. The annual average income of our ten thousand five hundred parochial incumbents is about £285 for each incumbent. The net revenue of the bishoprics is about £160,000, giving an average of less than £6000 to each see. The net revenue of the chapters amount to not quite £273,000. If, therefore, the whole revenues of the bishops, and chapters,

* B. v. s. 39.

(amounting together to £433,000,) were to be divided among the parochial incumbents, this addition would not raise their incomes to much above £320 a year. But then, it must be remembered, that not a shilling of deduction is made in this Report, on account of payment to curates, or of reparation of residences, or of payment of rates and taxes. And it cannot be questioned that, if such deductions had been made, they would have reduced the clear average income of our whole clergy, dignified or otherwise, man by man, to a sum very considerably below £300. Now we would gladly learn by what scheme of distribution these resources could possibly be so applied as to remedy the miseries of clerical pauperism, and to get rid of the evils of non-residence and plurality? To equalize the incomes of the clergy would be utterly impracticable; and it would be most iniquitous, and most pernicious, if it were practicable. And yet, what plan is there, short of equalization, which, out of the above funds, could provide a competency, or any thing like a competency, for every individual incumbent? Nay, if the equalizing project could be carried into execution, what would it do, but make the poverty of the clergy universal, and, consequently, degrade the order, and render them comparatively useless? For what is an income of £250 or £300, but wretched poverty, to a man who is much better educated than most of the gentry—who has to maintain a reputable appearance—to purchase books—to set an example of charity—and, perhaps, a family to maintain?

Pluralities and non-residences, in general, are evils, no doubt;—very great evils in many instances. No man, or set of men, in their senses, would think of introducing them into the scheme of an establishment, which was to be constituted *ab integro*. But,—thanks to the iniquitous doings of former generations,—here these evils are among us! And so inveterate are they, that any *sweeping and precipitate* measure for their removal would be neither more nor less than the grossest cruelty and injustice. We can join with the bitterest enemy of the Church in “yelling out syllables of dolour” for their existence. But we hesitate not to avow that our grief is mingled with certain other emotions, which it requires a severe exercise of self-command to keep down. It is very difficult to look back to the history of atrocious spoliation with perfect equanimity. It is, perhaps, still more difficult to restrain a choking sensation of disgust and contempt, when we hear the wrongs and the sufferings of the Church shamefully turned to her reproach.

Let it be understood, however, that in speaking of pluralities, and of non-residence, we speak not of those occasional prodigies

of abuse, which help to make the Establishment an object of suspicion, and sometimes of abhorrence. It is, undoubtedly, almost enough to break the heart of many a distressed and meritorious man, to see preferments prodigally heaped on individuals, for no other reason under heaven, but that they happen to be fortunately allied, or powerfully patronized. Some such cases, undeniably, there may be: some *score or two*, perhaps, at the utmost, among our myriad of incumbencies. We have scarcely a syllable to say for them. We would not tear off a rag from Constantine's mantle to cover any one of them. But then, we must beg to remind our righteous reformers that, after all, *such instances* are very few—that they constitute the rare exception and not the rule—and that they are fully capable of remedy without the necessity of tearing up the Church from the foundations, or of harassing or tormenting those humbler classes of the parochial clergy, who are already steeped in poverty to the very lips. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill would have put an end to such abuses at once.

A further subject of complaint in those days, was the “con-ferring benefices on unworthy persons, by the baseness or negligence of patrons, whence divers clergymen creep in, who dishonour the Church and spoil the people.”

Here we have another of the misfortunes of the Church brought forward among the number of her faults. If complaints of this description should have the effect of shaming many a careless and worldly-minded holder of patronage into a deeper sense of his responsibility, we shall be, beyond measure, thankful to the enemies of the Church, if they will but continue to lift up their voice like a trumpet, and spare not. That patrons both public and private have sometimes most sacrilegiously abused their trust, it would be the most stupid infatuation to deny. How to remedy this by positive enactment or regulation, we know not. Public opinion may do something to awaken the dispensers of preferment to the incommodious truth, that they have a duty to perform as well as a privilege to exercise. And, we presume, it will scarcely be questioned that, within the last half century, a gradual improvement has been discernible in this respect. But, however this may be, we must be permitted to doubt whether patronage, with all its liability to abuse, is a greater evil than the system of popular or congregational election, or any other scheme for the appointment of ministers, which may be in use among the various regions of dissent. We can scarcely imagine any evil much greater than the dependence of the preacher on the caprices of his spiritual *constituents*. Compared with this,

the evils of patronage, in our humble judgment, dwindle almost into absolute insignificance.

But we, really, must give up the weary and almost endless task of fighting over again a battle that has been fought a hundred times before. We regret, indeed, that Barrow did not fight the battle, as he most probably intended. For what might not have been expected from the author of the treatise on the Pope's Supremacy? And we regret it the more, because it is evident that he would have addressed himself to the adventure in a spirit of courageous candour. From the whole tenor of the fragment before us, it is clear that he was neither blind to the defects with which the Church might, in some instances, be fairly chargeable; nor insensible to the mischiefs which might be inflicted on her cause, by the inflexibility and superciliousness of certain of his own brethren. There is every reason to believe that he would have executed his task with exemplary wisdom and integrity. He would, doubtless, have approached the infirmities and maladies of his venerable parent with filial tenderness and caution, but with an earnest and resolute effort for the application of the necessary remedies. And, most certainly, he would have repelled with pious indignation the treachery of her false friends, and the violence of her implacable adversaries. It is much to be lamented that his design was not accomplished: for the execution of it by him would, in all probability, at least have furnished us with a model of the style and tone in which the controversy of the Church should be maintained against her adversaries.

But what would Barrow have said, if he had been doomed to live in our times? Nay, what would his antagonists themselves have thought, if they had seen the things which we see, and heard the things which we hear? How would the spirit of the Owens, and the Henrys, and the Baxters, have been stirred within them, had they been told that the care and responsibility of the magistrate reaches not to spiritual things—that the only service which the state owes to religion, is to leave her, like commerce, to shift for herself—that the law should cease to stretch forth her hand for the maintenance of our sacred edifices—and, in short, that the union of Church and State is a solecism in Christian society? Doctrines like these are almost enough, one would think, to disturb the ancient Puritans in their graves, and to make their dry bones live, and walk the earth again. And yet, these are the doctrines which are now familiar as household words with their descendants. And these are the doctrines against which Barrow would have to gird himself up, if he were now living, to note “the *humours of parties*,” both Churchmen and Dissenters, and to do the office of a righteous arbitrator between them. It is no

longer now, as it was in his time, a question touching the surplice, and the hood, and the cross in baptism, and the kneeling at the altar. It is no longer a question between Episcopal government and Sectarian government. It is no longer a question between Arminian doctrine and Calvinistic doctrine. It is a question whether, or not, there shall be any public and national recognition of Christianity among us. It is a question whether Christ's declaration that his *kingdom is not of this world* is to absolve all earthly rulers from the duty of maintaining and promoting his spiritual dominion. This is the main question now. And, in comparison with this, all subordinate questions well nigh vanish out of sight. And most gladly should we behold another Barrow among us, ready to grapple with this question, and to bear down upon it with all the force of his mighty intellect, and "ponderous erudition." *Exoriare aliquis!*

And yet—when we come to reflect—even if an advocate *should* arise, combining, in his own person, all the wisdom, and all the learning, and all the intellectual might, and all the spiritual purity, which have ever shed a glory round the head of our Church—what could such an advocate do, in these days of rebuke and contumely? Has not the ten-pound bill made the most desperate and factious representatives of Dissent virtually the masters of the House of Commons? And has it not made the House of Commons the master of the empire? And have not the Dissenters, now, thrown back at the heads of the ministers all their concessions, and their piece-meal reforms, and declared that nothing will satisfy them but the separation of the Church from the State, or, in other words, the utter extermination of the Church? Let us not deceive ourselves. If all the worthies of the Church of England were to revisit the earth, and were, in person, to maintain her righteous cause in the presence of our "fierce democracy," they would soon find that—

"They might as well go stand upon the beach,
And bid the main-flood bate his usual height;"

they might as well attempt to scourge the tempest, and to bind the ocean with chains. There is, now, we verily believe, but One Power who can say to the deluge, *thus far shalt thou go and no further!*—even He "whose property is, to show his mercies then "greatest, when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of."* And our prayer, and our endeavour, must be, that the Church may not be found, in the hour of her need, altogether unworthy of His protection and support.

* Hooker.

ART. VII.—*The Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge.* 3 vols.
London: Pickering. 1834.

WE were engaged in preparing the following article, when we heard with extreme pain of the decease of Mr. Coleridge. Our renewed study of his poems had brought us into fresh communion with his spirit; he had become our companion; we were aware that he had long been stretched upon a couch of pain, but the intelligence that he was no more in this world, glowing with the creations of his own imagination, or absorbed in the profound abysses of his own original philosophy, awoke within us the anguish which friends feel when the sufferer expires, though hopelessness of recovery had long been tutoring them to endure the event.

If in some of our subsequent remarks we have warmly eulogized Mr. Coleridge, we have not been misled by any false sympathies with death. We have ever thought him in possession of the highest qualities of true poetry, as well as the most comprehensive views of human nature.

Like those of his friend Mr. Wordsworth, his poems have been received with indifference and aversion and even contempt by some, with love and admiration by others. As he has himself complained in his *Biographia Literaria*, some of his enemies first accused him of "too ornate and elaborately poetic diction," and then, with disgraceful inconsistency, reversed the accusation and charged him with bald and prosaic language, with an affected simplicity both of matter and of manner. And many more have thrown them aside as unintelligible, and supplied their lack of judgment by the violence of aspersion. We pretend not to assert that Mr. Coleridge's compositions are faultless. Our readers will hereafter perceive that we allow some portions of them to be justly obnoxious to several charges; still as they do not form *the character* of his works, as at immense intervals they are but spots in a flood of light, it may be useful to inquire, Why did he originally meet with so cruel a reception? Why are many of his most extravagant admirers *now*, the very men who once most ruthlessly strove to consign him to oblivion?

We recollect Mr. Wordsworth's dignified apology for his own poems, when in the preface to his *Lyrical Ballads*, he accounted for our deteriorated taste by the social modifications which were rapidly taking place in the country.

"A multitude of causes," he says, "unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the
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mind, and, unfitting it for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events, which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident, which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the country have conformed themselves. The invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakespeare and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse."

We allow to a considerable extent the correctness of this reasoning, but believe it insufficient. We conceive that, perfectly independent of any civil modifications, the taste of the public has been materially formed by two authors, whose minds would have taken the same position at whatever period they might have lived. Without adducing it as a detraction of their works, we think that the poetry and the prose of Sir W. Scott, and the poetry of Lord Byron, so accustomed us to a love of *sensuous* popular excitement, an excitement of the more ostensible emotions of our being, as unfitted us for more profound and meditative compositions.

It must be allowed that they restricted themselves to the more imposing sublimities of human nature; to the more stirring and obvious qualities of human passion. Their readers were thus borne onward by the torrent. They had to make no efforts themselves. It required no power of mind *somewhat* to sympathize with them; as the most unobservant must be arrested in terror at the lightning and the roar of heaven, or in awe at the foam and burst of the cataract, who would be perfectly insensible to the sublimities of an angel's song. The readers of England were thus kept in a mental fever. But all this is precisely the very opposite to that state of mind requisite for the due appreciation of Mr. Coleridge's writings. They are profoundly meditative. His readers must intensely think,—not only in order to realize his conceptions, but to detect the subtle yet true relations of his thoughts. Merely animal passion must be exorcised; and yet the soul must not divest itself of feeling, for there is nothing coldly abstract or frigidly intellectual. Most of his sublimities are not those of nature without, but of man within.

And further, in accounting for Mr. Coleridge's reception with the public, it must not be forgotten that the character of his philosophy, which is interwoven with his poems, would of itself, at any time, have prevented their immediate efficiency. That philosophy is original as well as mystic. It demands the most patient thought, first in order to detect its meaning, and then the

most vigorous judgment, either to harmonize it with acknowledged truths, or satisfy ourselves of its discrepancy. It must be very clear therefore that time is requisite for his success. Such a poet must *create* in his readers sympathies with himself. He must banish from them all love of passive, intellectual indulgence; he must make them work themselves. As he points to a rich and exhaustless mine, and offers to pioneer them, they must summon up effort to descend the shaft, and collect the ore for their own personal aggrandizement. What a revolution of mental habit must this be, when men had been wont luxuriously to yield themselves to the poet's humour, pleased with the easy and willing minister to their passion? Yet Mr. Coleridge had to effect this, when he attempted to procure readers and admirers. As if some daring aspirant to fame called upon slaves of sense,—who on violet beds had been inhaling the wafted odours,—to rise and gird themselves for some mountainous ascent, that amid Alpine snows and frosts they might catch the sublimity of a sunrise upon the blushing world.

We cannot forbear a second quotation from Mr. Wordsworth in support of our observation.

"The predecessors of an original genius of a high order will have smoothed the way for all that he has in common with them : and much he will have in common ; but for what is peculiarly his own, he will be called upon to clear and often to shape his own road ; he will be in the condition of Hannibal among the Alps."

Should Poetry then be philosophical? Is she wise to place this difficulty towards obtaining popular admiration in her own path? Lucretius is not as extensively read as Virgil; ought this to be a beacon? Surely not; for what is the distinction of poetry? It is not simply the accident of rhythm or cadencé. It is not simply the province of the imagination. We conceive that the most enlarged distinction between it and prose is, that whether it confines itself to fancy, or whether it interweaves fancy and reason, it must be characterized by *passion*. Prosaic philosophy must be abstract. It must not be an incarnation. But poetic philosophy must feel. And therefore, since philosophy can be the field of emotion, she can be poetic. Thus we give poetry an illimitable range. "She is the breath and finer spirit of *all* knowledge: the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." There is impassioned poetry in astronomy, and Milton breathed it. There is impassioned poetry in botany, and it was the inspiration of Linnæus. Above all, there is the poetry of human nature, inclusive of all her laws and processes of thought and divine combinations.

It would be a painful blank if this last department was disregarded. Nothing, irrespective of religious truth, can so well inculcate self-observation:—nothing so fill man with the consciousness of his own dignity. The mind that would be frozen by didactic, anatomizing metaphysics, glows with a healthy warmth when it imbibes the same truths, kindled with the appropriate passions of their poetry.

Wordsworth and Coleridge have both occupied the same field. They were friends from their youth. Originally some of their poems were published in the same volume. Nevertheless, there is an essential dissimilarity. We question if any one of their poems, had they been all confusedly intermingled, would, upon an arrangement of them, been erroneously referred to either author. There is more of *gentle* and *calm* observation in the author of the "Excursion:"—more of the tumultuous and violent in the author of "Remorse." One reminds us of the calm summer's eve, before the mists have arisen: all is soothing and distinct: there is no obscurity. But there is too much energy in the other for such a time. Neither has he sufficient contentment for the hour. Pain and disappointment and unsatisfied affections are too often obvious. Besides, there is a difference in their philosophy. Wordsworth, unquestionably, is more intelligible, more observant of the mind's phenomena than intent upon their latent causes; and he has therefore less profundity, and less error.

The volumes before us contain the whole of Mr. Coleridge's previously published pieces and some new ones:—a curious assemblage of the gay and grave; the obvious and the profound; the rash and the matured; the religious and the irreverent. With all our avowed feelings of esteem and veneration and even love of Mr. Coleridge, we cannot withhold our last classification. As religious critics we must say,—especially, too, as we regard Mr. Coleridge in a religious light,—would that such a piece as the "Devil's Thoughts" had been expunged! It is neither worthy of his wit or of his religion.

We shall now proceed to consider several of his principal poems, with the hope that our readers will, from their own examination, agree with our previous opinions respecting them.

The observant reader may perceive in his juvenile poems many traits of his character and many earnestness of his matured genius. His monody on the death of Chatterton, so full of pathos, so tenderly sympathetic, may be considered an emblem of one feature of his mind. He was fond of "weeping with those who wept;" sorrow was more congenial than exultation.

“ Poor Chatterton ! he sorrows for thy fate
Who would have praised and loved thee, ere too late.
Poor Chatterton ! farewell ! of darkest hues
This chaplet cast I on thy unshaped tomb ;
But dare no longer on the sad theme muse,
Lest kindred woes persuade a kindred doom :
For oh ! big gall-drops, shook from Folly’s wing,
Have blackened the fair promise of my spring ;
And the stern Fate transpierced with viewless dart
The last pale Hope that shivered at my heart !”—vol. i. p. 11.

There is much power, mingled with the same tender sympathy we have already mentioned, in his tenth sonnet.

“ Sweet Mercy ! how my very heart has bled
To see thee, poor Old Man ! and thy gray hair
Hoar with the snowy blast : while no one cares
To clothe thy shrivelled limbs and palsied head.
My Father ! throw away this tattered vest
That mocks thy shivering ! take my garment—use
A young man’s arm ! I’ll melt these frozen dews
That hang from thy white beard and numb thy breast.
My Sara too shall tend thee, like a child :
And thou shalt talk, in our fire-side’s recess,
Of purple pride, that scowls on wretchedness.
He did not so, the Galilean mild,
Who met the Lazars turn’d from rich men’s doors,
And called them Friends, and healed their noisome sores !”
vol. i. pp. 68, 69.

The difficulties of poverty, increased by much physical pain and domestic distress, added to that melancholy temperament which is mostly in the society of poetic genius. It was but portraying his personal feelings, when, perhaps wounded by the insolence of wealth, and fretted with his own inferiority, he speaks of

“ Philosophers and Bards
Spread in concentric circles : they whose souls,
Conscious of their high dignities from God,
Brook not wealth’s rivalry ! and they who long
Enamoured with the charms of order, hate
The unseemly disproportion : and whoe’er
Turn with mild sorrow from the victor’s car
And the low puppetry of thrones, to muse
On that blest triumph, when the patriot Sage
Called the red lightnings from the o’er-rushing cloud
And dashed the beauteous terrors on the earth
Smiling majestic.”—vol. i. pp. 90, 91.

This incipient dissatisfaction with things around him, blended

with that intense love of liberty which is inseparable from a great and noble mind, gave birth to many of his verses in praise of the French Revolution, and beguiled him into too warm apologies for the horrors which disgraced it. Most of these pieces are distinguished by such unrivalled energy, that we find it difficult to refrain from quotation. But events subsequent to their composition have so unquestionably demonstrated the fallacy and danger of the principles on which that national movement proceeded, that we regret that at all, and especially at the present period of *our* history, such political stimulants are mixed up with the sager maxims of experience and reflection.

Of his *Juvenile Poems*, his "Religious Musings" are transcendently the best. He styles it a desultory poem; and in truth it does require considerable research to find out by what aid of suggestion he leaped the chasms which disclose themselves between every thought and its successor. Still there is a link, and the tracing it is an instructive specimen of his mental combinations. It was composed upon a Christmas Eve. The hour naturally suggests to him the birth of the Redeemer, and

"The vision of the heavenly multitude
Who hymned the song of peace o'er Bethlehem's fields."

Without glancing at the interval, the poet passes onward to the fearful hour of his crucifixion,—the prayer for mercy on his enemies, which was uttered by the blessed sufferer, and the joy in earth's reconciliation which succeeded.

"Divine light filled heaven with ecstasy."

From its effect in heaven he proceeds more extensively to its effect on earth. From the contemplation of the Saviour's cross, the redeemed obtain the best exhibition of the Divine character, and inhale faith and love and hope, and spiritual courage, and peace undisturbed by all the ills and contingencies of life. And then follows this sublime and meditative musing:—

"Thus from the Elect, regenerate through faith,
Pass the dark Passions and what thirsty Cares
Drink up the Spirit, and the dim regards
Self-centre. Lo they vanish! or acquire
New names, new features—by supernal grace
Enrobed with Light, and naturalized in Heaven.
As when a shepherd on a vernal morn
Through some thick fog creeps timorous with slow foot,
Darkling he fixes on the immediate road
His downward eye: all else of fairest kind
Hid or deformed. But lo! the bursting Sun!

Touched by the enchantment of that sudden beam
Straight the black vapour melteth, and in globes
Of dewy glitter gems each plant and tree ;
On every leaf, on every blade it hangs !
Dance glad the new-born intermingling rays,
And wide around the landscape streams with glory !

“ There is one Mind, one omnipresent Mind,
Omnific. His most holy name is Love.
Truth of subliming import ! with the which
Who feeds and saturates his constant soul,
He from his small particular orbit flies
With blest outstarting ! From Himself he flies,
Stands in the sun, and with no partial gaze
Views all creation ; and he loves it all,
And blesses it, and calls it very good !
This is indeed to dwell with the Most High !
Cherubs and rapture-trembling Seraphim
Can press no nearer to the Almighty's throne.

“ 'Tis the sublime of man,
Our noontide majesty, to know ourselves
Parts and proportions of one wondrous whole !
This fraternizes man, this constitutes
Our charities and bearings. But 'tis God
Diffused through all, that doth make all one whole :
This the worst superstition, him except
Aught to desire, Supreme reality !
The plenitude and permanence of bliss !
O Fiends of Superstition ! not that oft
The erring priest hath stained with brother's blood
Your grisly idols, not for this may wrath
Thunder against you from the Holy One !
But o'er some plain that steameth to the sun,
Peopled with death ; or where more hideous Trade
Loud-laughing packs his bales of human anguish ;
I will raise up a mourning, O ye Fiends !
And curse your spells, that film the eye of Faith,
Hiding the present God ; whose presence lost,
The moral world's cohesion, we become
An anarchy of Spirits ! Toy-bewitched,
Made blind by lusts, disherited of Soul,
No common centre Man, no common sire
Knoweth ! A sordid solitary thing,
Mid countless brethren with a lonely heart
Through courts and cities the smooth savage roams
Feeling himself, his own low self the whole ;
When he by sacred sympathy might make
The whole one self ! self, that no alien knows !

Self, far-diffused as Fancy's wing can travel !
 Self, spreading still ! Oblivious of its own,
 Yet all of all possessing ! This is Faith !
 This the Messiah's destined victory !" —vol. i. p. 85—87.

After this, the poet betrays his youth and inexperience in the uncontrolled fervor with which he contrasts with this religious benevolence the infuriate passions which the Peninsular war elicited. We mourn over his evident forgiveness of the tumults of the French Revolution ; but his better emotions soon awaken in him the invocation,

" Return, pure Faith ! return, meek Piety !
 The kingdoms of the world are yours : each heart
 Self-governed, the vast family of Love
 Raised from the common earth by common toil
 Enjoy the equal produce. Such delights
 As float to earth, permitted visitants !
 When in some hour of solemn jubilee
 The massy gates of Paradise are thrown
 Wide open, and forth come in fragments wild
 Sweet echoes of unearthly melodies,
 And odours snatched from beds of amaranth,
 And they, that from the crystal river of life
 Spring up on freshened wing, ambrosial gales !
 The favoured good man in his lonely walk
 Perceives them, and his silent spirit drinks
 Strange bliss which he shall recognize in heaven.
 And such delights, such strange beatitudes,
 Seize on my young anticipating heart
 When that blest future rushes on my view !
 For in his own and in his Father's might
 The Saviour comes ! While as the Thousand Years
 Lead up their mystic dance, the Desert shouts !
 Old Ocean claps his hands ! The mighty Dead
 Rise to new life, whoe'er from earliest time
 With conscious zeal had urged Love's wondrous plan,
 Coadjutors of God." —vol. i. p. 95.

We have given these large quotations from this poem because we consider it one of his sublimest compositions. It is also a development of his religion at that period. It was impregnated with Platonism ; and (we much question whether in his later years he would not have added that) in its tendencies it was injuriously latitudinarian.

Whatever may be our veneration for sages and philosophers, we can never conceive that their science alone is a title to the blessedness of heaven, and it is not uncharitable to refuse our agreement with Mr. Coleridge when in youth he wrote as if he

conceived the knowledge of electricity would be a substitute for Franklin's want of faith; or that the natural philosophy of Priestley would expiate the heinousness of his denial of the Atonement.

This poem suggests an instructive comparison between Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Shelley. They both professed to breathe intensely what they each called a love of universal nature. But the former traced the true source of this feeling to a knowledge of the God of Revelation, of "God in Christ." The Atonement was to his mind an irrefragable proof of the infinite love of God. It taught him that the evils and woes in the universe would, through this economy, be no impeachment of the Divine Wisdom. But here Mr. Shelley failed: if he deified any abstract notion at all; if he attributed to it any intelligence, it was that of simple nature, beneath whose sway sorrows and anguish were permitted without any future remedial provision. And surely such a view as this is wholly incompatible with unalloyed complacency in the universe.

The "Ancient Mariner," and "Christabel" are wild but exquisitely beautiful sports of his fancy. They are doubtless known to most of our readers; but we are sure that an analysis and examination of them will not be uninteresting. They are both founded upon the belief in the existence of invisible agencies, who directly interfere, as the ministers of good or evil, in our mundane affairs.

" They seem
With various province and apt agency
Each to pursue its own self-centring end.
Some nurse the infant diamond in the mine;
Some roll the genial juices through the oak;
Some drive the mutinous clouds to clash in air,
And rushing on the storm with whirlwind speed,
Yoke the red lightnings to their volleying car.
Thus these pursue their never-varying course,
No eddy in their stream. Others, more wild,
With complex interests weaving human fates,
Duteous or proud, alike obedient all,
Evolve the process of eternal good."—vol. i. p. 100.

Amid such poetic scenery, the Ancient Mariner is introduced. Venerable with his gray beard,—convulsed in muscular agony; his eye glittering with restless terror,—his body wasted from some remorseless and incessant alarm,—the hoary sailor, at the moment of his paroxysm, casually encounters three youths, who are invited to a wedding feast. For some crime which he has perpetrated he is compelled at intervals to make confession:—

“ At an uncertain hour

That agony returns ;
And till my ghastly tale is told,
This heart within me burns.
I pass like night from land to land ;
I have strange power of speech ;
That moment that his face I see,
I know the man that must hear me,
To him my tale I teach.”—vol. ii. p. 25.

By this instinct he is sure that one of these bidden guests must hear his story. He instantly seizes him with his “skinny hand,” and commences the recital. The youth is infuriate, and strives to relax his grasp, when the mariner’s glittering eye, by some supernatural charm, detains him. His auditor is quiet, and he proceeds. It is a tale of terror. The ancient mariner’s vessel was driven by a resistless storm-blast to the southern pole.

“ And now there came both mist and snow,
And it grew wond’rous cold :
And ice, mast high, came floating by,
As green as emerald.

“ And through the drifts the snowy clifts
Did send a dismal sheen :
Nor shapes of men nor beasts we ken—
The ice was all between.

“ The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around :
It cracked and growled, and roared and howled,
Like noises in a swound !”—vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

In this horrid situation an albatross—the messenger of some guardian spirit—alighted on the mast. The storm-blast instantly veered in its direction, and rescued the mariner and his crew. From some inexplicable impulse he cruelly shot the albatross ; and then came his punishment. The storm still continued, until it drove them back again to the line, when the ship became suddenly becalmed.

“ Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down,
’Twas sad as sad could be ;
And we did speak only to break
The silence of the sea !

“ All in a hot and copper sky,
The bloody Sun, at noon,
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the Moon.

“ Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, nor breath nor motion ;
As idle as a painted ship,
Upon a painted ocean.

- " Water, water, every where,
And all the boards did shrink :
Water, water, every where,
Nor any drop to drink.
- " The very deep did rot : O Christ !
That ever this should be !
Yea, slimy things did crawl with legs
Upon the slimy sea.
- " About, about, in reel and rout
The death-fires danced at night ;
The water, like a witch's oils,
Burnt green, and blue, and white.
- " And some in dreams assured were
Of the spirit that plagued us so ;
Nine fathom deep he had followed us
From the land of mist and snow.
- " And every tongue, through utter drought,
Was withered at the root ;
We could not speak, no more than if
We had been choked with soot.
- " Ah ! well a day, what evil looks
Had I from old and young !
Instead of the cross, the Albatross
About my neck was hung."—vol. ii. p. 6, 7.

We know nothing in modern poetry more appallingly sublime than the following description of their discovery of a sail, their disappointment and death, with the exception of the Ancient Mariner :

- " There passed a weary time. Each throat
Was parched, and glazed each eye.
A weary time ! a weary time !
How glazed each weary eye,
When looking westward, I beheld
A something in the sky.
- " At first it seemed a little speck,
And then it seemed a mist ;
It moved and moved, and took at last
A certain shape, I wist.
- " A speck, a mist, a shape, I wist !
And still it neared and neared ;
As if it dodged a water-sprite,
It plunged and tacked and veered.
- " With throats unslaked, with black lips baked,
We could not laugh nor wail ;
Through utter drought all dumb we stood !
I bit my arm, I sucked the blood,
And cried, A sail ! a sail !

- " With throats unslaked, with black lips baked,
Agape they heard me call :
Gramercy ! they for joy did grin,
And all at once their breath drew in,
As they were drinking all.
- " See ! see ! (I cried) she tacks no more !
Hither to work us weal ;
Without a breeze, without a tide,
She steadies with upright keel !
- " The western wave was all a-flame.
The day was well nigh done !
Almost upon the western wave
Rested the broad bright Sun ;
When that strange shape drove suddenly
Betwixt us and the Sun.
- " And straight the Sun was flecked with bars,
(Heaven's Mother send us grace)
As if through a dungeon-grate he peered
With broad and burning face.
- " Alas ! (thought I, and my heart beat loud)
How fast she nears and nears !
Are those her sails that glance in the Sun,
Like restless gossameres ?
- " Are those her ribs through which the Sun
Did peer as through a grate ?
And is that Woman all her crew ?
Is that a Death ? and are there two ?
Is Death that woman's mate ?
- " Her lips were red, her looks were free,
Her locks were yellow as gold :
Her skin was as white as leprosy,
The Night-mare, Life-in-Death was she
Who thicks man's blood with cold.
- " The naked hulk alongside came,
And the twain were casting dice ;
' The game is done ! I've won, I've won !
Quoth she, and whistles thrice.
- " The Sun's rim dips ; the stars rush out :
At one stride comes the dark ;
With far-heard whisper, o'er the sea,
Off shot the spectre-bark.
- " We listened and looked sideways up !
Fear at my heart, as at a cup,
My life-blood seemed to sip !
The stars were dim, and thick the night,
The steersman's face by his lamp gleamed white ;

From the sails the dew did drip—
Till clomb above the eastern bar
The horned Moon, with one bright star
Within the nether tip.

“ One after one, by the star-dogged Moon,
Too quick for groan or sigh,
Each turned his face with a ghastly pang,
And cursed me with his eye.

“ Four times fifty living men,
(And I heard nor sigh nor groan)
With heavy thump, a lifeless lump,
They dropped down one by one.

“ The souls did from their bodies fly,—
They fled to bliss or woe !
And every soul, it passed me by,
Like the whizz of my cross-bow !”—vol. ii. p. 7—10.

Thus alone, the Ancient Mariner, with his soul in agony—haunted by the dead man's eye, fruitlessly striving to pray—at length looked upon the sea snakes “ beyond the shadow of the ship,” and unconsciously admired and blessed them. Upon this hinged his deliverance. He had suffered for his cruelty to one of God's creatures; he now, on the return of benevolence to his bosom, was forgiven. Of the sea-snakes he says,

“ O happy living things ! no tongue
Their beauty might declare :
A spring of love gushed from my heart,
And I blessed them unaware :
Sure my kind saint took pity on me,
And I blessed them unaware.

“ The selfsame moment I could pray ;
And from my neck so free
The Albatross fell off, and sank
Like lead into the sea.”—vol. ii. p. 13.

The arrival of rain to refresh his parched limbs—of a breeze to rescue his vessel—of auspicious spirits, to animate for a time the dead men's bodies, and enable them to work the ship—their entrance into the haven of the Ancient Mariner's country—the alarm of the pilot and hermit of the wood at the sight of the vessel, and the evanishment of the spirits—the sinking of the ship—the rescue of the Mariner in the pilot's boat—his confession of his crime—his absolution—all these fanciful incidents are told with surpassing power.

Of course, in all sober reason such a poem must be considered but the play of a wild and romantic fancy. It is a tale whose moral is the duty of love and kindness to all God's creatures ;

“ Farewell, farewell ! but this I tell
 To thee, thou Wedding-Guest !
 He prayeth well, who loveth well
 Both man and bird and beast.

“ He prayeth best, who loveth best
 All things both great and small ;
 For the dear God who loveth us,
 He made and loveth all.”—vol. ii. p. 26.

All the mariner's sufferings arose from his cruelty to the albatross, and his instant deliverance followed upon his unconsciously loving and blessing the water-snakes around him. Yet, puerile though our didactic description of it may seem, there is nothing such in the poem. None but the most vigorous conception could have depicted it. We defy any one of a strong imagination to read what we have already quoted, without this acknowledgment. We must nevertheless dispute the fitness of the whole of the Ancient Mariner, for the inculcation of a moral. If this was in the least Mr. Coleridge's intention, he erred in the choice of instruments. When fiction has this object, its incidents should be *the probable*. The parables of the divine Redeemer invariably observed this rule. *There* were no avenues open for scepticism. But as a tale of romance, as an indulgence of that element of our being, which is ever claiming affinity with unearthly and supernatural intelligences—it has every characteristic of terror and sublimity.

We have so extensively quoted from the Ancient Mariner, that we must very briefly advert to Christabel. We think it far more congenial with the poet's own disposition. It is quite as romantic as the other, and more gentle.

Christabel, the lovely daughter of Sir Leoline, is a victim to the witchery of a young Lady Geraldine, whom she had hospitably rescued from her ravishers. Geraldine professes to be the child of Lord Roland de Vaux, the earliest but estranged friend of Sir Leoline. The potent spell so entirely succeeds, that the innocent object of her father's love incurs his sudden detestation. This is the simple plot of the poem. It is purposely and wisely left unfinished, for its completion must have dispersed the mystery which was essential to its supernatural character. We are left in ignorance whether Geraldine was the daughter of Lord Roland: whether she really had been violently abducted from her father's castle: whether Sir Leoline avenged her, or in the attempt was ruined: whether the spell upon Christabel was withdrawn. It is an exquisite fragment. To use Mr. Coleridge's favourite expression, the poem is “objective” more than any other of his pieces.

Christabel in the wood at midnight—the description of Geraldine—Christabel's chamber—the old baron's indignation at Geraldine's wrong—and his bard's dream—all deserve quotation, if our limits permitted us. The following is the scene of Christabel in the wood :

- “ Is the night chilly and dark ?
The night is chilly, but not dark.
The thin gray cloud is spread on high,
It covers but not hides the sky.
The moon is behind, and at the full ;
And yet she looks both small and dull.
The night is chill, the cloud is gray :
’Tis a month before the month of May,
And the Spring comes slowly up this way.
- “ The lovely lady, Christabel,
Whom her father loves so well,
What makes her in the wood so late,
A furlong from the castle gate ?
She had dreams all yesternight
Of her own betrothed knight ;
And she in the midnight wood will pray
For the weal of her lover that’s far away.
- “ She stole along, she nothing spoke,
The sighs she heav’d were soft and low,
And naught was green upon the oak,
But moss and rarest miseltoe :
She kneels beneath the huge oak tree,
And in silence prayeth she.
- “ The lady sprang up suddenly,
The lovely lady Christabel !
It moaned as near, as near can be,
But what it is, she cannot tell—
On the other side it seems to be,
Of the huge, broad-breasted, old oak tree.
- “ The night is chill, the forest bare ;
Is it the wind that moaneth bleak ?
There is not wind enough in the air
To move away the ringlet curl
From the lovely lady’s cheek—
There is not wind enough to twirl
The one red leaf, the last of its clan,
That dances as often as dance it can,
Hanging so light, and hanging so high,
On the topmost twig that looks up at the sky.
- “ Hush, beating heart of Christabel !
Jesu, Maria, shield her well !

She folded her arms beneath her cloak,
And stole to the other side of the oak.

What sees she there ?

“ There she sees a damsel bright,
Drest in a silken robe of white,
That shadowy in the moonlight shone :
The neck that made that white robe wan,
Her stately neck, and arms were bare ;
Her blue-veined feet unsandal'd were,
And wildly glittered here and there
The gems entangled in her hair.
I guess, 'twas frightful there to see
A lady so richly clad as she—
Beautiful exceedingly !”—vol. ii. pp. 30, 31.

We quote the following coincidence of thought in Mr. Coleridge's *Christabel* and Lord Byron's *Childe Harold*, not for the purpose of convicting either of them of plagiarism, but to prove that our author suffers nothing in the comparison :

“ Alas ! they had been friends in youth ;
But whispering tongues can poison truth ;
And constancy lives in realms above ;
And life is thorny ; and youth is vain ;
And to be wroth with one we love,
Doth work like madness in the brain.
And thus it chanced, as I divine,
With Roland and Sir Leoline.
Each spake words of high disdain
And insult to his heart's best brother :
They parted—ne'er to meet again !
But never either found another
To free the hollow heart from paining.
They stood aloof, the scars remaining,
Like cliffs which had been rent asunder ;
A dreary sea now flows between ;—
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,
Shall wholly do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been.”—
vol. ii. pp. 44, 45.

Now, where the swift Rhone cleaves his way between
Heights which appear as lovers who have parted
In hate ; whose mining depths so intervene
That they can meet no more, though broken-hearted,
Though in their souls, which thus each other thwarted,
Love was the very root of the fond rage
Which blighted their life's bloom, and then departed ;
Itself expired, but leaving them an age
Of years all winters, war within themselves to wage.

Childe Harold, canto iii,

Perhaps some such an instance as this gave rise to Mr. Coleridge's remark in his preface to *Christabel*:

"The first part of the following poem was written in the year 1797, at Stowey, in the county of Somerset. The second part after my return from Germany, in the year 1800, at Keswick, Cumberland. It is probable, that if the poem had been finished at either of the former periods, or if even the first and second parts had been published in the year 1800, the impression of its originality would have been much greater than I dare at present expect. But for this I have only my own indolence to blame. The dates are mentioned for the exclusive purpose of precluding charges of plagiarism or servile imitation from myself. For there is amongst us a set of critics, who seem to hold, that every possible thought and image is traditional; who have no notion that there are such things as fountains in the world, small as well as great; and who would therefore charitably derive every rill they behold flowing, from a perforation made in some other man's tank. I am confident, however, that as far as the present poem is concerned, the celebrated poets, whose writings I might be suspected of having imitated, either in particular passages, or in the tone and the spirit of the whole, would be among the first to vindicate me from the charge, and who, on any striking coincidence, would permit me to address them in this doggerel version of two monkish Latin hexameters.

"'Tis mine, and it is likewise yours;
But an if this will not do;
Let it be mine, good friend! for I
Am the poorer of the two."—vol. ii. pp. 28, 29.

We have submitted to our readers some of our author's best specimens of meditative and romantically descriptive verse. In our anxious hope of successfully advocating the poet's claims to the admiration and study of our readers, we unwillingly omit his philosophical and affectionate address to Wordsworth; his *Eolian Harp*; his *Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*; his *Love's Apparition and Evanishment*; and many others—all distinguished by either the most refined gentleness of passion, or the loftiest communings, or the deep philosophy of nature. We must content ourselves with his *Ode to Dejection*.

DEJECTION: AN ODE.

WELL! if the bard was weatherwise, who made
The grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence,
This night, so tranquil now, will not go hence
Unroused by winds, that ply a busier trade
Than those which mould yon cloud in lazy flakes,
Or the dull sobbing draft, that moans and rakes
Upon the strings of this Eolian lute,
Which better far were mute.

For lo! the new-moon winter-bright!
 And overspread with phantom light,
 (With swimming phantom light o'erspread
 But rimmed and circled by a silver thread,)

I see the old moon in her lap, foretelling
 The coming on of rain and squally blast.
 And oh! that even now the gust were swelling,
 And the slant night-shower driving loud and fast!
 Those sounds which oft have raised me, whilst they awed,
 And sent my soul abroad,
 Might now perhaps their wonted impulse give,
 Might startle this dull pain, and make it move and live!
 A grief without a pang, void, dark, and drear,
 A stifled, drowsy, unimpassioned grief,
 Which finds no natural outlet, no relief,
 In word, or sigh, or tear—

O Lady! in this wan and heartless mood,
 To other thoughts by yonder throstle woo'd,
 All this long eve, so balmy and serene,
 Have I been gazing on the western sky,
 And its peculiar tint of yellow green:
 And still I gaze—and with how blank an eye!
 And those thin clouds above, in flakes and bars,
 That give away their motion to the stars;
 Those stars, that glide behind them or between,
 Now sparkling, now bedimmed, but always seen:
 Yon crescent moon as fixed as if it grew
 In its own cloudless, starless lake of blue;
 I see them all so excellently fair,
 I see, not feel how beautiful they are!

My genial spirits fail;
 And what can these avail
 To lift the smothering weight from off my breast?
 It were a vain endeavour,
 Though I should gaze for ever
 On that green light that lingers in the west:
 I may not hope from outward forms to win
 The passion and the life, whose fountains are within.

Oh Lady! we receive but what we give,
 And in our life alone does nature live;
 Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud!
 And would we aught behold of higher worth,
 Than that inanimate cold world allowed
 To the poor loveless ever-anxious crowd,
 Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth,
 A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
 Enveloping the Earth—
 And from the soul itself must there be sent,
 A sweet and potent voice, of its own birth,
 Of all sweet sounds the life and element!

O pure of heart ! thou need'st not ask of me
What this strong music in the soul may be !
What, and wherein it doth exist,
This light, this glory, this fair luminous mist,
This beautiful and beauty-making power.

Joy, virtuous Lady ! Joy that ne'er was given,
Save to the pure, and in their purest hour,
Life, and Life's effluence, cloud at once and shower ;
Joy, Lady ! is the spirit and the power,
Which wedding Nature to us gives in dower,

A new Earth and new Heaven,
Undreamt of by the sensual and the proud—
Joy is the sweet voice, Joy the luminous cloud—

We in ourselves rejoice !

And thence flows all that charms or ear or sight,
All melodies the echoes of that voice,
All colours a suffusion from that light.

There was a time when, though my path was rough,
This joy within me dallied with distress,
And all misfortunes were but as the stuff

Whence Fancy made me dream of happiness :
For hope grew round me, like the twining vine,
And fruits, and foliage, not my own, seemed mine,
But now afflictions bow me down to earth :
Nor care I, that they rob me of my mirth,

But oh ! each visitation
Suspends what nature gave me at my birth,
My shaping spirit of Imagination.

For not to think of what I needs must feel,
But to be still and patient, all I can ;
And haply by abstruse research to steal

From my own nature all the natural man—

This was my sole resource, my only plan :
Till that which suits a part infects the whole,
And now is almost grown the habit of my soul.

Hence, viper thoughts, that coil around my mind,
Reality's dark dream !

I turn from you, and listen to the wind,
Which long has raved unnoticed. What a scream
Of agony by torture lengthened out

That lute sent forth ! Thou Wind that ravest without,

Bare craig, or mountain-tairn,* or blasted tree,
Or pine-grove whither woodman never clumb,
Or lonely house, long held the witches home,

Methinks were fitter instruments for thee,

* Tairn is a small lake, generally if not always applied to the lakes up in the mountains, and which are the feeders of those in the valleys. This address to the Storm-wind will not appear extravagant to those who have heard it at night, and in a mountainous country.

Mad Lutanist ! who in this month of showers,
Of dark brown gardens, and of peeping flowers,
Makes Devils' yule, with worse than wintry song,
The blossoms, buds, and timorous leaves among.

Thou Actor, perfect in all tragic sounds !
Thou mighty Poet, e'en to frenzy bold !

What tell'st thou now about ?

'Tis of the rushing of a host in rout,

With groans of trampled men, with smarting wounds—
At once they groan with pain, and shudder with the cold !
But hush ! there is a pause of deepest silence !

And all that noise, as of a rushing crowd,
With groans, and tremulous shudderings—all is over—
It tells another tale, with sounds less deep and loud !

A tale of less affright,
And tempered with delight,

As Otway's self had framed the tender lay,

'Tis of a little child

Upon a lonesome wild,

Not far from home, but she had lost her way :
And now moans low in bitter grief and fear,
And now screams loud, and hopes to make her mother hear.

'Tis midnight, but small thoughts have I of sleep :

Full seldom may my friend such vigils keep !

Visit her, gentle Sleep ! with wings of healing,

And may this storm be but a mountain-birth,
May all the stars hang bright about her dwelling,

Silent as though they watched the sleeping Earth !

With light heart may she rise,

Gay fancy, cheerful eyes,

Joy lift her spirit, joy attune her voice ;
To her may all things live, from pole to pole,
Their life the eddying of her living soul !

O simple spirit, guided from above,

Dear Lady ! friend devoutest of my choice,

Thus mayest thou ever, evermore rejoice."—vol. i. p. 35—40.

What can be more true to the nature of a mind of sensibility ? Dejection colours all the surrounding scenery ; robs the beautiful of their attractions ; refuses to commune with aught but the dropping rain and the moaning blast. The soul, the fountain of loveliness, " a beautiful and beauty-making power : " the sudden rise from metaphysical abstraction, to welcome the wind which he had invoked, but had so long unnoticed : all these are touches of mighty poesy. We would hazard the remark that this Ode combines more of the writer's peculiarity and beauties than any other.

The second of the volumes before us contains Mr. Coleridge's two dramatic pieces, *Remorse* and *Zapolya*. We think them much less indicative of his characteristic powers than are his mi-

nor poems. The conduct of Don Alvar, in Remorse, never had a parallel. He has too much disinterestedness to be a natural character, and displays too utter a forgetfulness of his own situation in the philosophical attempt to awaken remorse in an unprincipled brother, who had plotted his assassination and was aiming at the possession of his betrothed. Religion would impart this nobleness; but without that, we are sure no stoicism whatever would be so unimpassioned as to attempt to reclaim from vice the wounder of one's love, or the plotter against one's existence. His character, therefore, is unphilosophical. To be a metaphysical experimentalist, a man must bear no selfish relation to the subject of his mental anatomy.

But apart from this leading defect, the tragedy has some terribly faithful developments of progress in guilt—of revenge. Mr. Coleridge never could have written good tragedies without laying aside his most striking talent. Men do not ordinarily philosophize—but none of our poet's impersonations could be free from this inclination. For him to succeed, all his *dramatis personæ* should have been the disciples of the Lyceum, or amid the groves of the Academy. How true to the life would he have given us the soliloquies of Plato, or the grave and lonely self-communings of Cato the younger!

The following scene will furnish our readers with a specimen of his powers in this department. Alhadra is a Moorish chieftainess, whose husband has just been murdered by Ordonio.

“ SCENE III.—*The Mountains by Moonlight.*

Alhad. alone in a Moorish dress.

Alh. Yon hanging woods, that touch'd by autumn seem
As they were blossoming hues of fire and gold;
The flower-like woods, most lovely in decay,
The many clouds, the sea, the rock, the sands,
Lie in the silent moonshine; and the owl,
(Strange! very strange!) the scritch-owl only wakes!
Sole voice, sole eye of all this world of beauty!
Unless, perhaps, she sings her screeching song
To a herd of wolves, that skulk athirst for blood.
Why such a thing am I?—Where are these men?
I need the sympathy of human faces,
To beat away this deep contempt for all things,
Which quenches my revenge. Oh! would to Alla,
The raven, or the sea-mew, were appointed
To bring me food! or rather that my soul
Could drink in life from the universal air!
It were a lot divine in some small skiff
Along some Ocean's boundless solitude,
To float for ever with a careless course,
And think myself the only being alive!

My children!—Isidore's children!—Son of Valdez,
 This hath new strung mine arm. Thou coward tyrant!
 To stupify a woman's heart with anguish,
 Till she forgot—even that she was a mother!

[She fixes her eye on the earth. Then drop in one after another from different parts of the stage, a considerable number of Morescoes, all in Moorish garments and Moorish armour. They form a circle at a distance round Alhadra, and remain silent till Naomi enters.]

Nao. Woman! May Alla and the prophet bless thee!
 We have obeyed thy call. Where is our chief?
 And why didst thou enjoin these Moorish garments?

Alh. *(Raising her eyes and looking round on the circle.)* Warriors
 of Mahomet! faithful in the battle!

My countrymen! Come ye prepared to work
 An honourable deed? And would ye work it
 In the slave's garb? Curse on those Christian robes!
 They are spell-blasted: and whoever wears them
 His arm shrinks wither'd, his heart melts away,
 And his bones soften.

Nao. Where is Isidore?

Alh. This night I went from forth my house, and left
 His children all asleep: and he was living!
 And I return'd and found them still asleep,
 But he had perished——

All Morescoes. Perished?

Alh. He had perished!

Sleep on, poor babes! not one of you doth know
 That he is fatherless—a desolate orphan;
 Why should we wake them? Can an infant's arm
 Revenge his murder?

One Morescoe (to another). Did she say his murder?

Nao. Murder? Not murdered?

Alh. Murdered by a Christian!

[They all at once draw their sabres.]

Alh. *(To Naomi, who advances from the circle.)* Brother of

Zagri! fling away thy sword;

This is thy chieftain's!

[He steps forward to take it.]

Dost thou dare to receive it?

For I have sworn by Alla and the Prophet,
 No tear shall dim these eyes, this woman's heart
 Shall heave no groan, till I have seen that sword
 Wet with the life-blood of the son of Valdez!

[A pause.]

Ordonio was your chieftain's murderer!

Nao.

He dies, by Alla!

All. *(kneeling.)*

By Alla!

Alh. This night your chieftain armed himself,
 And hurried from me. But I followed him
 At a distance, till I saw him enter—there.

Nao.

The cavern?

Alh. Yes; the mouth of yonder cavern:
After a while I saw the son of Valdez
Rush by with flaring torch; he likewise entered.
There was another and a longer pause;
And once methought I heard the clash of swords!
And soon the son of Valdez re-appeared!
He flung his torch towards the moon in sport,
And seemed as he were mirthful! I stood listening,
Impatient for the footsteps of my husband!

Nao. Thou called'st him?

Alh. I crept into the cavern—
'Twas dark and very silent.

What saidst thou?

No! no! I did not dare call Isidore,
Lest I should hear no answer! A brief while,
Belike, I lost all thought and memory
Of that for which I came! After that pause,
O heaven! I heard a groan, and followed it:
And yet another groan, which guided me
Into a strange recess—and there was light,
A hideous light! his torch lay on the ground;
Its flame burnt dimly o'er a chasm's brink:
I spake; and whilst I spake a feeble groan
Came from that chasm! it was his last! his death-groan!

Nao.

Comfort her, Alla!

Alh. I stood in unimaginable trance
And agony that cannot be remembered,
Listening with horrid hope to hear a groan!
But I heard his last: my husband's death-groan!

Nao.

Haste! let us onward.

Alh.

I looked far down the pit—

My sight was bounded by a jutting fragment:
And it was stained with blood. Then first I shrieked,
My eye-balls burnt, my brain grew hot as fire,
And all the hanging drops of the wet roof
Turn'd into blood.—I saw them turn to blood!
And I was leaping wildly down the chasm,
When on the farther brink I saw his sword,
And it said vengeance!—Curses on my tongue!
The moon hath moved in Heaven, and I am here,
And he hath not had vengeance! Isidore!
Spirit of Isidore! thy murderer lives!
Away! away!

Alh.

Away! away! [*She rushes off, all following her.*]
vol. ii. p. 219—223.

The third volume is entirely occupied by our author's translation from Schiller's *Piccolomini*, and the *Death of Wallenstein*. We shall not stay to examine a piece, the chief merits of which

must of course be attributed to their German author. It is sufficient for us to express our deep gratitude to the translator, and our conviction that there is not a poem in our language, transferred from another, more marked by the freshness and individuality of an original production. And it is a striking fact, that the trains of thought—the modes of philosophical reasoning—the mysterious associations with invisible spirits and the arts of necromancy throughout Schiller's *Wallenstein*, are so analogous with Mr. Coleridge's own compositions, that we could easily deceive ourselves into the persuasion that it was his own. To those especially who are ignorant of German writings, this must be an invaluable addition to their English literature.

In closing our remarks upon these volumes, we must express our astonishment at the insertion of pieces which, however they may display the poet's ingenuity, are out of place. It provokes no commendatory smile to read his *Mathematical Problem*; or his *Ode to a Nose*; his *Monody to a Tea-kettle*; or his *Address to a young Ass*. Had they true humour, such as Cowper's *Gilpin*, we should not object; but we are at a loss to find in them either the sallies of wit or the recreations of fancy.

We have attended very curiously to Mr. Coleridge's philosophical opinions—because the attention of our readers must hereafter more systematically be called to them, upon the publication of his last manuscripts and his life. But this is the most appropriate place for us to observe, that a knowledge of his peculiar views is essential to a true understanding of his poetry. In reading it, we must ever bear in mind that he is an enthusiastic believer in the *realism* of ideas, as distinguished from *nominalism*. It is this which breathes into him the poetry of philosophy; that made all his thoughts to be glowing incarnations. Practically speaking, he was a thorough unbeliever in abstract metaphysics. We have read and re-read various passages in his *Friend*; if perchance we could make him avow his creed in his own language, and begging our readers to summon up resolution to *think* whilst considering them, we offer the following passages as the best for that purpose.

“Long, indeed, will man strive to satisfy the inward querist with the phrase, *laws of nature*. But though the individual may rest content with the seemly metaphor, the race cannot. If a law of nature be a mere generalization, it is included in the above, as an act of the mind. But if it be other and more, and yet be manifestable only in and to an intelligent spirit, it must in act and substance be itself spiritual: for things utterly heterogeneous can have no intercommunion.”—*The Friend*, vol. iii. p. 244.

“Look round you and you behold everywhere an adaptation of means to ends. Meditate on the nature of a Being whose ideas are creative; and consequently more real, more substantial, than the things that, at

the height of their creaturely state, are but their dim reflexes,* and the intuitive conviction will arise that in such a Being there could exist no motive to the creation of a machine for its own sake; that therefore the material world must have been made for the sake of man, at once the high priest and representative of the Creator, as far as he partakes of that reason in which the essences of all things co-exist in all their distinctions, yet as one and indivisible. But I speak of man in his idea, and as subsumed in the Divine humanity, in whom alone God loved the world."

With these quotations we shall at present content ourselves. An examination of his theories and his religion, together with the influence which the latter *ought* more directly to have exerted upon his poems, will be more suitable when, by some literary memoir, his general character as a man, a philosopher, and a Christian, is brought before the public.

ART. VIII.—*The Darker Superstitions of Scotland, illustrated from History and Practice.* By John Graham Dalyell, F.A.S.E. Whittaker. London. 1834.

MR. DALYELL is extremely well qualified for the work which he has just given to the public, inasmuch as he is not only a distinguished antiquary—the editor of many rare books—but is also, as we gather from his own remarks, a descendant of that renowned general of the same name, who was wont to terrify the covenanters and hold communion with the devil. The dreaded warrior, however, if Scottish legends are to be trusted, did not always quit the society of his supernatural ally without experiencing the hazards which arise from unequal coalitions. Having on one occasion excited the wrath or suspicion of this prince of demons, he found it necessary to seek safety in flight; when, notwithstanding the alertness of his motion, his body lost for ever the power of casting a shadow, even in the most brilliant sunshine. The evil spirit, who failed in his attempt to grasp the corporeal frame of old "Tom of Binns," seized that unsubstantial semblance of him which resulted from the interception of the solar rays; and hence it was maintained by the more rigid Presbyterians, that though General Dalyell, by favour of Satan, was impenetrable to musket balls, he was doomed to be for ever unattended by that dark and mimic outline which in a clear day marks the progress of every other human being.

Notwithstanding these preliminary qualifications on the part of

* If we may not rather resemble them to the resurgent ashes which, according to the tales of the later alchemists, in the substantial forms of bud and flower made themselves visible,

"Ως τα καπνὸς ὑλῆς βλαστηματα χρίσας καὶ ἐοῖδα."

the author, this history of the "Darker Superstitions of Scotland" is not a faultless performance. In the first place the composition is extremely obscure, owing to an excessive and ill-timed effort at fine-writing. Some sentences, for the reason now stated, are utterly unintelligible. There is an accumulation of long, learned, words, which entirely conceal the meaning, and hence, even after a second reading, we have been obliged to pass on, satisfied with a mere conjecture as to the point under discussion.

But in spite of this objection, for which we cannot devise any apology, the volume contains much matter that is both amusing and instructive. If the human race may be said to have had an intellectual infancy and childhood, assuredly the belief in witchcraft, spectral illusions and amulets, belongs to the least improved condition of their social existence. That era, however, in the history of our nature is not to be overlooked. On the contrary, there cannot be any doubt that an authentic view of the manners and customs of mankind may rank with the more valuable parts of literature, because it is obviously of more consequence for us to be made acquainted with the sentiments, habits, opinions and occupations of our ancestors, than to peruse the most minute record of their savage wars and rude diplomacy.

It is not to be imagined that the superstitions of Scotland differ in any important particular from those of other nations at the same stage of improvement. They are, however, better known than the similar reliques of England and the Green Isle, from the circumstances we are now about to mention. In the first place, the belief in diabolical agency retained its power over a large portion of Caledonia till a comparatively recent date; little more than a century having passed since witches were legally condemned to death in the extreme north, after a patient examination of the most circumstantial evidence. In the next place, as the clergy took cognizance of all crimes said to have been committed at the instigation or by the aid of the Evil One, their parochial Registers have preserved a detail of cases which we should elsewhere look for in vain. The "Statistical Account of Scotland" too, which comprehends an outline of the superstitious notions still lurking in many parishes north of the Forth, affords an abundant supply of materials to the historian of popular credulity. It is from such sources, as well as from the Records of the Justiciary Court, that Mr. Dalrymple has drawn the immense mass of facts with which his pages are crowded; and he tells us that much curious matter still remains in the same repositories, especially in those belonging to the kirk.

The first chapter respects the "Evil Eye," and the consequent invocations and maledictions. It is justly remarked, that among

the numberless superstitions enthralling mankind, no one has been more extensively diffused throughout all countries, and in every age, than belief in the injuries which may be inflicted by a malignant glance. In the classical authors of Greece and Rome we find frequent allusions to this power of the eye; and it is mentioned in the Records of Orkney, the Ultima Thule of civilization, that the devil taught Janet Irving, if she bore ill-will to anybody, "to look on them with open eyes, and to pray evil for them in his name, and that she should get her heart's desire." James I. too, in describing what he is pleased to call the "*Devil's Rudiments*," mentions the various kinds of charms "which daft wives use for healing fore-spoken goods, and for preserving them from evil eyes;" and among these he enumerates the roun-tree or mountain ash, and an assortment of sundry herbs. Every nation upon earth acknowledges this malign influence, under expressions synonymous with that now specified, such as *overlooking*, *eye-biting*, or *fascination*. A certain woman tried at Youghall, in Ireland, for bewitching Mary Langdon, denied the fact, though she admitted at the same time that she might have *overlooked* her. Between these, she said, there was a great difference, for, unless by touching her, she could not have done her any harm; whereon Glanvil, the author of "*Sadducismus Triumphatus*," remarks, "how overlooking and bewitching are distinguished by this hellish fraternity, I know not."

Most of the opinions entertained by the moderns in regard to fascination may be traced to the highest antiquity. Aristotle speaks of a Thessalian female who attracted a poisonous serpent within a magical circle drawn round her, when it instantly became lifeless. The faculties of the *Psylli*, or charmers, enjoy great repute even in our own times. Plutarch engages in a question "concerning those who are said to fascinate," and concludes by allowing the existence of such a power. "It is known," says he, "that friends and servants have fascinating eyes; and even fathers, to whose protracted gaze mothers will not expose their children." The ancients seem to have contemplated it as among the vices of the heart, originating for the most part in envy. It is affirmed that even at this day, in the Levant, passengers are invited by the lowest of the people to partake of their fare, lest they be "observed by a hungry man who envies the morsel." Formerly infants were considered very sensible of the "irradiations of the eyes." They were reluctantly submitted to the gaze of strangers; and in Spain an invocation of the Deity was employed to avert the consequences. At present, we are told, in the Spanish colonies, a similar prayer follows the commendation of a child, or of a young animal; and there also a widow is apt to

- ascribe the loss of her husband to the evil eye of one of her own sex. It is stated by Caldcleugh, that many years have not elapsed since a young woman was burnt alive for having set evil eyes on a sick person, and a female relative found it necessary to fly, under terror of the same accusation. In Egypt, the livid hue, the yellow skin, and the emaciated frame of a sickly child, is by the mother usually ascribed to an evil eye. In the northern parts of Africa, too, the natives dread an expression of admiration when directed to any of their family, or even to any valuable article, whether animate or inanimate. At Tripoli, the death of an infant was attributed to the steadfast gaze of a stranger, who was struck with its beauty as it lay in the cradle. No Christian in those parts is permitted to embrace, or even to look upon a babe. The same apprehensions as to the evil eye are held by the Jews, Greeks, and Turks who possess the several islands of the Archipelago. When the goodness or beauty of any object is commended, it is incumbent to add, "God preserve it;" and the Greeks are further accustomed to blow a little saliva upon it, by way of an antidote. Mr. Dalrymple states, as a proof of this superstitious feeling being not yet quite extinct in Scotland, that only a few years ago, a domestic in his family having died of small-pox, then believed to be extirpated from the place, his mother, on arriving from a distant part of the country, expressed her conviction that he had fallen a victim to an evil eye.

It must have occurred to every reader of such books as the "*Darker Superstitions of Scotland*," that a person suspected of this fascinating influence was very likely to be betrayed into the belief of really possessing it. The fears of others, and the occasional coincidences between a spiteful look and an unlucky accident, would naturally tend to confirm the impression on the mind of a weak woman, that her eye was armed with more than human powers. The alarmed imagination of the credulous peasant, whose health or life seemed to depend upon a vindictive glance, would, in many cases, realize the very evils which were apprehended; and hence the wrinkled hag who had not wit to procure herself a livelihood, might be induced to conclude that she had become the mistress of a most tremendous supernatural agency, and had thereby the fate of her fellow-creatures placed in her hands. There cannot be any doubt that the reputed witch has generally derived all her might from the weakness of those around her; and that her first aspirations after the unhallowed faculties which were supposed to distinguish her class, were suggested by the terror or suspicion with which she saw herself regarded. But, says the author—

"Is there truly any rational foundation for that confidence which has

been universally expressed in the subsistence of fascination? Does the presence of an object unseen produce an irresistible impression? Or does it reside in the imagination only? This inquiry might lead to interesting disquisitions. Perhaps, if fascination exists, its principle must be sought in some natural cause operating in such a manner on the person as to occasion disturbance of the mind. Doubtless certain sensations originate from the presence of objects which never meet the eye. Our senses are not sufficiently refined to detect of themselves the elements, finding an invisible channel of transmission, though they may be discovered and arrested by foreign auxiliaries. Does not infection spread through the medium of a vehicle absolutely invisible, and after a mode unknown and imperceptible by the most delicate sense? The sight, the hearing, and the feeling may be rendered more acute; they may become obtuse; all the faculties may be lulled into languor, and the sleep of death extinguish them for ever, while the agent escapes the keenest search of human scrutiny. . . . At certain seasons penetrating emanations from the animal and vegetable world occupy the atmosphere, surely for the conservative or destructive designs of nature. The reciprocal influence of living beings on each other, though far asunder, is decided, though the medium of communication be unknown: domesticated animals of prey, and those employed in field sports, illustrate to mankind in society, what is advancing constantly in the natural state. Thus quadrupeds, birds, even insects, seem to be paralysed for the moment by some hidden external impression, never to be discovered but by the demonstration of its effect; for the means of detection are not enjoyed by men. Whether it be in stimulating effluvia, whether in a narcotic vapour, or in some other quality indescribable, nothing is established better than the transmission of impressions through invisible means. Sympathy and antipathy, so familiar by name, yet so little understood, are alike inexplicable. If the attraction and repulsion of inanimate matter yet elude explanation, it may be safe to conclude that the combination of physics and ethics has been insufficiently appreciated in hypotheses on the cause of sympathetic affections."

The philosophy of this passage is rather obscure, and throws very little light on the dark subject of fascination. Among the lower animals, the effect produced on their nervous system may, generally speaking, be ascribed to terror. The eye of a powerful enemy deprives them of voluntary motion, and they appear unable to remove from the object which of all others their natural instinct would lead them to avoid. There is nothing, we presume, analogous between the principle of infection in a corrupted atmosphere and the influence which darts from a potent eye; they agree in nothing except the difficulty of being explained.

Maledictions and invocations too, may be justly described as producing their effects through the medium of a startled fancy. It is true that there are many cases on record where the curse was not heard by the party most interested; but in these it would not

be easy to trace any connection between the "devilish prayer" and its supposed consequences. The incantations of Joan of Arc, for example, threw the English soldiers into such a state of superstitious alarm, that, although on their own side of the channel, many of them deserted from the army, or refused to join. No one, however, will maintain that her imprecations would have deprived the stout peasant of his natural courage, had his imagination not been preoccupied with visions of her ghostly power. It was, indeed, a principle in the Roman law, that "magical muttering might destroy mankind." "*Eadem lege et venifici capite damnantur qui artibus odiosis tam venenis quam susurris magicis homines occiderunt.*" In Scotland the death of cattle and sheep was ascribed to those who were known to have "prayed evil" against the owners, and it must be confessed that some of their execrations were bitter in the extreme; Isobel Grierson, for instance, whose reputation was impeached, "spak mony devillisch and horribill words," saying to the neighbour by whom she was offended, "the faggots of hell light on thee, and hell's caldrane may thou seethe in; and with these and other the like devillish speches she passed away."

Among the superstitions mentioned by Mr. Dalryell, is the notion which prevailed all over Europe, that the corpse of a murdered person would bleed upon being touched by the hand of the individual who had taken away the life. This test proved on many occasions a fatal snare for the innocent. For example, four men having been drowned during fair weather, a woman suspected of changing herself into a porpoise, that she might overset their boat, was desired to touch their bodies some days after the accident. One of them, we are assured, bled at the collar-bone, and another in the hand and fingers, "gushing out blood thereat, to the great admiration of the beholders, and revelation of the judgment of the Almychtie." King James, in his "*Demonologie*," proceeds on the assumption that the guilty were sometimes convicted by miraculous evidence. "In a secret murder, if the dead carkasse bee at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out blood; as if the blood were crying to the heaven for revenge of the murtherer, God having appointed that secret supernatural trial of that secret unnatural crime."

In the year 1688, Sir James Standsfield, having been found dead in a stream, was buried precipitately. After being two days in the grave, his body was raised, and partially dissected; and the neck in particular was laid open, in order to ascertain the cause of death. After being well cleansed, blood burst from the side which was supported by his son Philip, as they were returning the body to the coffin for a second inhumation, and the hand

of the young man was stained. This occurrence, so likely to arise from straining the incisions while moving the corpse, excited suspicion against the heir, and he was in due course of law arraigned as a parricide. In the course of the procedure which followed, great stress was laid on the fact now mentioned; it was even argued that this peculiar incident denoted the disclosure of an occult crime under the direction of Divine Providence.

The royal author maintained, that if the "*carkasse* be at *any time thereafter* handled by the murderer, it will gush out blood." An instance tending to confirm this opinion is said to have occurred in the reign of Charles I. when the minister of a parish testified that the body of a woman, suspected to have been murdered, was taken out of the grave thirty days after her death, and laid on the grass. The prosecution in this case was at the instance of a son of the deceased against his own father, grandfather, uncle and aunt; and these four defendants, being required, touched each of them the dead body, whereupon, says the narrative, the brow of the defunct, which was before of a livid and carrion colour, began to have a dew or sweat arise on it, which increased by degrees till the sweat ran down in drops on the face; the brow turned to a lively and fresh colour, and the deceased opened one of her eyes, and shut it again, three several times; she likewise thrust out the ring or marriage finger three several times, and pulled it in again, and the finger dropped blood on the grass. Three of the four accused were convicted of the murder.

On some occasions the mere presence of the guilty person, even without his coming in contact with the deceased, was thought sufficient as a test; nor was it necessary that life should have been taken away by actual violence to constitute the crime. Janet Randall, it is related, was sent for by a man who imagined she had bewitched him, but he expired before her arrival. He had, however, "laid his death on her:" and "how soon as she came in, the corpse having lain a good space, and not having bled any, immediately bled much blood, as a sure token that she was the author of his death."

It is not improbable that the origin of this superstition may be sought in the misapplication of a passage of Scripture—"The voice of thy brother's blood calleth unto me from the ground;" and so vehement were the prejudices of our progenitors, that little further evidence of guilt was demanded. What, indeed, could equal the interposition of the Divine decree in pointing out the offender? Yet the truth of this test was disputed among the continental lawyers, as it must have been rejected by all intelligent men; for those who credit marvels merely because habituated to the narrative of them, or because others credit them, are not to be esteemed

intelligent men. Lawyers recommended that the body of the deceased should be presented before the suspected murderer in chains, to discover whether he should manifest any agitation, or whether the blood flowed from it before him. Scribonius advances his own testimony in corroboration of the success of this test. A nobleman of Arles, whom he names, having been mortally wounded, blood burst from the wound, and from the nostrils, after decease, immediately on approach of the offender. Hippolytus of Marseilles declared his incredulity until a murder was committed by a person unknown, during his magistracy of a town in Italy. He directed the body to be brought to him, and summoned the attendance of all suspected persons. The wounds began to bleed on the approach of the real murderer, who soon after confessed the fact. Matthæus, however, considers the test so fallacious, as to be an insufficient reason for putting one suspected to torture for eliciting the truth. Carpovius also, another lawyer of repute, relates that it was established from proof transmitted to his court, that a corpse had bled before an innocent person, though not a drop of blood escaped before the guilty. Nevertheless he had considered the bleeding of a wound or of the nostrils enough to warrant the application of torture. By the custom of Germany, as explained in a learned treatise, the suspected person put two fingers on the face of the deceased, then on the wound, and afterwards on the navel, in presence of a priest, who adjured him to appeal to heaven.

There is a long chapter on "occult infection and cure of maladies," as well as "on miscellaneous remedies and antidotes to disease;" but the industry of the learned author has not collected anything either new or striking on these interesting heads. The traditions of all rude countries abound with instances of miraculous cures, accomplished by the use of very inadequate means, or without any visible means whatever. The efficacy of water, especially if running towards the south, of salt, and of saliva, holds a distinguished place in all such fabulous narratives. A fountain beside the chapel of Crayquerrelane, on a hill at Lochgrevion, was frequented for various distempers; and "sundrie and divers multitudes of men and women from all countries," we are informed, "doe convey and gadder togidder to this chapell in the spring tyme, one day before St. Patrick-mass-day; and drinking every one of them of this spring and fresh water, alleadges that it shall recover them to their heathes againe, and uses the same yearlie. Once a tyme in the yeare certaine of them doeth come for pilgrimages, and certaine others in respect of their sicknesses by-gone, of the which they have recovered their health; and certaine of them for their sickness present; and so they are persuaded to

be restored to their healthe by the help and assistance of that holie saint and drinking of the waters that is to be had there, on the high craig and rough place."

We learn that the veneration anciently entertained for fountains still continues to be cherished in some parts of Scotland. St. Fillan's well, in the county of Perth, is visited on the first of May and on the first of August, when valetudinarians encircle it thrice, and drink the water or bathe in it. Votive offerings of rags or linen cloth are left at the well, and a stone is cast on the saint's cairn. In general such places were resorted to on the first day or first sabbath in the month of May, in reference, no doubt, to that primitive festival when honours were paid to the sun as the principle of fecundity and the giver of good things. The pilgrims, as is usual in such cases, were principally women. Grizel Richardson, when taxed with superstitious practices, confessed that "through her great sickness and infirmities she sent Margaret Tailor to Christ's well, to fetch her a pynt of the watter thereof." And the latter acknowledged that "she went there on the first Sunday of Maij instant, and fetched to her a pynt of water forth of the said well, and offered upon a trie one piece of the said woman's heid-muche (head-cap) that sent her, and that she gave two-pence to the poor folk in her name."

We have just alluded to the rites performed in veneration of the solar deity at the opening of the summer months, the remembrance of which is still kept alive by the use of sundry terms, such as Bel-tein, or Bel-tane. It is presumed that the Scottish Moloch, not less than the Canaanitish, delighted in the effusion of human blood; and hence that certain innocent ceremonies, still practised in the north, may indicate to the comprehension of the learned the great probability of human immolations in the darker ages of our history. But whether this conclusion be sound or not in regard to that most horrible of superstitions, it is indisputable that analogies to a propitiatory offering for the safety of flocks and herds may be discovered in later eras, observed too at a period of the year precisely corresponding to the festival in question. On the first of May, it is recorded, the Highland herdsman prepared an oaten cake, with nine square knobs on the surface. Each of these, dedicated either to a conservative or to a destructive being, was broken off and thrown over the shoulder, accompanied with an invocation for security to his charge, during the season. Rudbeck likewise found the relics of sacrificial rites in the particular form of some varieties of bread, baked at a certain period of the year in Sweden. Another ceremony, which is hardly yet discontinued, is more worthy of our notice. At Bel-tine, the yearly feast of Baal or Bel, the Caledonian youth were wont

to cast a trench in some sequestered spot among the hills. A fire was then kindled, and a cake being made and cut in pieces, one of these fragments was blackened, and the whole put into a bonnet. In the next place, each of the striplings present, drew forth a portion; and he to whose lot the blackened piece chanced to fall, was held as devoted to Bel-tine, or Baal's-fire, as a sacrifice. To discharge the obligation thus laid upon him, the victim was obliged to leap three times through the fire which had been used in the preparation of the mystical cake; but the life was spared; the youth was only sacrificed symbolically, at least in later ages.

It is not improbable that a similar reference was made to some part of an ancient ritual, in the observance now to be mentioned. After an infant newly baptized was carried home from church, the midwife, or another, waved it through the flame, repeating thrice, "Let the fire consume thee now, if ever!" The author adds, that even in the present age, a child put on a cloth spread over a basket containing provisions, is conveyed thrice around the crook of the chimney, thus, as he remarks, "preserving the proximity of fire." In short, the recognition of the pagan divinity, Baal, may still be discovered in Scotland through innumerable etymological sources. In historical records, down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, multiplied prohibitions are found against *Baal-fires*, which the people were so much disposed to kindle. Mr. Dalrymple asserts that the festival of this divinity was commemorated in his country "until the latest date;" and he adds, "should it have been ever truly interrupted, the citizens of the metropolis seem willing to promote its revival in recollection, by ascending a neighbouring hill, Arthur's Seat, in troops, on the first of May, to witness the glorious spectacle of sunrise from the sea." In Ireland, a country less advanced, and thence more tenacious of ancient customs, it was remarked, late in the preceding century, that when "fire is at this day kindled in the milking yard, the men, women and children pass or leap through it." The ecclesiastical Councils, indeed, found it incumbent upon them to enact various canons against leaping over fires kindled at new moon.

There cannot be any reasonable doubt that a variety of propitiatory offerings were made by the ancient Scots, some of them with the view of recovering lost health, and others with the intention of securing the goods which had fallen to their lot. A person who had lost many of his cattle, as he imagined, by witchcraft, burnt a living calf, to break the spell and save the remainder. Another, whose sheep had perished in great numbers, was advised to "take a beast at Allhallow eve, and sprinkle three drops of the

blood of it by the fire." It seems to have been universally believed that a disease could be transferred from one human being to another, and even from mankind to the lower animals. A woman accordingly, who was suspected of having relieved herself at the expense of a neighbour, urged, in her own defence, that "if William Bigland lived, she would die; therefore, God forbid."

Besides propitiatory sacrifices, there were also propitiatory charms, which, though extremely superstitious, were in general less cruel. The former proceeded on the ground that life was required for life; that exemption from suffering and death must be purchased by the endurance, either actually or by symbol, of the evils which the supplicant wished to remove from himself, his family, or his flocks; and that in most cases a substitute would be accepted in place of the victim whom the Spirit of Evil had marked out for loss or destruction. The latter notion seems to have implied the belief that the mischievous devices of the invisible enemies of man might, by the use of certain expedients, be counteracted, or rendered innocuous. The charms were sometimes extremely simple, and even approaching to the ridiculous. In the indictment of Elizabeth Bathcat, it was stated that she had a horse-shoe in a secret part of her door, kept by her there-upon as a "devillisch means and instruction from the devil," to make her goods and all her other affairs to prosper and succeed well, especially within her house. John Feane was convicted of using, by way of witchcraft, moles' feet, given to him by Satan, kept in his purse; "for this cause, that so long as he had them upon him, he should never want silver." Sir James Melvil affirms of the Earle of Bothwell, that he required the aid of Richard Graham, to cause the king's majesty, his master, to like well of him; "and to this effect he gave the said Erle some drug or herb, willing him at some convenient time to tuiche his maister's faice therewith." But the device did not succeed. Poor Ritchie Graham appears to have been a very unfortunate necromancer, for he was strangled and burnt, on its being proved that he had been consulted by Barbara Napier as to her son's health, and "whether the king should return from Denmark."

It should seem that all the powers of the air, as well as the bad spirits which became the familiars of man, were moved by the bold enterprise of the Scottish monarch, when he crossed the sea to bring home his Danish bride, in the year 1590. His subjects, generally, did not dislike the match, but the sorcerers of both kingdoms, probably in revenge of his learned labours on the principles of their art, employed themselves on either shore of the northern ocean, to raise tempests against him. Accordingly, while all the rest of the fleet had a favouring gale, the course of

the royal couple is said to have been interrupted by violent storms. The ship conveying the queen sprung a leak, and several other vessels were actually lost on different parts of the coast. The conjurations practised for this purpose are described as follows: Agnes Sampson, Janet Campbell, John Feane, Geilie Duncane and Meg Dyn, baptesit a cat in a webster's house, in this manner. First twa of them held a finger on one side of the chimney cruick, and anather held an uther finger in the uther side, the twa nebbs of their fingers meeting together. Then they put the cat through the links of the cruick, and passit it thrice under the chimney. Thereafter, at Beigie Tod's house, they knit to the four feet of the cat four joints of men; quhilk being done, the said Janet fetchit it to Leith; and about midnight she and the twa Luikelhops, and twa wives callit Stobeis, came to the peir-head, and saying these words: "see there be no deceit among us," they cast the cat into the sea sa far as they myght, quhilk swam oute, and came againe; and they that were in the panis, cast in another cat into the sea at xi hours, after quhilk, by their sorcerie and enchantments the boat perished between Leith and Kinghorne.

It appears from a far better authority than the one now referred to—the trial of Agnes Sampson—that such an accident happened at the period in question, and was ascribed to the malice of Satan. He had promised to John Feane "to raise a mist and cast the Kinge's Majestie in England; and for performing thereof he took a thing like a foot-ball, which appeared to the said John like a wisp, and cast the same into the sea, quhilk causit a vapour and a reek to rise."

Mr. Dalzell proposes the question, "whence did the previous generations inhabiting Scotland derive their precepts for the practice of sorcery?" He is satisfied that the fertility of their resources, their diversified, empirical prescriptions, their sacrificial relics, their varied divinations, and their confidence in the existence of imaginary beings, did not spring from their own simple invention. It is admitted that, in the multiplied judicial proceedings which occupy the Scottish records, there appears occasionally a transient investigation of the source whence the delinquent obtained necromantic powers. Satan's presence, instruction, and deportment are frequently alleged; nor are they ever called in question, as no one doubted them. Whatever guise he assumed in such dealings with mankind, and whatever was their purpose, they were credited not only by the unhappy victims of self-delusion, but also by their merciless persecutors; by those whose eyes the love of justice and of mercy should have opened. At all events, it is manifest that he assumed a variety of forms,

and adopted a great diversity of methods in communicating his bad lessons. For example, the tuition of one who practised successfully during fifty years, was derived from a "familiar spirit attending him, to give him instruction" in all his cures. Another obtained his skill from Satan "in the likeness of a corbie," or raven. Agnes Sampson acquired her skill and her prayer from her father; Janet Stewart, from her father and an "Italian stranger;" Marion Fisher, "an ordinary charmer," was taught in her youth by a reaper; and another was instructed by a "going man." But others are said to have undergone a kind of regular instruction in the necromantic art. Thus, the indictment of one, brought to the bar, specifies that "Catherine Campbell, the witch wife, dwelling in the Canongate, causit another witch wha dwelt in St. Ninian's Row, to inaugurate you in the said craft, with the girth (hoop) of a great bikar, turning the same oft over your head and neck, and oft tymes round about your head." John Burghe was alleged to have obtained his knowledge "from a widow woman, named Neane Nikelerith, of threescore years of age, wha was sister's daughter to Nek Neveing, that notorious infamous witch in Monegie, quha for her sorcerie and witchcraft was burnt fourscore of years since, or thereby."

The maxim of the ancient sceptics, that "fear first made gods," may be applied with perfect confidence to all classes of sorcerers, wizzards, and witches. As the practice of their supposed art was gainful, a motive was created for perpetuating the delusion. Gifts poured in upon the old women who were believed to hold traffic with the worst portion of the invisible world, as well with the view of purchasing their favour, as of disarming their resentment. They were regarded too, with a feeling of awe approaching to veneration; and every one was careful not to mention their names, but with the semblance of the most profound respect. These advantages, coupled with the love of power, natural to the human heart, counterbalanced the hazard of a legal prosecution, and of a violent death at the hands of public justice.

It must, however, be acknowledged that it would require nerve in any one to encounter the imputation of witchcraft; for of all the dark parts of Scottish superstitions, the mode of detection, or the mode of punishment adopted by the judges, was the most terrific. One of the commonest methods for ascertaining whether an old woman was in compact with Satan, was to thrust a bodkin or needle three or four inches into the muscular part of her body. If she felt pain, the case was pronounced doubtful; if she appeared insensible, she was condemned to be strangled and burnt. The ordeal by water was, if possible, still more iniquitous and cruel. The thumb of the right hand was bound to

the great toe of the left foot, and the thumb of the left hand to the great toe of the right foot, and retained by a cord; the victim was then cast "*crosse wayes*," into "a river or lake;" if she sink, she is counted innocent; if she float and sink not, she is taken for a witch. It was inferred that Satan, being light, or having a small specific gravity, sustains them in the fluid. The *witch-pool* and the *witch lake* are accordingly still pointed out in various parts of North Britain.

"Though privation of sleep be described as 'the choicest means they use in Scotland for the discovery of witches,' it was not restricted to them only; for after other expedients for detecting a conspiracy had failed to obtain confession, the Commander of the Forces was enjoined to employ the most trusty officers and soldiers to 'watch Mr. William Spence, by turns, and not to suffer him to sleep by night or by day, and for that end, to use all effectual means for keeping him still awake.' Another was withholden from sleep 'to the great perturbation of his brayne.' By means of torture, pricking, watching, and keeping several women from sleep, James Gillespie, minister of Rind, and some coadjutors, were charged with having obtained false confessions, whereon the innocent had suffered death. Several also, under a guard of drunken fellows at Pittenweem, were kept days and nights awake, which cruel usage made some of them to be so wise as to acknowledge every question that was asked of them, whereby they found the minister and baillies well pleased, and themselves better treated. One was kept five days and nights awake by continual pricking, to the great effusion of her blood; and this kind of torture is alleged to have been protracted even to nine nights."—"Humanity and justice were outraged in the combinations of torture inflicted on the miserable objects of suspicion. Aleson Balfour, in Orkney, confessed certain allegations of witchcraft, but only 'be vehement tortour of the *caschielawes*, quharin she was kept by the space of forty-eight hours:' nor did it come of her own sufferings only, for her aged husband, her eldest son, and daughter, were all in her presence 'put in tortour' at the same instant time, the fader being in the *lang irmes* of fiftie stone weight; the son driven into the *boots* with fifty-seven strokes; and the daughter, being seven years old, put in the *pinnywinks*, to the effect that being so tormented beside her, might move her to make any confession for their relief. When condemned and led to execution upon the *heading-hill* of Kirkwall, in 1594, this unhappy person declared herself 'as innocent, and would die as innocent of any point of witchcraft as a bairne unborn. Yet this was not enough to the tormentors, for, on the parson of Orphir asking whether she would abide by her first confession, she returned the following impressive explanation: 'that she was then tortourit divers and several tymes in the *caschielawes*, and sundry tymes taken out of them dead, and out of all remembrance either of good or evill; as lykeways her good-man being in the *stokis*, her son tortourit in the *buitis*, and her daughter put in the *pinnywinkies*, quhairwith she and they wer so vexed and tormentit that partly to eschew a greater punishment and torment, and upon promise of her life and guid deidis by the said parson, she falsely

against her soul and conscience made that confession, and no uther wayis ; for the quhilk she asked the Lord mercy and forgiveness,' and then patiently submitted to her fate. Can a scene of greater atrocity be pictured ! The torture of those most dear to the spouse and the mother before her ; a clergyman violating all sanctity and morality, endeavouring, under treacherous pledges, to elicit the confession of impossibilities."

The only alleviating consideration which can present itself to the reader of these "Darker Superstitions" is, that the persons employed in the several processes of conviction and punishment were sincere. They believed in the crime, dreaded the numerous evils which resulted from it, and, of course, saw their duty in checking its increase throughout the land. In this eagerness of detection the clergy acted a principal part, and even on some occasions allowed their zeal to outstrip both humanity and prudence. In 1607, a commission to seize and try certain persons was refused by the Privy Council, "considering," to use their own words, "the many inconveniences and the exceeding great slander which had arisen by the bypast trial of witches by ministers who carried professed sorcerers with them to the parish kirks, and made them judges of the honesty or guiltiness of men and women, undefamed before, and who were brought in question of their honesty, life, and geir (goods), and made to be convicted and punished to the death." Through the credulity of the minister of Glasgow, it is added, divers innocent women suffered, from one venturing to affirm that all the proselytes of Satan had a certain mark in the eye whereby she could discover whether they were witches or not. Imbecility of judgment and love of dominion promoted persecution. The kirk-session, "tyrannical in arrogance," as Mr. Dalryell expresses it, employed spies to ferret out the history, life, and manners of each individual. Some of their number, who got the name of *searchers*, made an inroad into private dwellings on Sunday ; or without warning broke open any door, under cloud of night, during the week. They imposed fines and inflicted exile ; the prisons were filled with delinquents ; and the places of public repentance were crowded to such a degree that they could receive no more penitents. On one occasion the kirk-session of Holyroodhouse threatened to drown a woman suspected as the parent of an illegitimate child, if she ever again appeared within the bounds of their jurisdiction.

In such proceedings we detect ignorance, intemperate zeal, narrow-mindedness, and the most intolerable despotism ; but in the Darker Superstitions of Ireland we may perceive something more—even fraud combined with credulity. About ten years ago various miraculous cures were said to have been effected in that country, through the intercession of Prince Hohenloe, and were

vouched by the highest ecclesiastical authority in the land. The most remarkable of these is reported to have taken place in the convent of Ranelagh, in the immediate vicinity of Dublin, and on the person of Miss Mary Stuart, a member of that establishment. Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic primate of Ireland recognized the miracle; and in a Pastoral Address, published immediately afterwards, remarks that the "voice of these facts, issuing from the bosom of his sanctuary, and publishing the glory of God with the loudness of thunder, may strike upon the ears and hearts of many to whom the voice of our ministry could not reach." Then he proceeds to the facts in the following terms:

"Mary Stuart, of the convent of St. Joseph, Ranelagh, has through the extraordinary interposition of that Omnipotent Being who killeth and maketh alive, been restored instantaneously to health, from a state of grievous and hopeless infirmity, for the relief of which all the resources of human skill had been expended in vain. The account of this wonderful case reached us officially on the 2d instant, in a letter from Mrs. Mary Catherine Meade, prioress of St. Joseph's convent, under date of the preceding evening. This communication stated in substance that one of the religious sisters of that community had been afflicted with sickness for four years and about seven months; that during that period she had frequent attacks of paralysis, each of which seemed to threaten her with immediate dissolution; that the most powerful remedies had been applied without producing any other than partial and temporary relief; that for several months past she had been confined to bed, wholly deprived of the power of assisting herself, or of moving out of the position in which she was laid; that when moved by her attendants, how gently soever, she not only suffered much pain, but was also liable to considerable danger and to the temporary loss of speech; and that for the last five weeks she had entirely lost the power of articulation; that up to the morning of the first instant she continued in this deplorable state, without any symptom of amendment, and apparently beyond the reach of human aid—that on a certain hour that morning, as had been settled by previous arrangement, she united her devotions (as did also her numerous friends), with the holy sacrifice of the mass, which was to be offered by Alexander, Prince Hohenloe, in the hope of obtaining immediately from God that relief which no human means could afford—that with this view she received, though with much difficulty, the divine communion at the mass which was celebrated at the same hour in her chamber for her recovery—that mass being ended, and no cure yet effected, she was in the act of resigning herself with perfect submission to the will of God, when instantly she felt a power of movement and a capability of speech—that she exclaimed with an animated voice, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts!' raised herself without assistance to offer on bended knees the tribute of her gratitude to heaven; called for her attire, left that bed to which she had been for so many months as it were fastened, walked to the convent chapel with a firm step, and there, in presence of the community and congregation, joined her religious sisters in the solemn thanks-

giving which was offered up to God for this wonderful and manifest interposition of his goodness.

These facts were laid by the archbishop before the Roman Catholic priesthood and laity of Dublin, and pronounced by him as constituting a miracle of the most positive and regular description: To establish his testimony he subjoins certificates from several medical gentlemen, with affidavits from five religieuses of the convent, and two clergymen who officiated on the occasion. As might be expected, a deep and solemn impression was produced on the multitude; and every exertion was made to extend and confirm it. Dr. Murray's Letter was widely circulated: it was hawked about at the cheapest rate, and in such shapes as to catch the vulgar attention. At last, the convent itself was thrown open, that all who chose might hear from Mary Stuart's own lips, the detail of her complicated sufferings, succeeded by the account of her miraculous restoration to health, and concluded by the ardent attestations of her religious sisters.

Now, we are willing to take the facts as they are recorded, without subjecting them to that minute examination which the use that was made of them would amply justify; and yet, coupling them with the obvious import of the medical certificates issued on the occasion, we would assert not only that there was no miracle in Miss Stuart's partial recovery, but that every man of common sense must have been aware, that the change produced upon her nervous condition by the exciting ceremony in which she had been engaged, was strictly within the bounds of nature. She had, it is true, been long an ailing person, and subject to "various nervous affections of an anomalous kind;" but she was, we maintain, on that very account the more likely to be roused to a temporary vigour of body by a stirring action on her mind. It is generally known that, of the numbers who came to St. Fillan's well—a celebrated fountain mentioned by our author—some returned every year either completely cured or very much relieved. The effect of the water, the vigils, and the excitement, however, in this case, as in Miss Stuart's, was exclusively confined to those whose nerves were diseased, and who, like her, were "subject to stagnations." Other holy streams and consecrated buildings were regularly frequented at the proper festivals by individuals who suffered under such affections; and the success, it is well known, was so great, and the confidence of the ignorant people so strong, that the presbyterian ministers found it necessary to take down the old walls, to lock doors, and to cover up the crystal current from the approach of the superstitious.

But, in point of fact, the cure of Miss Stuart was not complete. She had, indeed, recovered in some measure the use of

her limbs; and the symptoms of the principal disease with which she was afflicted were to a certain extent mitigated, after the moving scene of the first of August. Still, so far from walking with a firm step, as the archbishop was taught to say, she moved like a person whose legs were weak and feet sore. She passed from one side of the room to the other with an evident effort and an unsteady pace—like a patient, in short, who was enjoying a brief respite from a chronic rheumatism. Three medical men were desired to visit her on the fourth of August, three days after the supposed miracle, to examine into the state of her health, and they report that she assured them “she was without complaint.” She added that she had not walked in the grounds of the convent owing to a *degree of weakness* in her limbs, of which, however, she appeared to have the free use. They found her pulse at 120, a clear proof that the prayers of Prince Hohenloe had been blessed with but a very partial success: and of four issues which had been long established, three might be considered as healed, being without dressings, though the one “in the left arm was open and freely discharging, having made no progress in healing.” One of the physicians was afterwards required to give a categorical answer to two questions put to him by a clergyman on this interesting matter. He replies—

“I felt it necessary to see Dr. Mills and Mr. M’Namara before I could answer your letter of the 20th. Considering that the friends of Mrs. Stuart might not think it expedient to publish our certificates relative to the state of her health, we resolved not to give any opinion on the subject, and not in any way commit ourselves individually. These certificates having been published, I have in consequence of your letter waited upon Dr. Mills and Mr. M’Namara; and as they leave me to the exercise of my own discretion, I can have no hesitation in answering your questions. To the first I reply, that there was not, in my opinion, anything miraculous in the change which took place in Mrs. Stuart’s health. To the second, that her case can, to my entire satisfaction, be accounted for on natural principles.”

It is worthy of being noticed, as affording the means of judging how much depended on the workings of Miss Stuart’s own mind, that Prince Hohenloe had performed at Bamberg all the requisite ceremonies for the restoration of her health; but as she had not received information of his doings, she derived no advantage from them. This fact seems to prove that the co-operation of the patient is absolutely indispensable. The miracle, however, was held altogether beyond question by the Roman Catholics of Dublin, who, with their archbishop, were determined to see in this very ordinary event the finger of Divine Providence marking out the superiority of their communion.

"These tangible manifestations," say they, "of the favour of Heaven to a particular individual and a particular church, are not, be it remembered, of bygone times, or of distant countries; they are contemporaneous with ourselves, and exhibiting themselves to our eyes, they are subject to our personal investigation. Verily, these things appear to us with such force and frequency, that to account for their occurrence on natural principles will puzzle the ingenuity of scepticism."

Surely these pious persons must have forgotten the numerous miracles performed at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, the greatness and popularity of which demanded at length the interposition of the civil authorities. In that case, indeed, the process by which the nervous disorders were removed, or changed, was more obvious, and indicated more distinctly the operation of a natural cause. The cure at Ranelagh was effected in secret, not, perhaps, without a certain preparation both in the patient and the witnesses; and it is only those who, like Dr. Cheyne, were acquainted with the anomalous symptoms of her complaint, who could trace the workings of the physical energies to which she owed the restitution of a little health and strength. Those cured in Apostolic times were made "whole every whit;" the lame leaped, danced and ran.

The miracle accomplished at Maryborough, under the auspices of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle and Mr. O'Connor, titular rector of the said parish, is at once more striking and more suspicious. On the 6th of March, 1823, that zealous prelate wrote to the "Most Serene and very Reverend Prince," informing him that Maria Lalor, the daughter of a respectable and pious Catholic, had lost the use of her tongue; adding, "her organs of sense continue perfect, and she strictly adheres to that piety of life which she has preserved from her most tender age." In reply he received from Hohenloe a communication addressed as follows:—

"To Miss Lalor, and all those who will spiritually unite in prayer.

"On the 10th of June, at nine o'clock, I will, agreeably to your request, offer my prayers for your recovery. Unite with them at the same time, after having confessed and received the holy communion, your own, together with that evangelical fervour, that full and entire confidence, which we owe to our Redeemer Jesus Christ. Excite in the recesses of your heart the divine virtues of due contrition—of an unbounded confidence that you will be heard—and an immovable resolution of leading an exemplary life for the purpose of preserving yourself in a state of grace. Accept the assurance of my consideration."

Mr. O'Connor, having received the proper instructions, resolved to proceed accordingly, and in due time made known the result to his ordinary.

"At twelve minutes before eight o'clock, on the morning of the 10th, my two coadjutors, with myself, began mass at the hour appointed. I

offered the holy sacrifice in the name of the Church. I besought the Lord to overlook my own unworthiness, and regard only Jesus Christ, the great High Priest and Victim, who offers himself in the mass to the Eternal Father, for the living and the dead. I implored the Mother of God, of all the angels and saints, and particularly of St. John Nepomuscene. I administered the sacrament to the young lady at the usual time, when instantly she heard as it were a voice distinctly saying to her—‘*MARY, YOU ARE WELL;*’ when she exclaimed, ‘*O LORD, AM I?*’ and overwhelmed with devotion, fell prostrate on her face.”

Dr. Doyle forthwith announced this cure to the world in the shape of a pastoral letter, accompanied with a statement of facts, as if drawn from medical certificates. It was asserted that the surgeon, Dr. Smith, as a similar case had never occurred in the course of his practice, had consulted eight of the most eminent physicians in Dublin; and the result was, that no hopes could be entertained of her recovery. It was further asserted, that this decision was imparted by Dr. Smith to the father of the young woman. But it soon appeared that these facts, so confidently proclaimed, were altogether unknown to the surgeon; and accordingly he soon afterwards published *a flat and unequivocal denial of the whole representation, in so far as it concerned himself, solemnly declaring it to be a fabrication entirely at variance with truth.* In short, this miracle, so warmly extolled in the Pastoral Address as a prodigy different in kind, but not in magnitude, from the raising of the dead, turned out, we are told, to be a most contemptible juggle—a juggle of which Dr. Doyle became so heartily ashamed, that so far from defending it against the deadly thrusts of the “Rational Christian,” he left it to “engage the attention of physicians and those without occupation, while he himself mixed with the crowd—the simple and the poor.”*

“The Darker Superstitions of Scotland” naturally reminded us of those which still prevail in the sister island, countenanced, as we find, not only by old women, but also by archbishops, bishops, and rural deans. We are far, however, from insinuating that the fraud at Ranelagh and Maryborough was so entire as not to have in it a mixture of innocent dupery. We have seen a private communication from the Prioress of St. Joseph, which bears many unambiguous marks of sincerity and cordial belief; and although the miracle performed on Miss Stuart was extremely incomplete, leaving her with weak limbs, her pulse at 120, and an issue in her arm in full discharge without any appearance of healing, there is no doubt that the head of the convent perceived in the partial improvement which had taken place, a direct interposition of the hand of Providence.

* See the “Voice of Facts from the Convent of St. Joseph, Ranelagh,” published by Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1824.

But, returning to the work more immediately before us, we may remark that a large class of superstitions fall under the head of spectral illusions—those morbid impressions which arise from a disordered state of the blood or secretory vessels. Such phenomena were no less familiar to the ancients than they are to modern physicians, though the cause had not been so clearly ascertained. Hippocrates speaks of those who thought themselves infested by demons; and he assigns reasons why—this being more incident to females—many of them in his time devoted offerings, even their richest apparel, to Diana for relief. Plato too observes that it was common, for women especially, and those who were imbecile, to be terrified by spectres; and when awake, recollecting the visions of their dreams, to vow statues and sacrifices, and to fill the streets and houses with altars and temples, in order to be free from such frightful visitations. But the spectres which occasion the greatest alarm, and which so long puzzled the ingenuity of physiologists, are those which present themselves to the waking eye, and at times when there is no consciousness of disease. For example, there was a quarrel between Janet Cook and John Richardson, “and immediatelie the said John did take sicknes so that he died, and all the two last days before he died, he said that Janet Cook was there in his sight, howbeit the folkis in the house could not see her.” Again; “James Douglas’s horse fell under him. On recovering himself, though not much the worse, he seeth lively, to his appearance, Janet Coke sitting by him. He recommended himself to God, and went on his journey: that night he took a high and sudden fit of sickness, which continued till his death; and about eleven hours at night the great fit always came upon him; and the same James being very tractable, said before his death that the said Janet was often standing at the bed-foot—‘the Lord forgive my friends if they do not cause to burn Jennet Coke, for she is the cause of my death.’”

In the same way Susanna Baylie, a penitent and confessing witch, confronting another, exclaimed, “thou fiery Lucifer, confess thy falt, for thou art worthy of death; because upon a night, about sixteen years since, you having a pique at me, came into my house at midnight, the doors and the windows being shut, while I was asleep in bed with my husband and child; and you put your hands on my throat and thought to have worried me.” A learned, wealthy and respectable citizen of Cologne, acquainted Nider that during a dangerous malady, he “conceived, in viewing himself on all sides, that he was two men.” In Okye, a woman repeatedly beheld another resembling herself, walking solitary, at no great distance, and in changes of apparel like her own. This she believed, as it proved in fact to be, a presage of

her dissolution. A young woman of Lewis constantly beheld the back of her own image upon going into the open air. Aubrey speaks of a daughter of the Earl of Holland meeting her apparition in Kensington Garden; and of another who saw herself for a quarter of an hour at a time; but she was not the only spectator of the phantom. Fordun, one of the Scottish historians, relates that Ralph, Abbot of Kinloss, accompanied several other dignitaries to a chapter of the Cistercian order, held in 1214. At the appointed place of convocation, the cook, unable to serve up the usual meal of fish, with greater zeal than prudence substituted a quantity of flesh, from which, collecting the boiling fat as it rose, he resolved to call it butter, and without further ceremony mixed it with the abbot's porridge. All, after having eaten heartily and unsuspiciously, retired to rest. "But (adds the chronicler) the Abbot of Kenloss, ruminating on I know not what psalms and prayers, beheld the blackest Ethiopian, with a horrible visage, enter by a shut window, and survey, with evident satisfaction, the bed of every guest, though chiefly interested in the cook, whom he seemed desirous of embracing." The abbot, however, on his approach, fortified himself with the sign of the cross, and awaited the issue in silence. Viewing him sternly, but daring to come no nearer, the visitor vanished like smoke through the shut window.

All our readers will recollect the visit paid to Lady Beresford, a few years ago, by the ghost of Lord Tyrone. Her ladyship is said to have been a woman of very bad principles, and accordingly, to clear up her doubts with regard to a future existence, she had entered into a compact with the said baron, binding the one who should die first to appear as soon as possible to the other. Lady Beresford, it is added, expressed great doubts as to the reality of the apparition, even after the punctual lord had actually fulfilled his promise; in consequence of which scepticism he found it necessary, next visit, to mark her wrist, and to turn up the curtains of the bed in a most supernatural manner, that he might give her the most satisfactory proofs of his having really returned to the upper regions. She related the story next day to her husband, and shortly after a letter arrived announcing the death of Lord Tyrone. This anecdote requires no observations, and the mind of the public at the time soon satisfied itself as to the real state of the fact. Lord Tyrone was known to be dying, and Lady Beresford, half asleep, half awake, and probably a little uneasy in her imagination about the promised visit, would very naturally dream of spectres; and the mark on her wrist, if not occasioned by an over-tight bracelet, might have been produced by her coming in contact with some part of the bed during the agitation consequent upon the supposed interview with her departed friend.

A useful book might be written on the connection between

certain morbid conditions of the body and the apparition of those numerous phantoms which are known to harass plethoric persons. Dr. Ferriar, who has treated this subject with great research and ingenuity, has by no means exhausted it; and a still larger collection of cases, well authenticated and properly explained, could not fail to be of the utmost service both to the medical student and to the valetudinarian. It is related of a celebrated literary character, that as he was sitting in his study, a room with which the passage which led to the kitchen communicated, he was interrupted in his studies by a little old woman, who had on her arm a basket of provisions. He requested the good old dame to step into the kitchen, to which, he supposed, she had mistaken her way; and in order that he might not be further disturbed by her, he opened the door and showed her which direction she was to take. After he had returned to his desk he fancied himself again assailed by the little old woman. He expostulated with her, and once more pointed out the way to the kitchen; but after he had a second time returned to his labours, he again found the old woman at his elbow. He instantly conceived his real situation, rung his bell and sent for a surgeon; and it was not until he had been copiously bled that he was set free from the visits of the stranger. The surgeon informed him that his blood was in such a state, that, had he not been bled, he would have undoubtedly sustained an attack of apoplexy, which in all probability would have carried him off.

The case of M. Nicolai, a bookseller in Berlin, is still more striking; for he was annoyed by phantoms during several months in succession, all which time he was in a state of perfect sanity, and quite aware that this strange phenomenon originated in the distempered condition of his nervous system. But by persevering in the use of medicine and phlebotomy, he compelled the spectres to take a final leave of him; and we have no doubt that in many similar cases the mental eye will be most successfully purged by cooling draughts, copious bleeding, and gentle cathartics. Leaving, however, these grotesque creations of the "mind diseased," we proceed to mention a few particulars connected with a physical apparition, which, in the year 1812, occasioned no small perturbation in the northern counties of England, as being in some degree coincident with the greatest preparations ever made by Buonaparte for a military enterprise. On Sunday evening, the 26th of June, and between seven and eight o'clock, Anthony Jackson, farmer, aged forty-five, and Martin Turner, the son of William Turner, farmer, aged fifteen years, while engaged in inspecting their cattle, grazing in Havaral Park, near Pepley, part of the estate of Sir John Ingleby, Bart., were suddenly surprised by a most extraordinary appearance in the Park.

Turner, whose attention was first drawn to this spectacle, said, "Look, Anthony, what a quantity of beasts!" "Beasts!" cried Anthony, "Lord bless us! they are not beasts, they are men!" By this time the body was in motion, and the spectators discovered that it was an army of soldiers, dressed in a white military uniform, and that in the centre stood a personage of a commanding aspect, clothed in scarlet. After performing a number of evolutions, the body began to march in perfect order to the summit of a hill, passing the spectators at a distance of about a hundred yards. No sooner had the first body, which seemed to consist of several hundreds, and extended four deep over an enclosure of thirty acres, attained the hill, than another assemblage of men, far more numerous than the former, dressed in dark coloured clothes, arose and marched, without any apparent hostility, after the military spectres: at the top of the hill both of the parties formed what the spectators called an L, and passing down the opposite side, disappeared. At this moment a volume of smoke, apparently like that vomited by a park of artillery, spread over the plain, and was so impervious as for nearly two minutes to hide the cattle from the view of Turner and Jackson, who hurried home with all possible expedition; and the effect upon their minds, says the narrator, even at this distance of time, is so strong that they cannot mention the circumstance without visible emotion. It ought to be remarked, in passing, that the accounts of this wonderful sight given by the two spectators, agreed precisely in the main points, differing only as to the length of time during which the military array continued in view, and as to a part of the armour glistening in the sun. The younger person thought the phenomenon did not last longer than five minutes; the elder imagined that it could not be less than a quarter of an hour. Jackson declares that during the whole time it occupied their attention, "they were making to each other such remarks as arose out of the spectacle."

As similar appearances are said to have been witnessed at various times in different parts of the country, and as armies of mist and fog are frequently seen by the solitary inhabitants of North America, Greenland, and the Highlands of Scotland, it may be proper to observe, once for all, that they have been satisfactorily explained on the common principles of optics, combined with certain conditions as to the angle of the solar rays and atmospherical refraction. The Spectre of the Brocken, the Fata Morgana in the Straits of Reggio, and the thousand visual deceptions recorded by travellers in Africa, are all to be referred to the physical circumstances now mentioned. A phenomena analogous to that now described is to be found in Adair's Travels in North America. After contemplating the general grandeur

and sublimity of the fall at Niagara, he and his companions were drawn to admire the variety of shapes which the superincumbent vapour assumed beneath the impulse of the wind. "Sometimes," says he, "it was driven with violence against the rocky mountain to the north, and being broken by its projecting rugosities, it ascended but with greater rapidity, like an army climbing to the storm of some citadel on the summit. We thought, as it shone in the setting sun, that we could perceive the glittering of armour, and in the prismatic colours we fancied to ourselves the military uniform of our countrymen." It has, accordingly, been imagined that the army seen by Jackson and Turner consisted of an exhalation, or rather, a sudden escape of vapour from the ground, carried gently along near the surface by a current of wind, and reflecting from its various portions, more or less condensed, the several colours of the rainbow; which would at once exhibit the general white uniform of the military phantoms, the glittering of arms, and the specks of scarlet, which were converted by the excited fancy of the farmers into a commander on horseback. But we are rather disposed to explain such appearances on the principle suggested by Kircher, namely, that they are the reflections of real objects, the image of which is first received in an opaque cloud, and thence conveyed to the earth through the medium of a moist atmosphere. It is probable, therefore, that on the day in question a body of troops, consisting of foot and artillery, was exercised or reviewed in some part of England; and that a succession of aqueous strata was so arranged, at a certain elevation from the earth, as to receive and communicate the reflected picture. The faculty of determining the number and distance of a fleet at sea; by watching particular indications in the sky, can be acquired in the tropical regions of the Pacific and Indian oceans. In short, the figure of the ships is perceived in the atmosphere; and their distance from the place of observation is estimated by the altitude of the reflection. To the same principle may be referred the phenomenon, so well known to sea-faring men as the "ship's ghost;" and which consists in the reflection of the vessel from a dark cloud opposed to one full of light.

Such spectral illusions were the cause of much terror and suffering in the dark ages of Scotland. Evidence was received from a woman that while in bed with her child, Janet Cock and "many otheris came in and lay above her, and that they all drew at her chyld; and she having said, the *Spirit of Grace be in this house*, they went all out of the glasse with a noise." Further, when a mother in Dundee lay "in chyld birth with her young child besyd her, in the nyght-tyme, the door being locked, Janet

Miller, with other notorious witches, who are since burnt, blew up the doore and came in upon her, essayed to take the young child from her, but not having the power, went to the door in a confusion." Agnes Finnie was exposed to a serious charge, that there having been a quarrel between her daughter and John Cockburn, "quhairin grit flyting and outrageous wordis, na doubt, was utterit by ayther of them to utheris so that they pairtit unfriendis:—the said John Cockburn going that nycht to his bed to take the nycht's rest, little rest gat he. But having gottin his first sleip, and awaiking furth thereof, being struckin in greet fier and amaisement, he saw and evidently perseaved—all the durris and windowis of his house being fast closed—you Agnes Finnie, with your dochter, bothe sitting on his bed syd fearcelie rugging at his briest, and being in excessive fear with that their violent rugging and vexing of him in manner foresaid, he cryed out all that tyme, *God be in this house!* I ken ye well eneughe! *God be in this house!* Further it was alleged of Margaret Hutcheson that, upon the first day of January last, about twelve o'clock at night, ye came unto John Clerk his house, and sat down there at the fyre syd, and kombed your hair, to the great affrightment of his wyff, the dores and windows being all locked and closed: and that you did by the space of seevne or eight nights."

Mr. Dalzell, at the close of his work, alludes to a superstition of modern origin—the use of tongues. The inhabitants of these kingdoms have witnessed the revival of all the extravagance of antiquity, little creditable to an era of sense and civilization. Wild enthusiasts start up amidst assemblages collected for divine worship, incoherently screaming an uncouth jargon, with frantic gesticulation, under the blasphemous pretext and preposterous belief of a holy inspiration, that they "speak with other tongues." "Let no one wonder," says he, "if confirmed lunacy—the demoniac possession of old—shall follow its development of modern demonstration of the tongues, under an arrogant pretension to divine inspiration."

To the reader who wishes to enlarge his stock of knowledge on this antiquated subject—the superstitions of our ancestors—we beg leave to recommend a perusal of Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Kirk's *Secret Commonvealth*, King James's *Demonologie*, Scribonius de *Sagarum Natura*, Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, Tiers' *Traité des Superstitions*, Boissardus de *Divinatione et Magicis præstigiis*, Perkins' *Discourse of Witchcraft*, Schottus *Magia Universalis*, Grillandus de *Sortilegiis*, Catta's *Infallible, True, and Assured Witch*, and Springer's *Malleus Maleficarum*.

ART. IX.—*The Fathers not Papists; or, Six Discourses by the most Eloquent Fathers of the Church; with numerous Extracts from their Writings.* Translated from the Greek, by Hugh Stuart Boyd, Esq. A new Edition, considerably enlarged. London, Samuel Bagster; and John Harvey, Sidmouth. 1834. pp. 448.

WE must confess at once that we feel much disappointed in the contents of the book before us. We opened it in the hopes of finding a goodly cento of those, not only useful and valuable, but ennobling and heart-stirring passages with which the works of the Greek Fathers abound. In the present volume, if we except St. Basil's Homily on the martyr Gordius, there is nothing of the kind. There are passages, it is true, which have in them the *Greek fire*, but that is because the light will not be hid, because we have no means of putting it out, because those thoughts will burn, and leave a track behind,

“ Whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were *born for immortality.*”

Besides all this, we expected to have found the work imbued with the *spirit* of the Greek originals,—we expected to have found an accurate and scholar-like translation, and to have welcomed to our closets and our fire-sides, and to have been enabled to present to those that meet there in unity, certain selections, which, though clad in an English dress, should have betrayed the purity of diction to be found in Basil, the force of Gregory Nazianzen, whom Erasmus was afraid to translate lest he should fail to set forth in a language foreign to his own, his stateliness of diction and his happy and convincing periods. Above all, we expected to have found him of the golden mouth, the eloquent, the immortal, the traduced, and the injured, and the banished Chrysostom; represented in a style clear as his own,—in a style at which our children might have been wonder-struck, and led on to inquire who he should be that so riveted their attention,—that so they might be led to think upon not only his words but his acts, and thus direct their thoughts to the study of an author whose homilies would have been a comment on these heavenly chapters which a mother had taught them to reverence in childhood,—even the “*words of eternal life.*”

Thus much we expected to have found in Mr. Boyd's translations, because we thought him a scholar,—which he is,—but which, on the whole, the specimens of the Fathers in these Six Discourses are not sufficient to prove. Independent, however,

of this, the work has its merits, and is entitled to our thanks, though not to our entire approval. Mr. Boyd *has our thanks* for telling the world at large that the Fathers give the lie to the splendid fallacies of the Romish Church,—(though even in this he might, we think, have bettered his selections,)—he *has not our entire approval*, because his pages are soiled with very many defects, his translations are inaccurate, his style turgid and verbose, and his annotations foisted in, and childish,—and, in one instance, if not two, unwarranted. Herein, then, though as critics we are obliged to condemn, we are very far from wishing that the book had not appeared at all. There is enough in it, we think, to incite a laudable curiosity in many; and we trust it may be the forerunner of other similar translations, which by stirring up men to sift and examine the “faith once delivered to the Saints,” shall in the end promote the glory of God, and the good of men. Moreover, the subject is one for delight and improvement, and the combination of both will naturally invest the writer with a silent satisfaction that his writing, though it have but a *fit audience* and *few*, is nevertheless adapted to feed the mind that longeth after heavenly food. We cannot but advise every one to make that good and sober use of the Fathers which they are so well fitted to impart,—and although in a different sense to which the Roman bard applied them, we will give counsel in his words,—

“ Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.”

And whilst we advise the student in divinity to cull information where best he may, we may almost insure success to any one who shall carefully and indifferently endeavour to present to his brethren such extracts in their native tongue as shall lead them on themselves to follow in his steps. To him, too, we will apply the words of the same poet,—

“ Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.”

The study of the Fathers we have had occasion to discuss before,—particularly in No. XX., and incidentally or by implication in our Articles on Burton's Bampton Lectures, (No. XVII.) and on Waddington's Condition of the Greek Church, (No. XV). Had it not been for this we should have dwelt more upon that subject now. What, however, has been there said we are very anxious should be borne in mind, and the more so, as the cry of many in the present day is an increasing cry against all learning, and, we might almost say, against all the records of

antiquity. To use the phrase of *Thomas Jackson, which has been made more pointed and epigrammatic by a modern statesman, they are looked upon as a last year's almanac. One would be induced almost to think that a *soi-disant* parliament had called itself together upon literary merit, and as in 1653, so in 1834, "it being put to the vote whether they should support and encourage a *godly* and *learned* ministry, the latter word was rejected, and the vote passed for a *godly* and *faithful* ministry."† For they have cast their heads together with one consent, and are confederate against the Established Church in these kingdoms. Dissenters of every denomination, some of the more conscientious of the Wesleyans alone excepted, Socinians and Papists re-echo the cry, "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground." "The tabernacles of the Edomites and the Ishmaelites, the Moabites, and the Hagarens; Gebul and Ammon and Amalek, the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre. Assur also is joined with them, and have joined the children of Lot." To make fight against these agitators, and ‡reformers, and con-

* The works of this great and good man and excellent divine have by some means or other been unaccountably neglected; but, as Miss Freeman Shepherd wrote of Louis de Grenada's Sermons to Adam Clarke (*Life*, ii. 241.), they will be found full of "sound timber, enough to furnish a whole town of modern buildings."—Probably they have done so. We are glad to hear that the question of republishing them at the Clarendon Press has been agitated,—but we hope and trust, for the honour of the University and the general good, the publication will not be a mere body of extracts,—as some have advised. The University at large, especially Corpus and Queen's, should resist such a proceeding. Who are to publish such noble monuments of learning and piety if the Clarendon Press refuses?

Whilst speaking on this point, we are likewise rejoiced to inform our readers that honest old Fuller's Church History is about to issue from that press, to which it will do honour. We heartily thank the Delegates.

† See South's Sermons, vol. i. p. 57, note. Some may be glad to read the following sentence from Adam Clarke's *Life*: "He fulfils not the design of his Creator who does not cultivate his mind in all useful knowledge, to the utmost of his circumstance and power."—vol. i. p. 109.

‡ We heartily wish, with old Fuller, "that all pretenders to reformation would just labour to be good themselves before they go about the mending of others." But on this subject we particularly refer our readers to Bishop Gauden's Hieraspistes—remarking, at the same time, that we refer only to the *justice and truth* of his book, without sifting the conduct of the man. One extract we will give. "It is very probable, that the *wholesome waters* of the Reformation (which, by the confession of many of the learned and moderate Romanists, was in many things of religion necessary among them,) had been *willingly ere this drunk* by many of the *Romish party*; if this *Sacrilegious Star* (which may well be called *wormwood*, although it seem to burn as a lamp,) had not fallen on the waters of Reformation; of which many in *Germany* and *other places* have died; because they were made bitter with such *sacrilegious and sordid infusions*; reducing their reformed ministers to such *necessitous and beggarly ways* of life, that could be little to their *comfort*, or to the honour of their profession; and, no doubt, infinitely to the other men's prejudice and abhorrence of what they so called their *reformation*."—p. 484.

God forbid that Church reformation in this land should ever be the layman's *stalking-horse* to get estates!

founders of the Church's peace, we advise all who are preparing to minister within her walls, to store themselves with religious and useful learning,—to despise all the cant of the present day, and to be wise in all wisdom which shall teach them “rightly to divide the word of truth,” and to be “*wise unto salvation*.” Thank God! “the sound in the tops of the mulberry trees” has been heard, and not heard in vain:—many, like David, have taken the warning, and have bestirred themselves, and are ready, with “the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God” to fight the battles of the Lord.

“The dark hours wring forth the hidden might
Which hath lain bedded in the silent soul,
A treasure all undreamt of;—as the night
Calls out the harmonies of streams that roll
Unheard by day.”—

It is true, perhaps, that our weapons of warfare, derived from other sources than the Bible, as *rests* for that sword of matchless temper there *only* to be found, have been somewhat neglected and unfurnished, and so, that we may apply the words of Jackson against the Romanists to the whole body of our Sion's enemies, “albeit they dread and fear our *sword-hand*, yet their hope is our *buckler-hand* for defence of our own cause will not be so strong; and upon this hope they will be ready thus to encounter us.”—(vol. iii. p. 913.) It is the object of these remarks to call up all to their post, that they may not be found wanting in the day of battle,—and above all, to bid them beware of that *πρῶτον ψεύδος* of our adversaries, that mere human learning is dross. True it is, when compared with that learning, which, we said above, is to make us wise to salvation,—but in all other respects it is a specious and abominable lie. Such learning is at all times necessary, and never more so than when we have to do down lying fanatics such as these. Again, it is absurd to imagine that a falsehood once exposed is done with; therefore, even on that score, we may rest assured that learning is never out of place. “Opinions start up and flourish,” says Jortin, “and fall into disgrace, and seem to die; but like Alpheus and Arethusa, they only disappear for a time, and rise into light and favour again.” But we forget our limits and Mr. Boyd,—in a word, then, let us not be misunderstood; there is a knowledge that puffeth up,—and that, of course, we are not the advocates of,—our only wish is, “that whatsoever tends to the advancement of true religion and useful learning may for ever flourish and abound.” They that wish otherwise are under a delusion,—some, too, we are sorry to add,—(“*Sardi venales, alius alio nequior*,”) are not only willing themselves to

believe a lie, but do all they can to bring others to a like condemnation. We cannot do better than urge on the well-intentioned with the words of old Chaucer.

“I woke, and other bokes took me to
To rede upon, and yet I rede alway,
I hope ywis to rede so some day
That I shall mete something for to fare
The bet, and thus to rede I will not spare.”

Having spoken, as we always wish to do, thus openly, we now turn to the book before us, and there are some reasons not requisite to be mentioned, which will induce us to give it somewhat a lengthened criticism. We begin, as is fit we should, with the Preface.

With respect to the Preface, then, we cannot help remarking, that although what is said concerning the Unitarians and Papists is strictly true, yet it is not said in that way which is most likely to do good. Indeed we cannot think that controversy managed as it is here, can ever do good. It is quite true, as says Cicero, that “*Pax cum Antonio non est pax, sed pactio servitutis*,”—but then, to use the words of Erasmus, so often quoted by the good Bishop Hachet, in his Century of Sermons, “*Mihi aded invisa est discordia, ut veritas displiceat seditiosa*.” In this spirit, however, the whole of the Preface is written, and, as it appears to us, it is a blot in the book—“*τὰ σκληρὰ γάρ τοι, κἂν ὑπέρδικ’ ἤ, δάκνει*.”* The note in p. v. will not gainsay what we have here remarked. We will set in juxtaposition that and a note in p. vii. to make good our statement :

“Let me here most distinctly state, that the remarks which I shall make on Roman Catholics and Unitarians, are intended to apply to them merely as writers on theology, and as scholars. I believe even that the Roman Catholics and Unitarians of England, are, generally speaking, amiable in private life, and worthy members of society.”—Pref. p. v.

“Reader, let me give you a piece of advice. Never believe any thing you hear, or read, respecting the Bible, unless it comes from a Divine, or a layman of the Church of England, or from an orthodox Dissenter.”—Pref. p. vii.

The latter note is occasioned by the late Mr. Butler having told a friend of the translator that the “Vulgate Version is of greater authority than the mutilated manuscripts of the Greek Testament which have come down to us!” This, certainly, is a statement, which, had we not read it on the authority of Mr. Boyd, we should have been ill-inclined to believe. Mr. Butler is now, we trust, at rest,—and his book of the Roman Catholic Church,

* Soph. Aj. v. 1119.

and Southey's *Vindiciæ Eccl. Angl.* will speak more than we need to trouble our readers with. Enough for us to remark in the words of one of our old and best Divines, "To sit as coroners upon the souls of men diseased, is a thing which I have ever misliked, though sometimes practised by men, otherwise of deserved esteem. And whosoever in this case will take upon him to sit as judge, my request shall be, not to serve upon the jury." But to return to the above notes. Can anything be worse than to tax men with a downright lie; or, if not to tax them, yet to believe them liars? It will be answered to this, that the denial of a Romanist touching any point of doctrine, even though he knows his denial contrary to fact, is yet no lie, but a pious fraud. Our reply is, "We have no such custom nor the Churches of God."

There is another point connected with the latter note, which we cannot pass over. What does Mr. Boyd mean by an "*orthodox Dissenter*?" We confess, though we have often heard the term, we cannot understand it, and we think Mr. Boyd entangles himself in the same web with the Romanist who talks of the *Roman Catholic Church*. On this point, however, we shall say no more, but referring our readers to Townshend and Faber,* we shall conclude in the words of Burton, in a note to his first Bampton Lecture, "Every person who did not believe in the Catholic Church, i. e. in the one faith which was held by all the Churches, was an heretic. See Bull, *Jud. Eccl. Cath.* vi. 14. The Church of Rome has endeavoured to keep up this distinction between catholic and heretic: but she forgets that according to ancient ideas the phrase *Roman Catholic* would have been a contradiction in terms." Our opinion touching an "*orthodox Dissenter*" is one with this.

A few more words will bring us to the conclusion of our remarks on the preface. All that Mr. Boyd says of the Rhemish Testament we quite accord with,—but we are not so much inclined to call in question the *scholarship* of the Romanists, as their *unfairness*. For our parts we can believe that a *first-rate* Greek scholar *can* be a Papist. We believe that his intellectual eye *may* be blinded, and we believe that in the case of many it *has been* so;—we believe, likewise, that from this very cause error has been piled upon error, and those, whose eyes *have been*

* See Townshend's *Accusations of History*, &c. p. 7, &c. Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism*, Pref. p. xxxv—xlili. In our opinion, the words of St. Jude must apply to the "*orthodox Dissenters*," as Mr. Boyd calls them—"ἑρὼς σίειν οἱ ἀνοδοπλῆκτορες λαυροί," v. 19. On this point we think with Mr. Smith, in his *VII. Letters on National Religion*, p. 166, a book, by the way, which has met with less notice than it deserves.

opened, have been afraid of the full glare of day, lest the light should dart through the darkness of their covert.* One stone loosed might endanger the whole fabric,—

“Nam communibus inter se radicibus hærent,
Nec sine perniciæ divelli posse videntur.”

We do not mean to say that the Romanists are the *best* of scholars (though there are and have been many excellent ones among them), but we see the necessity of warning all to be prepared lest they should find themselves inferior to those they look down upon. We cannot end this our criticism of the Preface without saying that the note in p. viii. contains a remark equally vain with that of the “*pious Æneas famâ super æthera notus*”—and that the paragraph in p. xvii. about “men of talent writing an article against me,” is puerile to a degree.

The Preface to the “*Tributes to the Dead*,” which follows, has the same perversion of good taste as the former, and is chiefly occupied in discussing the merits of patristic scholarship. This is a point which our limits will not allow us now to enter into, and we can but refer our readers to Burton’s second Bampton Lecture, where they will find some excellent remarks. Mr. Boyd is loud in Gregory Nazianzen’s praise as a scholar, as well as a divine,—nor on the whole are we willing to dispute with him as to the Greek he wrote. As concerns his poetry, of which the end of the volume contains many specimens, we are likewise unwilling to enter the lists; but at the same time we must remark that Mr. Boyd’s critical acumen does not appear to very great advantage when dwelling on its correctness as to metre. He seems to us in p. xxxii. to confound accent and quantity; and in p. xxxiv. when speaking of the *final cretic*, he seems utterly to forget the Greek *comic* writers. In speaking of *δρόσος*, in a note p. xxxv. as once found in Æschylus, in the masculine gender, we presume he alludes to the expression “*δρόσους ἀέττοισ*,” in v. 138, where the text is so corrupt that it is impossible to say anything, but that it is a bad foundation to build upon. The note in p. xxxvii. we extract because we do heartily wish the Clarendon Press would issue that which would be a *κτῆμα ἐς αἶν*,—

* In speaking of the Romanists, we would wish at all times to have these two sentences of the “learned and judicious Hooker,” before us: “All that held Popish heresies, did not hold *all* the heresies of the Pope.” “Charity doth always interpret doubtful things favourably.”—Vol. iii. pp. 447, 450. We cannot avoid referring our readers to a passage in part ii. of Pusey’s *Theology of Germany*, taken from a MS. of the late Bishop Lloyd, whose memory is deservedly cherished in Oxford, where, though dead, he yet speaketh, in his successor—“*Simili frondescit virga metallo*.” At the same time we would not be considered as intimating in this place, whether our own opinions on the Catholic Question were and are similar or opposed to his.

we mean an edition of the Fathers, without note or comment, somewhat perhaps like to that now publishing in Germany. The note is as follows, and relates to Gregory Nazianzen's works :

"Two or three years ago, I was informed that the manuscript of the second volume of the Benedictine edition, quite prepared for publication, was still in existence, and had been offered to an eminent London bookseller, but that he declined purchasing it. Would it not be most honourable, if the University of Oxford, or Cambridge, were to finish what the Benedictine editors so admirably began?"

After the Preface and the Preface to the Tributes to the Dead, there follows an address to the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland. It is *well* meant, doubtless—but it is not only injudiciously, but *ill* written. We give the extract which follows, and pass it by, not having the means to verify the statement :

"I am confident there is scarcely a Romish priest in England or Ireland, who has ever read, in the original, a single page of the easiest, much less of the most difficult Greek fathers. I am confident there is scarcely one who can construe a sentence of Gregory Nazianzen. If you doubt me, you can make the experiment. In my notes I have given several short passages from Gregory, both in prose and in verse. Ask some priest whom you consider learned, to render them into English. I suspect the poor man will be sadly puzzled. You must not ask him to translate the passages from Æschylus, for *they* would lay him prostrate. How can such men be competent judges?"

Somehow or other we cannot help thinking it more profitable to read the following lines of Catullus, than the above paragraph :

"Nimirum idem omnes fallimur ; neque est quisquam
Quem non in aliquâ re videre Suffenum
Possis. Suus quoque attributus est error :
Sed non videmus manticæ quod in tergo est."

At length we have arrived at the text itself,—and now it is our duty to make good what we have said relative to the way in which Mr. Boyd has executed his task as a translator. And here it must be observed, that we shall confine our criticisms to Saint Basil, though the extracts from that writer are the fewest of all, and for this reason : We are quite sure of the edition from which they are made, as in a note, p. 71, we find the following certification :

"My translation of this," (viz. St. Basil's Homily on Paradise,) "as well as the two preceding homilies, has been made from the Ed. Bas. which gives the Greek text without any comment, note, or version. I have a strong partiality for those editions of Greek books which are printed without version or comment, even although they be not the best editions."

This edition is on the table before us,—"*Basilea*, MDLI. Cum

gratia et privilegio Imp. Majestatis ad annos v.," as beautiful a copy as ever collector set eyes upon,—full of contractions, and apt for a scholar, such as we have imagined Mr. Boyd to be. For this reason we take St. Basil, although for our own pleasure we might rather have taken St. Chrysostom. Had we, however, done this, we could not have been so sure of verbal accuracy, nor could we have concluded, from the reference in p. 14 to the edition of *Saville*,*—"our worthy English knight," as Fuller calls him, "who set forth the golden mouth'd father in a silver print,"—that it was the edition used throughout.

Beginning, then, with Basil, we may be allowed to wish that on the subject of the admission of the Dissenters to our Universities, those whom it most concerns will show as much zeal as he did when he set his face like a flint against the Arians, and would not admit them to his communion, though the Emperor Valens, by good words as well as menaces, endeavoured to bring him over. But this by the way.

The first translation is that of the "Homily on the Forty Martyrs," which, together with that on the "Martyr Gordius," we would observe to be the best of all the extracts from this Father. The reason may be drawn from the preface—"I translated them only a few months ago," p. ii. "Αἱ δεύτεραι πῶς φρόντιδες σοφώτεραι," says the philosophic poet, and we would Mr. Boyd had regarded it. Even in these portions, however, there is much want of accuracy, and to these we will first look.

We are not about to consider the gradual origin of the Invocation of saints, the value of relics, and such like trumpery of the Roman Catholic Church,—that may be found elsewhere. It will be sufficient, then, to say that this homily was one in commemoration of the death of forty martyrs, whose history is interwoven in the narration, and that at this time the saints or martyrs were looked upon as "δεήσιως συνεργοί," which words Mr. Boyd translates "*favourers of our petitions*," (p. 42), any thing but the full sense of the original. This is, however, anticipating the thread of the narration, a part of which we purpose giving, as the best specimen of Mr. Boyd's labours, and as a fair one of Basil's style :—

"And what was the manner of their translation? Being of lofty stature, in the bloom of youth, and pre-eminent in strength, and in all these things surpassing their companions, they were appointed for active service in the army, (εἰς τὰς στρατιωτικὰς τελεῖν ἐτάχθησαν κατὰ λόγους.) Through their military skill and (*consummate*) bravery (lit. ἀνδρείαν),

* The Holy State. General Rules, book iii. c. 19, p. 186, ed. fol. 1648.

they were soon* (ἔθνη) advanced by the king to the highest honours; and on account of their virtue were celebrated by all. But when that unholy and God abjuring edict was proclaimed, commanding that men should not confess Christ, or, confessing him, should be exposed to dangers; and when every mode of punishment was threatened,† and the minds of the nefarious judges, glowing with no common wrath, blazed high against the righteous; when the subtle web of stratagem was woven for their entanglement; when the varieties of torture were studied as a science, (ἐπερὶ δέουρο); when they who administered them became inexorable, and the fire was prepared, and the falchion was sharpened," (ἡκόνητο, i. e. had been sharpened,) "and the cross was rooted in the earth: when the pit, and the wheel, and the scourge were publicly displayed; when some fled, some yielded, and some were wavering; when some trembled at bare threats, before they experienced aught of suffering; when some, having approached near to those dread tortures, were seized with giddiness, (ἰλιγγίαν); and others, who had entered on the conflict, being unable to reach the termination of their toil, despaired in the midst of the combat, and, like mariners in a storm,‡ casting overboard whatever is moveable, renounced the little patience they possessed; then, these unconquered and illustrious warriors of Christ advanced into the midst; and when the ruler displayed the imperial edict, and demanded their obedience, with unrestrained voice (ἐλευθέρῳ τῇ φωνῇ) confidently and courageously, fearless alike of what they beheld and of what was threatened, they cried aloud that they were Christians. Oh! how blessed were the lips that pronounced that holy word. Hallowed was the breeze that wafted it; the angels hearing it awoke the hymn of gratulation, (ἐπεκρότησαν.) Satan and his demons were thrilled with anguish, (ἐρρανυρίσθη), and God inscribed it in the heavens! Each, therefore, standing in the midst, exclaimed, I am a Christian! And, as in the stadium, those who have stripped themselves for the combat pronounce their own names at the moment they reach the scene of their contentions, casting off their earthly appellations, they designated themselves by the name of their common Saviour and Lord. This did they all successively. Thus they had all one common name; for all other titles were absorbed in that single word, a Christian!"—p. 25—27.

Threats and persuasion were alike unavailing, and so their death was to be one of protracted agony and suffering:—

* The original is ἤδη τὰς πρῶτας εἶχον παρὰ βασιλέων τιμὰς, which implies not "they soon," but already had;" and so it is clear from the past tense above, ἰτάχθησαν. This, however, is immaterial in the narration, and we only mention it for correctness' sake.

† Here Mr. Boyd improves upon his original, which is simply, but expressively, καὶ πολλὰς δὲ θυμὸς καὶ θυμῶδες παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβούντων μακίστο.—p. 208.

‡ The original is simply, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐν πειλάγῳ χειμαζόμενοι καὶ ἂν εἶχον ἤδη ἀγῶνισμα τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἱκανύοντες. The want of exactness is a glaring fault throughout the whole of this, though, as observed in the context, the best of the translations in the volume. In a subsequent paragraph "the sweet blandishments of honied words" is in the Greek but ταῖς θωπυσίαις. Now this we rank, with many like phrases, under the head of turgid and verbose.

"And mark how cruel the device! Considering the nature of the climate, that it was frigid (*χρυσμώδης*), and the season of the year, that it was winter; waiting until night, till the cold was most intense, especially as the northern wind then blew, he commanded that they should be stripped naked, and being exposed to the inclement air, in the midst of the city, that they should in that manner die. Ye who have experienced the extreme cold of winter know how intolerable is this kind of agony. For it is impossible to describe it unto any except those who have previously known it from actual suffering. When the body is exposed to cold, in the first instance it becomes livid through the stagnation of the blood. In the next place it is agitated and convulsed; the teeth striking against each other, the sinews being contracted, and the whole mass involuntarily drawn together. Then a thrilling pain, an anguish indescribable, penetrating the marrow, causeth a sensation too dreadful to be borne. At last, the extremities, burnt as it were by fire, drop off; for the warmth being driven from the ends of the body, and rushing to the centre, leaveth dead the parts whence it retreateth, and agonizeth the part in which it is compressed. Thus death cometh slowly on."—pp. 31, 32.*

To this punishment they all joyfully submitted; and but one *ὀκλάσας πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ*, (a strong expression which Mr. Boyd translates "yielding to the greatness of his sufferings,") drew back to perdition. The scene of the contest was on a lake then frozen as level as a race-course, *ὅλον τι πέδιον ἱππύλατον*, and on which the city was built. Adjoining the scene of suffering was a gymnasium, where the officer on guard was posted, and where also was a bath ready for any who should relent and forget their faith.

"For their enemies had artfully selected as the scene of their contestation a spot in which the readiness of the succour might unnerve the resolution of the combatants. This very circumstance threw a brighter lustre on the fortitude of the martyrs; for he is not the truly brave who sustaineth what he is compelled to bear; but he who, when an abundant enjoyment is presented, persevereth in enduring pain. But while the martyrs were continuing their warfare, and the guard was anxiously observing them, he beheld a strange and wondrous spectacle. He saw a company of angels (*δυνάμεις τινὰς*) descending from the skies, and distributing gifts among the soldiers; gifts whose effulgent glory proclaimed the Almighty giver. He saw them enriching all the others with that most regal bounty, but leaving one unhonoured with a gift, as unworthy of aught celestial; who immediately after, shrinking from the conflict, deserted to the foe. It was a piteous spectacle to the righteous; a warrior flying! a conqueror subdued! a sheep of Christ ensnared by

* This is fairly translated, and the passage is a curious one. We ourselves have felt the rigours of a northern winter, and know that "penetrabile frigus adurit," that "the wind blows froze, and cold performs the effect of heat;" but we know of no parallel instance to this, nor can we call to mind any such particulars in the works of Olaus Magnus, Saxo Grammaticus, or that still more rare and curious one, "*Knud Leems Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper*," which is open before us.

wolves ! and what rendered it yet more piteous was this--that whilst he lost the future world, he enjoyed not the present ; for as soon as his flesh experienced the warmth it was dissolved ; and thus a lover of life perished, having sinned in vain."—pp. 36, 37.

According to the vision of the officer, such was the reality. One of the forty, as we stated above, deserted, and the officer took his place, and so they died. In the morning their bodies

"Were committed to the flames, and after they were burnt, their ashes were scattered on the river. Thus, in their mighty conflict, they passed through* all the elements of nature. They combated on earth ; they were exposed to air ; they were consumed by fire ; and water received their relics. It is theirs to exclaim, 'we have passed through fire and water, and thou hast led us forth unto refreshment.' These be they who encircling our land, like a chain of connected towers, protect it from invasion by the foe ; who confine not themselves to a single country, but even now are welcomed in many regions, and become the ornament of many climes."—p. 39.

After this Mr. Boyd omits a passage which is not very intelligible, and to which he afterwards alludes, and then continues the homily to the conclusion, of which there is little more that we need allude to. We must again remark, however, that the prayers of the martyrs are herein considered as efficacious, as the words *μετὰ μαρτύρων γινώσκει τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν* and *δεήσεων συνεργοί* evidently imply ; but this, as Mr. Boyd observes, in no way constitutes the Fathers to be Papists, it being but one error, and not a complicated system of fraud and imposture.

With these extracts we close this homily, but we have not done with what is connected with Mr. Boyd's translation, inasmuch as he has hazarded a remark in a note, p. 40, which is destitute of all foundation, and is apt to lead those who have not thought and read upon the subject astray. What we allude to is this : "Truth and candour compel me to state, that *infant baptism*, as well as some of the Popish corruptions, appears to have been unknown in the fourth century, except in the very close."

If we understand Mr. Boyd aright, infant baptism is a corruption ; at least we can hardly imply anything else from the tenor of the sentence—" *infant baptism, as well as some of the popish corruptions.*" Now it is not our purpose to enter at all into the region of this long-ago controverted point, but we shall take the liberty of making one or two remarks, and of referring Mr. Boyd to the Fathers he appears to have read, and to some of those excellent men of our own Church who have treated on this matter, and to the cautious wording of the twenty-seventh Article of our

* This reminds us of Fuller's and Fox's sayings of the ashes of Wicliffe. See Southey's Book of the Church, vol. i. p. 396.

Church, which simply says, "The baptism of young children is in anywise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." The translator is probably of Salmasius and Suicerus's opinion, as quoted by Bingham in his laborious and invaluable work on the Antiquities of the Christian Church—"that the doctrine of the necessity of baptism to salvation was not the doctrine of the two first ages, but only an opinion taken up *afterwards*, upon which foundation the practice of infant baptism was introduced into the Church"—an opinion to which we need not say that we are totally opposed, and so are, we believe, all the early writers of the Church. Our article was framed with that consideration and exactitude which is so visible in them all; and it would almost seem that those good and holy men that framed it were of opinion, (to use the words of Hey,) that although infant baptism was not expressly mentioned in Scripture, yet that "it was taken for *granted*, as are moral duties of the greatest importance." And,* "when we have not words to judge by, we must judge by actions or customs. As the children of converts to Judaism were always baptised, the order to convert and baptise all nations, would, of course, be understood to include children." For ourselves, we confess that the above argument, coupled with the words, "*Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not,*" so properly inserted of old time in the Baptismal Service, is sufficient. The testimony, then of Scripture, stands thus: "On the one hand, they mention *no instance* of infant baptism; on the other, they afford no instance of baptism being *delayed*. Some *families* are spoken of collectively as being baptised, but the *children* are not mentioned particularly." It is hardly necessary to say more on this point, and it will be sufficient to give the argument in the words of Mr. Short.† "At a certain time it was found existing in the Church; history states not when it began; and the supposition of it having existed from the times of the Apostles is not contradicted, but rather supported by the Apostolic history. Moral demonstration hardly admits of proof more satisfactory."

We turn now to the position of Mr. Boyd, which is demonstrably false, that infant baptism "appears to have been unknown in the fourth century, except at the very close." It is not in our power, for want of space, to give the quotations that are at hand. We therefore simply remark, that Irenæus mentions infants as "by Christ *born again* unto God;" and Irenæus was born about

* See Hey's Lectures, vol. iv. pp. 277 and 391. He refers to Wall for the substance of his remarks.

† In that extremely useful work which we reviewed in a late Number—"A Sketch of the History of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 468, note f.

A.D. 97, and lived to about A.D. 189.* Origen, again, "does in several places, speak of infant baptism as a known and undoubted practice, and (in one of them) as having been, according to a *tradition*, ordered by the Apostles." Origen was born about A.D. 185, and died about A.D. 252, which is quite sufficient to subvert Mr. Boyd's assertion, which we were sorry to find made by one who certainly might have known better.

And here we beg it to be observed, that we have not insisted on the authority of Justin Martyr,† though the words *οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθήτευσαν τῷ Χριστῷ* are to many a sufficient evidence; nor yet to the authority of Tertullian, which is decidedly in favour of the *custom at that time existing in the Church*, though he, as a *Montanist*, recommended the delay of it. His is the testimony of an enemy, and therefore doubly valuable. But for this we must refer our readers to Wall on Infant Baptism, and to the Bishop of Lincoln's Illustrations of Ecclesiastical History, from Tertullian, who remarks, (p. 451,) that whatever stress the Antipædobaptists lay upon the passage in question, "the fair inference from it is, that whatever might be Tertullian's individual opinion, the general practice of the Church *was* to baptise infants." And it were better, as Jeremy Taylor quotes Gregory Nazianzen, *even* affirming "that they should be consigned and sanctified without their own knowledge, than to die without their being sanctified;" for so it happened to the circumcised babes of Israël: and if the conspersion and washing the door-posts with the blood of a lamb did sacramentally preserve all the first-born of Goshen, it cannot be thought impossible or unreasonable that the want of understanding in children should hinder them from the blessing of a sacrament, and from being redeemed and washed with the blood of the Holy Lamb, "who was slain for all from the beginning of the world." And here we should have stopped, but we cannot avoid referring our readers to a beautiful letter of Bishop Hall's,‡ ad-

* These words are quoted by Wall in his invaluable History of Infant Baptism, one of the works to which we would call the attention of Mr. Boyd, p. 27. We have expressed ourselves nearly in the words of Hey in his Lectures. See Origen, Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, lib. v.—"Ecclesia ab Apostolis traditionem, suscepit etiam parvulis baptismum dare," &c. Other works to which we would refer, are Hammond's, vol. ii. p. 99, Appendix; Defence of Infant Baptism against the Exceptions of Mr. Tombes; Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 478, &c.; Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 273, &c.; Bishop Jeremy Taylor, vol. ii. pp. 258—296; and the learned and judicious Hooker, Eccles. Pol. vol. ii. p. 287, &c. Besides these he will do well to refer to Waterland and Archbishop Lawrence.

† The learned reader may find this passage examined, with many others, in the "Baptismatis Expositio Biblica Historica Dogmatica" of Cour. Stephanus Matthias, p. 187, &c., Berlin, 1831; and he will thank us for referring him, if ever it should fall in his way, to Olafson's Syntagma Histor. Eccles. for much curious information. It was printed at Copenhagen in 1770. 4to.

‡ It will be found in Decad. V. Epist. IV. of his collected Works, vol. i. p. 367, ed. fol. 1628. Oh! that we all knew how to value the treasures of our old divines.

dressed "to my Lady Honoria Hay," discoursing of the necessity of baptism, and the estate of those which necessarily want it. We have only room for the following extracts:—

"Children are the blessing of parents, and baptisme is the blessing of children and parents; wherein there is not only use, but necessitie; necessitie, not in respect so much of the end as of the precept. God hath enjoined it to the comfort of parents and behoofe of children; which, therefore, as it may not be superstitiously hastened, so not negligently deferred."

Again.

"Children cannot live to desire baptism. If their parents desire it for them, why may not the desire of others be theirs, as well as (according to Austin's opinion) the faith of others believing, and the mouth of others confessing? In these cases, therefore, of any soules but our own, it is safe to suspend, and dangerous to pass judgment. Secret things to God: He that made all soules, knowes what to do with them; neither will make us of counsell. But if wee define either way, the errors of charitie are inoffensive. We must honor good meanes, and use them, and in their necessarie want, depend upon Him who can worke, beyond, without, against meanes."

Our conclusion of the whole matter then is this—in some way or other God says to every one in baptism, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased," whether he be Jew or Gentile, infant or adult.

The next translation from Basil is his Homily on the Martyr Gordius, and did our limits admit of it, we would gladly give it at length. This not being the case, we must confine ourselves to a few critical remarks, recommending it, however, to the perusal of our readers. In page 45, Mr. Boyd omits the epithet *δεινῆς*, as applied to the historian; and in the next page, "*simpli- city of expression*" and "*accumulated stores of human eloquence*," barely express τὸ πλεὸν τῆς λέξεως and λόγων αὐξήσεως. In page 47, "*to acclaim* the righteous*" is hardly English. In page 50, the original metaphor, ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναδραμῶν, is quite lost in the translation, "*having grown up in our native soil*;" and in page 51, χαράγματι τέχνης μεμορφωμένα is left out altogether. In a subsequent page, "*undaunted courage*" is the rendering given for the words ἀτρόμω τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ γαύρῳ τῷ φρονήματι; and in page 57, for "*like a rushing wind*," the original has simply ὅλον αὐρα. In page 59, οἷα μὲν ἐν ζημιῇμαί is translated "*it will be a kind of loss*," instead of "*how great*" or "*what a loss it would be!*" With respect to the English phrase, "*an increase of*"

* Mr. Boyd again used the word in this sense in one of his poetical translations from Gregory Nazianzen.

"While for domestic duties one is famed,
Another shines in every art acclaimed."—p. 420.

wealth," for χρημάτων πόνος, we very much doubt; and when we find the words τῶν θήμιον severally interpreted "*the victors*," (in the plural,) we should have imagined, in any one less a scholar than Mr. Boyd, that he had been indebted for it to some Latin version. As, however, we have none at hand, we cannot say whether or not it is so rendered. Page 63 contains one of the earliest pieces of Jesuitical casuistry we wot of in a Greek Father.

"Make your recantation in words alone, but in your heart retain what faith you please. Assuredly, God regards not words, but the real sentiments of the speaker. For thus it will be completely in your power, both to soften the judge and to propitiate God." *

In the same page, "*yawning earthquakes*" can scarcely be the true sense of χαράδραι περιβήγγυνται; and for "*he said*," the original has εἶπε τὸ τῷ Κυρίῳ ῥήμα. For "*acknowledged*," page 64, Basil has the words of the Evangelist, ὡμολόγησε καὶ ἐκ ἡρώστατο; and in fact, though the sense is not garbled, exactitude, as far as may be, in idiom, and all that kind of justice *quoad verba* which a translator owes to his author—the living to the dead—has been neglected. In closing the martyrdom of Gordius, we cannot avoid begging our readers to compare the beautiful confession of Polycarp, as related by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 15), with his. We will give one sentence, never to be forgotten.

Ἐγκειμένῳ δὲ τῷ ἡγμένῳ, καὶ λέγοντος· ὁμοσον καὶ ἀπολύσω σε. Λοιδορήσον τὸν Χριστὸν, εἶφη ὁ Πολυκαρπὸς· δγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑξ ἔτη δολένῳ αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰδέν με ἡδίκησε. Καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σώσαντά με;—κ. τ. ε.

Of the next translation, that of the Homily on Paradise, we are enabled to speak well, take it as a whole; and it is fairly rendered. We can hardly, however, perceive the reason why it is inserted in the collection; but this is a question which we should be obliged to ask on several extracts; and as we are not likely to find out, we let it pass. The following passage, in page 75, is very sweet:—

"Though lovely be the rose, and fragrant, yet when I gaze upon the flower, my heart is surcharged with sorrow; for I am reminded of my sin—of that transgression, through which the earth produceth thorns and briars."

The description also of the serpent, in page 77, is very beautiful, so much so that we prefer giving it in the original:

* The classical reader will call to mind the words of the Hippolytus, and the bantering of Aristophanes—ἡ γλῶσσο' ἑμώμοχ', ἡ διφρὴν ἀνώμοτος. See Eurip. Hippol. v. 608; Aristot. Rhet. lib. iii. c. xv.

We must not omit to remark that the word θιάσος is used in this homily in a particular sense. Mr. Boyd does not translate it amiss in p. 53—πᾶς θιάσος, i. e. every assembly.

"ὁ φρικτὸς ὁ ὄφις τοῦτ', ἀλλὰ προσήνης καὶ ἡμερος, ἐχὶ φοβερὸν ἐπικνύμειον τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐφερπων, ἀλλ' ὑψηλὸς ἐπὶ πόδων βεβηκώς."—p. 644.

We need scarcely say that Milton must have had this in view. Besides this we have nothing more to add, save a misadvertence of Mr. Boyd's, in quoting from Basil, in his needless note, p. 80, *ὄν* for *ἦς τέλος ὁ ἀφίδρων*. We should not have noticed this had not Mr. Boyd been so particular in letting us know how much of the volume he corrected for the press.

The Homily on the Catholic Faith is a falling off. It is not translated so well as the former ones, and there are more omissions without any notice being taken of it. In the first sentence *μεμνησθαι* does not mean to "*discourse*" continually of God; and, indeed, that sense is excluded by the latter member of the sentence. It appears to us that the words *μεμνησθαι* and *διεξίναί* are opposed; and then Basil does not *say* it is impossible, (though it be so,) but he says, *λόγω δὲ διεξίναί τὰ περὶ θεῶ τολμηρόν*. In the next page we find the words, *τῇ δὲ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν προθυμίᾳ, ἰστέος ἰστέος διηκνέχουμεν*, altogether omitted; and again, in p. 91, no notice is taken of *ἐκ γὰρ πολυλογίας ἐκ ἐκφεύξεται ἡ ἀμαρτία*. In a note, p. 92, we have a reference again made to *orthodox Dissenters*, a term which we professed ourselves unable to understand. In the following page, "the *economy of redemption*" is added, we suppose to complete or extend and enforce the sense, and then comes a most *unscholar-like* translation of *λάβοιμεν ἂν, ἐπιστάγοντες*, one of the commonest Greek phrases. Mr. Boyd gives it thus, "I should be adding," and then renders *ἐπανάλωμεν* by "*adhere*" instead of "*return*."* Page 94 contains also an essential omission with reference to the Holy Spirit, namely, *ἡ ἀγαθότης, ἡ εὐδοτία*. In page 66, for "*spreads abroad his graces*," the Greek is *ἐνεργεῖ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων*, that is, "*graces*" or "*gifts of healing*." The last remark we have to make on this Homily is on the passage which follows, and we give it in Mr. Boyd's words, which are faithful enough. "John was unacquainted with the wisdom of the world; but in the power of the Spirit he uttered words which no wisdom of man can fathom." Democritus to the Reader, (old Burton, in his preface to the Anatomy of Melancholy,) shall express our thoughts for us on this head. "We have women politicians, children metaphysicians; every silly fellow can square a circle, make perpetual motions, find the philosopher's stone,† *interpret Apocalypsis*, make

* There is in this page, by the way, an evident allusion to the *flying fish*. See the original Greek, p. 197. Unless some may think that *ἀνανήξασθαι* as opposed to *ἀπὸ τῷ βυθῷ*, simply implies from the depths to the surface.

† Jackson often uses this selfsame expression, and with the same intent as Burton. We are an age of *professors*, but a *self-styled* one, as may be seen in the life of that excellent but eccentric man, Rowland Hill.

new theoricks, a new system of the word, new logick, new philosophy."* What would Basil have thought of this?

The passage which Mr. Boyd gives in a note from Basil's treatise, Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, does not occur in the 28th chap. according to his reference, but in the middle of chap. 29. Ed. Bas. p. 277. We wish he had been more exact, and more communicative on these points. The only other extract from this treatise is in p. 218 of the translation,—of the original Greek, p. 262. And here we may observe, that the whole of the rest of the translations from Basil are decidedly inferior to those already examined. In fact they are bad, and, what is more, *faithless*, by reason of the many and great omissions. The one now before us has no less than three paragraphs omitted, and that in the space of less than three pages of the English version. For the translation itself, ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτὶ, is rendered "as when the earth is veiled in darkness," διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν, "promiscuously." The following passages, set over against each other, must speak for themselves:—

"Every thing would be darkness, and anarchy, and desolation, if bereaved of the enlightening Spirit.

"If then the Seraphic choirs resound their Creator's glory, it is by the energy of the Spirit."

"All those supernal strains and heavenly warblings, whether poured in open ministration before the throne, or breathed in the unobtrusive symphonies of supramundane powers, would die on immortal lips if unassisted by the Spirit."

"Ἀμήχανον τὴν εὐθεσίαν ἐκείνην διαμείναι ζωὴν, αἰνεῖ τὸ Πνεῦματος."

"Εἴ τι ἔν αἰνῶσι τὸν Θεὸν πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ αἰνῶσιν αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργίαν."

"Πᾶσαν ὃν τὴν ὑπερυπάνιον ἐκείνην καὶ ἄρρητον ἁρμονίαν, ἐν τε λειτουργίαις Θεοῦ, καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας τῶν ὑπερεπουμένων δυνάμεων συμφωνίᾳ, ἀδύνατον φυλαχθῆναι μὴ τῇ ἐπιστάσει τοῦ Πνεύματος."

It is curious that in two lines of the original, in a note below, that want of exactness before alluded to is visible again; Χριστῆ is not in the Greek. Such slips are hardly worth noticing, but the omissions and the additions in the work before us are so manifold that we are obliged to call the reader's attention to them. What Mr. Boyd remarks with respect to the text from Titus is perfectly correct, and the shifts of the Unitarians on this point, as on all others connected with their faith, are childish to a degree. "Their faith," says Gloster Ridley,† "disdains *mysteries*; nothing less than *absurdities* will satisfy them." As for their claims upon the Fathers, Burton has set that matter at rest

* See vol. i. p. 61, of the reprint. We heartily wish some of the modern commentators on the Revelation would turn to the Preface of Townson's Practical Discourses, p. xix. and read and digest what is there written. Old Burton's remarks have a parallel in Bishop Gauden's Hieraspistes, p. 323.

† See his "Eight Sermons on the Divinity and Operations of the Holy Ghost," p. 33. This work is beyond praise, and ought to be reprinted. I quote from the 8th ed. 1742.

in his excellent work; the "Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ."

Next comes an extract from the Homilies on giving thanks, and this is like the preceding one for want of accuracy and bad taste. We allude, in passing, to one passage, which a scholar should have rendered better—we mean "Let night *afford* thee fresh sources of adoration," p. 223. The Greek word for *afford* is *προξενεῖτω*, and a scholar will easily understand what is meant by prayer, making God (humanly speaking) our *πρόξενος*. We cannot allude further to the *omissions*, but in p. 224, Basil is entirely indebted to Mr. Boyd for "When nobler themes should grace the preacher's tongue." A phraseology quite poetic! As concerns bad taste, we observe that *θρανον* is rendered "*azure vault*," and the expressive words *ἐκ τῆ μὴ ὄντος, εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρήγαγε*, are with difficulty recognized in this new dress, "*From the cheerless gloom of non-existence, he waked us into being.*"

What follows is from the Exhortation to Baptism, and we should have passed it by but for half a page of imagery which is not to be found in Basil, at least consecutively with the context. We allude to p. 230, in which from "*that country of the living*" to "*flourish through eternity*," is an addition. See the Greek, p. 192. Really this is too bad.

Two more extracts constitute the whole of what is given from Basil,—one from his Homily on Psalm xxxiii. the other from that on Psalm i. Why the latter is placed as it is we cannot divine, but there seems *no reason why* the 1st Psalm should not have had the preference. We however take them as they stand, and a few remarks will bring us to the end of our unwelcome and troublesome task. In p. 232 are the words "and millions are summoned to their trial." The original is,—*παραγένεσθαι δὲ μέλλομεν καθ' ἓνα εἰς ἐξέτασιν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἡμῖν*,—which we beg to say is far more elegant and expressive. In the next page there is no reason to translate *σκαλήκων* serpents, as the "*worm that dieth not*," is more familiar to the reader of his Bible. In p. 236, (i. e. in the Homily on the 1st Psalm,) there is a miserable translation. We set the English and the Greek in juxtaposition.

"Every passion which reigns despotic it subdues. And how does it effect its purpose? It allures and fascinates the heart; it thrills it with a poetic ecstasy, of which the offspring is reflection sapient."

"Ὅπως ἐξαίρει τὰ πάθη καθ' ἕσπον οὐκ τι, τὰ ποιήσας ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδυναστεύοντα, καὶ τῷτο, μετὰ τίνος ψυχαγωγίας ἐμμελῶς, καὶ ἡδονῆς, σώφρονα λόγιμον ἐμποιῶσιν."

Gk. p. 55i.

That we may enliven our thoughts a little, we shall conclude with two parallel passages on this paragraph—"So have I seen an experienced physician, who, giving to his patient an un-

palatable draught, anointed the cup with honey."—p. 237. The first is from Tasso,—the next from Lucretius.

"Così a l'egro fanciul porgiamo aspersi
Di soave licor gli osi del vaso :
Socchi amari ingannato intanto ei beve,
E da l'inganno suo vita riceve."

Gerusalemme, lib. i. cant. iii.

"Sed, veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes
Quum dare conantur, prius oras, posula circum,
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
Labrorum tenuis ; interea perpetet amarum
Absinthii laticem, deceptaque non capiatur,
Sed potius, tali facto recreata, valescat."

Lib. i. 935.

Thus then we have completed the reviewal of the translations from Basil; and, although the task has been an unwelcome one in some respects, we deemed it our duty to call the attention of our readers to the work. It is little of it that we have been able to dwell upon,—nevertheless that little contains two of Mr. Boyd's latest attempts, and these we have carefully and scrupulously examined. Of Chrysostom and Gregory we judge from what we have read,—"*crimine ex uno disce omnes*." It is our decided opinion that Mr. Boyd has not *fulfilled* the duties of a translator,—we however thank him, as we stated at the commencement, for what he has done, and we hope some one will follow in his steps. There are many, very many, passages and treatises, which, translated, would be of infinite service to Biblical literature, and to the divinity student. But on this head none has spoken so eloquently or so efficiently as the Regius Professor in Oxford, and his two Volumes of Testimonies are published in such a shape as to be accessible to every reader. What Mr. Boyd has said on the subject of the Unitarians and the Romanists, he has said well, but not wisely,—we thank him for his zeal, but still we think it lacks discretion. We will make two remarks, one for each, and then turn to the little more we have to say. As to the Romanists, let none think they are at rest,—they *must* be ever casting up mire and dirt,—their enmity is ** bitter*, and open as well as concealed,—nevertheless, "It

* The following extract of a letter from one of the most valuable ministers in Manchester, will establish this statement. It is dated August 25th: "You would hear of the recent row created by the Roman Catholics: it was very serious, and the old Popish hatred was evinced as clearly as ever. My poor apparitor, a quiet and inoffensive man, was nearly killed; he had committed no other offence but that of being a Protestant. This was enough. They way-laid him and beat him with bludgeons

were hard to determine whether Atheism and Infidelity amongst professed Protestants, or Superstition and Idolatry amongst the Papists, have more increased throughout this land in later years.”—(*Jackson's Works*, vol. i. p. 218.) Thus much for the Romanists, as well as that domineering power which Cæcil speaks of,*—“*Pope-Self*.” Touching the Unitarians, or Socinians as they *should* be called, we briefly quote what South says on the Atonement, that it is “Spoke so plain and loud by the universal voice of the whole Book of God, that Scripture must be *crucified* as well as Christ, to give any other tolerable sense of it.”—(Vol. iii. p. 442, ed. 1698.)

It may be expected we should say something of the “Select Poems” which close the volume,—but our space is short, and we can merely observe that we do not think so much of them as Mr. Boyd seems to do. Unfortunately, also, Muratori's *Anecdota Græca* are not at hand, and therefore we cannot critically examine all the originals. If we were to mention those which struck us most, we should instance “The Hymn to the Deity,” p. 383; “The Lamentation for the Afflictions of his Soul,” p. 394; “Address to his Soul,” p. 400; Poem on Himself,” p. 405. We quote the following Epitaph as classical,—and add that Mr. Boyd's Dedication, with his Prologue and Epilogue to the Epitaphs of St. Gregory, are, with the exception of one or two conceits, very well written.†

about the head till he was senseless. A schoolmaster belonging to one of my schools saved him from being murdered. He collected a few special constables, and secured the cowardly assassins. They have threatened me with similar treatment, or rather to shoot me the first opportunity. This is not the first threat of the kind they have held out,—but I heed them not. The imprecation, no less than the imprecators, are alike despicable.”

* Gauden, in his *Hieraspistes*, well remarks, “Every man hath cause to suspect *Antichrist* in his own bosom; as the kingdom of Christ, so the kingdom of *Antichrist* is within us chiefly.”—p. 252, 4to ed, 1653.

† On consideration, we really think we should insert the Epilogue to the Epitaphs of St. Gregory, and accordingly we give it in the bottom of the page.

Ἠγ' αἶψ' ἢ μὲν Μανασσας.—*Æschyl. Pers.* v. 636.

“Oh! if the sainted shade may know
What passeth in the world below;
And if one transient thought be given
To things terrestrial; from thy heaven
Look down, blest bard, and deign to see;
Oh! deign, with kind complacency,
To wear the wreath which came from thee!
E'en as the soft reviving rain,
To fertilize the parched plain,
In large magnificence is given
Awhile, and then returns to heaven;
And there enshrines, but not enshrouds
Its sparkling gems in lucid clouds;

"On his brother Cæsarius.

In youth we sent thee from thy native soil,
 August, and crowned with Learning's hallowed spoil.
 Fame, wealth, on thee delighted to attend,
 Thy home a palace, and a king thy friend.
 So lived Cæsarius, honoured, loved, and blest—
 But, ah! this mournful urn will speak *the rest*."—p. 414.

Before we conclude this long article, we are anxious to say a word more of Chrysostom, and to recommend his writings, voluminous as they are, to the perusal of those who have time, and whose care of souls will admit of it. Barrow, it is said, had read every line of them, and one might almost fancy it from the clearness and volubility of his style. Nor are his works of use only to the divine,—the historian will find much in them to notice,—and the scattered allusions in his writings to customs, usages, &c.

So may thy flowers, for others meant,
 To charm, to soothe us, kindly lent,
 Ascend yon azure battlement;
 And in one beauteous garland blent,
 Concentre all their deathless rays
 Around thy brow, in glory's blaze!
 E'en in my young, my golden hours,
 When first I roamed Parnassian mountains;
 When first I trod the Muses' bowers
 Beaprent with soft, ambrosial showers,
 And wandered by their magic fountains;
 Amid Athena's blooming flowers
 I saw, though less exposed to view,
 Thy roses beam as bright a hue.
 I bore away the lovely prize;
Perchance with more poetic eyes,
Perchance with holier thoughts endowed,
Than ever blessed the vulgar crowd;
 And strove—Oh! sweet, delightful toil,
 To rear them in my native soil.
 And now by mellowing time matured,
 Of youth's aerial fancies cured,
 I find, as erst I found in thee,
 A more than mortal melody—
 I find the all-transcending page,
 That could my youthful heart engage,
 Hath power to charm my ripened age.
 Oh! how delightful will it prove,
 What I have loved if others love!

Yet hold; on thine enchanting spell,
 Too long I muse, too fondly dwell:
 Then let me bid the theme farewell;
 Or, wrapt in silence, wait to see
 If others find such charms in thee."—pp. 441, 442.

The lines printed in italics, however true, sound like self-praise, and therefore were better omitted.

will yield fruits which have never yet been fully gathered. This is a remark applicable to all the Fathers—but Chrysostom* lived in an eventful era, and, therefore, the more matter is likely to be found in his pages. Montfaucon has culled some of the flowers, whether for use or beauty, which our author abounds with, and the present learned and excellent Bishop of Zealand, Peter Erasmus Müller,† has done more,—but still there is much left, the olive-tree has not been beaten, the grapes of the vineyard have not been gleaned, and the boughs may be gone over again with profit.

We cannot avoid backing what we have said of Chrysostom with the words of Calmet, though he speaks of him only as the Divine.

“ Ce grand docteur passe à bon droit pour le plus excellent Interprète de l'Ecriture qu'ait produit l'Eglise Grecque. Il est clair, solide, sçavant, judicieux. Sa methode ordinaire dans chacune de ses Homélies, après avoir bien établi le sens littéral, est d'y joindre des réflexions morales et spirituelles tirées du fond même de la matière. Les Commentateurs Grecs qui ont écrit depuis Saint Jean Chrysostome se sont presque tous contentés de le copier, ou de l'abrégé; ensorte que quand on a lû Saint Chrysostome, on peut dire qu'on a vû tout ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans Théodoret, dans Euthyme, dans Théophylacte et dans Æcumenius.”

And in another place, speaking in that language of panegyric which is understood as it is meant, the same author says,

“ Saint Jean Chrysostome a particulièrement excellé dans ses Commentaires sur St. Paul: Comme il étoit plein de l'esprit de ce grand Apôtre, on le prendroit en le lisant pour un autre Saint Paul, ravi au troisième ciel; il avoit le même zèle; et parloit le même langage avec autant de force et d'éloquence.”‡

* “ Saint Chrysostome originaire d'Antioche, où il naquit vers l'an 347, sçut allier de bonne heure la sagesse avec l'éloquence. Il fut élevé sur le siège de Constantinople l'an 398. Il s'y conduisit avec toute la fermeté d'un Saint Evêque jusqu'à l'an 404, qu'il fut envoyé en exil, et y mourut en 407.”—*Calmet, Bibliothèque Sacrée*, vol. iv. p. 358. A Paris, 1730.

† The very valuable work alluded to is his “ *Commentatio Historica de Genio, Moribus, et Luxu Ævi Theodosiani.*” The first part was printed at Copenhagen in 1797, and the second at Göttingen in 1798. He was advised by Moldenhaur:—“ *ut homilias Chrysostomi perlustrans, siquid in illis ad ævi istius indolem cognoscendam faceret, sedulo colligerem.* Opera igitur Chrysostomi perlegens, quidquid in illis ad rationem vivendi sentiendique, quæ ævo Theodosiano vigerit, illustrandum pertineret, annotandum sumpsi. In quâ quidem investigatione nescio, an hic mihi contigerit successus, ut quædam memoratu haud indigna, præter ea, quæ jam congesterat Montefalconius, observasse licuerit.”—Pref. p. 3. The whole book is written in Latin. Müller is one of the most learned men of the present day,—free from all German or English rationalism,—and, above all, a humble Christian Bishop.

‡ See *Bibliothèque Sacrée* vol. iv. pp. 357 and 502. Jortin, in vol. iii. of his remarks on Ecclesiastical History, has several pages, in his own peculiar style, on St. Chrysostom. See p. 64—84.

"Good company and good discourse are the very sinews of virtue," says Izaak Walton. Reader! thou wilt scarce find better out of the Bible, than in St. Chrysostom.

Thinking that all was done, we had laid down our pen, when unluckily turning over the last page we found two Greek effusions, and one of them addressed to Bishop Blomfield, with an allusion to his *Æschylus*. None more than ourselves can thank the learned Prelate for his Glossary,—but as concerns the text, we really know not what to say, and on that point we can hardly affix him a station. We apply therefore to him the lines of the Prince of Poets which have been applied to Eusebius.

"Τυδείδην δ' ἐκ ἂν γνώης, ποτέροισι μετέιη,
ἤε μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὀμίλαιοι, ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς."

These Greek effusions have likewise led us to wish that all who send forth printed Greek into the world, would not send it forth cold and naked, like Diogenes' cock, but clothe it decently with accents. Nothing can be worse than the irregularity in the volume before us,—sometimes half a line, and sometimes a word is accented, and sometimes there is neither accent nor breathing.
"Inest sua gratia parvis."

ART. X.—1. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London at the Visitation in July, 1834.* By Charles James Lord Bishop of London. London: Fellowes; Rivington; and Hatchard and Son. 8vo. pp. 67.

2. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Bath and Wells at the Visitation of that Diocese in July, 1834.* By George Henry Law, D.D. Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. London: Rodwell; Rivingtons.

3. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Derby, at the Visitations at Derby and Chesterfield, June 26 and 27, 1834.* By the Rev. S. Butler, D.D. F. R. S. &c. Archdeacon of Derby, and Head Master of Shrewsbury School. London: Longman and Co.

MANY excellent charges have been lately delivered by the heads of the Church in their respective dioceses, showing that in these critical times they are not wanting either to the Clergy, or to the

country, or to themselves. We have heard much of an admirable one by the Bishop of Lincoln; but the three, of which the titles are now prefixed, happen to be those which have fallen under our immediate observation.

The address of the Bishop of Bath and Wells breathes throughout, as might be expected, the pure spirit of Christian piety, and there is something affecting in the words of the venerable prelate, where he says, at the conclusion,

“In taking leave of you, my Reverend Brethren, allow me to assure you, that it ever has been, and will be, my truest joy and consolation, to assist you, by all the means in my power, in promoting that truly Christian cause, to which we have dedicated our life and labours. Whilst thus employed, looking back with gratitude to the past, with humble hope for the future, neither cares nor years will lie heavy on me.”—p. 23.

We cannot, however, but regret that this charge is too general in its scope, to allow a full and specific treatment of any particular subject. Our readers will hardly wonder at this defect, when they are informed that the plan of a rather brief discourse is, in the first place, “to give a review of the *doctrines* of our Holy Religion;” in the second place, “to consider what are the *sacred duties* which the ministers of the Gospel are, by their office and engagements, most solemnly pledged to perform;” and in the third place, “to point out the *incalculable* blessings, which our Ecclesiastical Constitution, when duly administered, is both *calculated* to confer, and in reality doth confer, upon the inhabitants of this favoured land.” Under such circumstances, it is evident, episcopal advice and direction cannot enter into details; nor can we see much of novelty in any of the remarks or suggestions of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, if we except the urgency with which his Lordship presses upon the clergymen of every parish throughout his diocese the delivery of a stated evening lecture on some day besides Sunday in the course of the week.

The charge of Dr. Butler has been loudly praised. We confess that it has disappointed us. We had been led to expect more from this capital scholar and celebrated trainer of scholars. The appearance made by the Archdeacon himself is hardly adequate to the noise and number of the trumpeters, who have marched before him. There seems to us at least an indecision or neutrality of sentiment, an internal struggle, a kind of conflicting disposition at once to hang back and to go forward, which cannot but create an uncomfortable sensation. The circumstance very probably arises from that impartial moderation or that philosophical sagacity, which weighs and poises both sides of a question, until the

mind itself is suspended in the balance. "Qui pauca videt, facile pronuntiat:" but determination often becomes more difficult, except perhaps with men of the very strongest and *most practical* understanding, just in proportion to comprehensiveness of vision and the variety of aspects in which a matter is regarded. We are, nevertheless, sure, that the *effect* of Dr. Butler's production has been very considerably impaired by the uncertain and hesitating tenor of his opinion upon some of the very important topics which he has handled; as for instance, the proper observance of the Sabbath, the admission of Dissenters to degrees in the English Universities, and the several claims of the Non-Conformists.

On the first of these subjects, however, we find some forcible and pertinent remarks.

"The observance of the Sabbath is a subject about which no Christian nation can be indifferent, and in which all religious nations will be deeply concerned. A growing attention to this point has been manifested for some time in this country, till at last it has arrived at maturity; for never, perhaps, were more numerous or more unanimous petitions presented to the legislature on any subject than this. The act of legislating on it, however, is extremely difficult; and I am not among those who venture to hope much success from the attempt.

"One or two efforts have been made, evidently so uncongenial to the spirit of freedom and liberty which belongs to our Constitution, so harsh in their restrictions, and so unequal in their operation on the different classes of society, that we ought, I think, most heartily to rejoice at their rejection.

"Extreme severities always defeat their own object. Even tortures, it is said, and there are various instances to prove it, when carried to excess, though agonizing to behold or contemplate, are sometimes but little felt by him who actually undergoes them. Nature is exhausted by them, and becomes insensible, and thus the end of the punishment sought to be inflicted is defeated by its intensity. The same holds true in lesser cases. All offences are evil, and all punishments, abstractedly, are evil; and though the punishment, when applied to cure an offence, as far as it is remediable, may be considered as a good, just as a painful operation is good when it effects the cure of a still more painful or mortal disease: yet, when the punishment is greater than the offence, it is only a greater evil superadded to a less; and this reasoning applies to all instances, from the infliction of capital punishments, in cases where the crime is not of the very deepest dye, to the infliction of fines and penalties for Sabbath breaking.

Furthermore, the severest prohibitions will not effect the truly religious observance of the Sabbath, by influencing the *heart*. Rather will they tend to bring odium, not only on such legislation, but on the sacred day itself; and, by turning it into a day of ascetic gloom, instead of religious cheerfulness, may conduce to *harden* men's hearts, but not to

convert them. Acts of Parliament may, perhaps, be so framed, as to provide for the decent external observance of this day; but what act of Parliament can reach the heart? Could all men be compelled by act of Parliament to attend Divine worship on this day, how little would be done towards making them religious when their attendance was compulsory! It is the *will* that gives the life and meaning to the *act*; and this leads me to mention what I consider as far more likely to be efficacious in promoting the proper observance of the Sabbath, than a whole statute-book of parliamentary enactments,—I mean, the gentle force of persuasion and example. I have watched, myself, and I have consulted others who have made the same observation, and who concur with me in thinking, that since so general an expression of public opinion has been elicited respecting the desecration of the Sabbath, the good feeling of the people has sympathized with it; and that, although there may be some places where the evil is not yet remedied, this holy day has been *generally* observed of late with much more solemnity and propriety than heretofore.

“If this be the case, surely it is far better to rely on these milder, and apparently effectual, means, than on severe legislative provisions. I apprehend there are already enough, and more than enough, of these, if enforced. They might, perhaps, be consolidated; and such as are of long standing and out of date might be abolished, or better adapted to the habits and temper of the times: but *additional* and more *penal* restrictions I cannot but deprecate. A point which seems to have been overlooked by some legislators on more than one occasion, is, the very wide difference between a metropolitan and country population. This was most remarkably exemplified in that fatal measure the Beer Bill, the mischiefs of which are now almost universally acknowledged. A similar oversight seems to exist with regard to the observance of the Sabbath. In large towns, and especially in the metropolis, excesses will prevail, which are unknown in more thinly inhabited districts. Again, they who have been confined in the close and heated air of manufactories and shops, in narrow streets, and crowded and ill-ventilated apartments, for six days continually, naturally wish to breathe a freer and a purer air, and to enjoy a refreshing relaxation on the seventh. To debar these from their usual and only gratification, that actual *rest* from their labours, and, I may add, that moral enjoyment, which they can only receive on this day, would be as oppressive as it fortunately is impossible.

“It is absurd to suppose that *rest* consists in merely sitting still.* It consists in repose from labour—in that relaxation which intermission from toil affords, and is physically and morally essential to the health

* With all animals, man included, change of posture, and sometimes even change of place, is a kind of rest: and the observation of the Archdeacon,—so applicable to those who would almost make “*rest*” synonymous with “*torpor*”—may remind us of the old story told, we believe, in the life of Sheridan, that when a man in the pit of a theatre insisted upon standing, to the annoyance of all behind him, the facetious orator laid a wager that he would make him sit down, and won it by saying aloud, “*Let the poor fellow stand up, it is only a tailor resting himself.*”

both of body and mind ; and by the merciful institution of the Sabbath, it is religiously so too. If, therefore, care be taken to prevent the grosser violations of this day, such as pursuing the ordinary occupations of life, buying and selling, labouring and bargaining, or such profanations of it as drunkenness and licentiousness, or the excesses of frivolous dissipation ; and if provision be made for the attendance on the duties of the day, by closing all houses of public reception and resort during the customary hours of Divine service, as much will be effected as can be hoped for by the law ; and again I say, we must be careful not to lay on men, under the sanction of the law, a heavier burden than they can bear, lest they continually break *that* law, and by breaking *one* learn to break and despise *all*, or get a distaste for religion by finding that made a day of gloom and austerity, which was meant in mercy to be one of rest to the body, and cheerfulness to the soul.”—p. 5—9.

There are certain members of the present House of Commons, to whom we would strenuously recommend the following sentences, which, together with the note, form, perhaps, the most useful part of Dr. Butler’s Charge.

“ With regard to the complete separation of the Church from the State, the first step to which, as proposed by the Dissenters, is the removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords, I have already stated, in a tract on the subject of Church Dignities, that the Bishops are one of the three estates of this realm, the Peers temporal and the Commons being the other two.* If, therefore, it be possible to remove the Bi-

* “ My doctrine, which I there advanced without thinking any illustration necessary, has to my surprise been questioned by some whom I should have imagined well informed upon the subject. I therefore beg to state, that it rests on the authority of Lord Coke, Judge Blackstone and Lord Clarendon, and was recognised by a sovereign not very likely to admit an encroachment on the rights of the Crown, Queen Elizabeth ; besides many other authorities, I am indebted to a legal friend for reference to these.

“ Lord Coke, in his 4th Inst. p. 1., speaking of Parliament, says—‘ This Court consists of the King’s Majesty, sitting there as in his royal politic capacity, and of the three estates of the realm, viz. : the Lords spiritual—Archbishops and Bishops ; the Lords temporal—Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons : and the Commons of the realm.’

“ ‘ The King, and these three estates, are the great corporation or body politic of the kingdom.’—vol. i. p. 413, anno 1641.

“ Lord Clarendon, Hist. b. iii., says, referring to a speech of his own, ‘ Mr. Hyde said, it was changing the whole frame and constitution of the kingdom, and of the Parliament itself : that from the time that Parliaments began, there never had been one Parliament where the Bishops were not part of it ; that if they were taken out of the House, there would be but two estates left : for that they, as the clergy, were the third estate ; and being taken away, there was nobody left to represent the clergy ; which would introduce another piece of injustice, which no other part of the kingdom could complain of, who were all represented in Parliament ; and were, therefore, bound to submit to all that was enacted, because it was, upon the manner, with their own consent : whereas, if the Bishops were taken from sitting in the House of Peers, there was nobody who could pretend to represent the clergy, and yet they must be bound by their determinations.’

“ There are several other passages in Clarendon, bearing upon the same point.

shops from the House of Lords by any *legal* act of Parliament, it is possible by the same process to abolish the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, and every constitutional provision up to Magna Charta; to dissolve the House of Lords by the vote of the Commons; to dissolve the House of Commons by the vote of the Lords; and to proceed to other acts, which no loyal subject can contemplate without horror. I say *legal* act of Parliament, because the removal of the Bishops has been once effected by an *illegal* act, to which they, one of the three, or, as I should rather say, according to their *technical* order of precedence, the *first* estate of the realm, were not consenting, and to which I even doubt whether their consent would be legally available; and the consequences of such removal might sufficiently teach us, if men would be taught by history and experience, that the dread and possibility of the subsequent innovations, to which I have alluded, are not merely chimerical.

"The separation of the Church from the State would, therefore, necessarily involve the dissolution of our present constitution, by taking away an integral part of it,—one estate out of the three."—pp. 15, 16.

With the two annexed passages, taken from the opposite ends of the address, we most heartily concur.

"Sure we may be, that no Established Church will be more apostolical in its doctrines, more moderate in its polity, more decent in its ceremonies, more holy in its liturgy, or more tolerant in its practical intercourse with mankind, than our own; and, by its faithful sons and ministers, it will not be deserted even in its fall. No, my Reverend Brethren, we may differ in our views of what is expedient or desirable for its preservation—of what we should, or what we should not, concede to its opponents; we may differ as to the extent to which reform or change may be necessary in the laws affecting its ministers or its property; but in its episcopal constitution, in its Trinitarian and essential doctrines, we must all agree, and by these we must stand or fall."—p. 18.

"Never was there a time when we stood in greater need of direction from the most experienced guide, of information from the most genuine source, of advice from the ablest counsellor, of encouragement from the kindest friend, and of exhortation from the highest authority. The crisis which we have for several years foreseen, and which we considered at our last meeting as almost commenced, has now in fact arrived: we have now to contend for the preservation of our spiritual and temporal interests: of our temporal, in securing a decent provision for ourselves and our families; of our spiritual, in maintaining that sound form of doc-

"Judge Blackstone says, in book i. c. 2. p. 156, when speaking of the Bishops:—'But though these Lords spiritual are, in the eye of the law, a distinct estate from the Lords temporal, and are so distinguished in most of our acts of Parliament; yet in practice, they are usually blended together, under the one name of the Lords.'

"In the Act of Parliament, 1 Eliz. c. 3., for recognition of the Queen's Highness to the Imperial Crown of this realm, sec. 2., are these words:—'For which causes, we, your said most loving subjects, representing the three estates of the realm'—the Lords spiritual, temporal, and the Commons, have been mentioned in the preamble."

trine which we have received from our forefathers, which we are bound not only to believe ourselves, but to teach our respective flocks, and for our neglect of which towards them our souls are responsible."—p. 3.

These remarks lead us by a natural transition from the Arch-deacon's discourse to a publication of far greater importance ;—we mean the Charge of the Bishop of London :—a Charge so material to the Ecclesiastical History of our times that men of future generations will, we should think, look back to it with interest and instruction.

Having no wish to flatter, and yet disdaining to take part in certain vehement attacks, which have a strong savour of personal and vindictive hostility, we shall frankly declare our belief, that his Lordship's address has, in the main, given a lively satisfaction to a vast majority of the English clergy. It takes a wide sweep, and runs through a variety of topics with a masterly and rapid sketch :—without tedious minuteness, and yet without that vague generality which usually contrives to leave us, for all practical purposes, exactly where we were. We are carried along over a large tract of ground, as by a moving power of great strength. We experience little fatigue, because we are never required to return upon one path, or travel twice over the same field. We are involved in no confusion, because the whole view is presented to us with the utmost cogency and clearness of statement, and with a grasp of the subject equally remarkable for comprehensiveness and tenacity. The consequence of course is, that Dr. Blomfield arrests and rivets our attention, throughout the whole of his luminous exposition ; whether he considers the state of his diocese as its Bishop ; or touches upon the momentous questions, which affect the Church at large, the dangers which menace it, and the crisis which, perhaps, awaits it, as a man who, from his position and his talents, must himself take no unmarked and unimportant part in public affairs. In fact, when we look at the extensive range of the matter, the Christian determination of the tone, the terse and masculine vigour of the language, the impenetrable solidity of the arguments, and the amount and accuracy of the statistical information, we have no hesitation in saying, that this is without exception the most valuable and important Charge which we ever remember to have seen.

Upon all vital and essential points, the Bishop of London here evinces himself a zealous, staunch, uncompromising champion of the Established Church, *as it is*, against dissenters, against infidels, against innovators of every description, in low places and in high places. There are some things, on the contrary, in which

his Lordship does not flinch from declaring himself to be a Church reformer. And who is there, that will not honour him the more for his declaration? Who is there that would *not* be a Church reformer in the true sense of the word? Who is there, that would not use his exertions, however humble, to exalt to its highest pitch of attainable perfection that sacred establishment which he loves and reveres? Here, be it remarked, we are speaking merely of the principle: whether in some particular details of supposed reformation and improvement, we might not take the liberty of disagreeing with his Lordship, is quite another affair.

But we must proceed more regularly in examining the contents of this fine address:—not, however, pretending to discuss all the subjects which the Bishop of London has introduced, or to take them in precisely the same order which his Lordship has adopted.

Without departing from Christian charity, the Bishop of London exhibits a bold front towards the Dissenters: he seems to apprehend that in the opposition of too many among them to the discipline and doctrines of the Church, there is more of political rancour than of conscientious and religious scrupulosity; he broadly states, “the proportion, indeed, which the moderate non-conformists bear to the more violent has, I fear, been considerably diminished within the last three or four years;” and he proves himself a new “*malleus schismaticorum*,” whose blows must very sensibly be felt. The tenor of his remarks may be fairly estimated from the following quotations:

“Of one thing we may be well assured, that to all those persons who are bent, not upon salutary changes and real improvements, but upon the utter subversion and removal of all the ancient landmarks of government and social order in this country, its established Church must ever be an object of especial hostility, and a point of systematic attack: for it is to the Established Church of this kingdom, to its scriptural doctrines and formularies, promulgated and exemplified by the active ministrations of its clergy, and by its decent and solemn observances, that we are to ascribe, under the divine blessing, the general diffusion and maintenance of sound and healthy principles, and a recognition of moral obligation, on the part both of those who govern, and those who are governed. The true peace and real prosperity of the country depend, not upon the multiplicity of minute legislative provisions, nor upon any economic regulations, however ingeniously devised, and however useful, as subsidiary aids, but upon its Christianity; and its Christianity mainly depends upon the labours of its parochial clergy.”—p. 2.

“We have perhaps no right to complain, that they were skilful enough to take advantage of the Church’s difficulties, and to compass her destruction, when they thought there was none to deliver her, if they are really persuaded that the existence of any established Church is incompatible with the purity and prosperity of religion in this country.

But what we may justly complain of is this, and it is scarcely to be reconciled with a favourable opinion of their Christian sincerity, that in the prosecution of their warfare against the Church, they have had recourse to the grossest calumnies, and the most unfounded accusations."—pp. 3, 4.

A fear of being too unmerciful in our extracts, must prevent us from doing justice to the bishop's brief but lucid review of the general question respecting Church establishments and endowments; but the *argumentum ad homines*, with which he winds it up, is too striking to be omitted.

"Now let us imagine for a moment, that an attempt were made to interfere, by legislative enactment, with all the wills and trust-deeds which secure a certain amount of property to various places of dissenting worship throughout the country, and to appropriate the whole, or a part of that property, to secular purposes, or even to the object of general education, that so full scope and freedom might be given to the voluntary system, to put forth all its energies, unembarrassed and unimpeded by the unholy incumbrance of worldly possessions. What a clamour would be raised, and justly raised, against such an attempt, not only by the ministers and trustees of particular chapels, but by the great body of the dissenters! With what force of language and strength of reasoning, would they point out the injustice and impolicy of such an invasion of the rights of property, especially where the interests of religious truth are concerned! And I would gladly learn, whether the case which I have here supposed differs in principle from the projected spoliation of the Established Church; or whether it differs at all, except in this, that it would be a far less flagrant, a less extensive, a less mischievous departure from all the acknowledged rules of honesty, and equity, and justice."—pp. 10, 11.

To his strictures upon the existing revenues of the Church, and the amplitude or narrowness of its resources, as compared with the spiritual exigencies of the country, we shall presently recur.

The two points, which, as the bishop truly observes, "in the present condition of our Church, seem to demand particular attention, pluralities and non-residence," are treated by his Lordship with remarkable perspicuity and skill. We have only room to give the conclusions at which he arrives.

"The only point, which appears to me to admit of question, is the *mode* of removing the evil, whether it shall be by a summary and total abolition of pluralities, or by their gradual and guarded extinction. I confess that I lean towards the latter branch of the alternative. In the present state of the Church, with regard to the distribution of its property, I do not see how pluralities can be absolutely and at once extinguished (even if existing rights be saved) without a danger of lowering most materially the standard of clerical respectability."—p. 19.

"Two bills have lately been introduced into parliament, containing very strict enactments both as to pluralities and non-residence. I do not think it possible that the legislature should adopt either of those measures in their present form. That which relates to residence, although it contains many useful and salutary provisions, treats the clergy at large, from the highest to the lowest, as culprits, places them at the mercy of common informers, and inflicts forfeitures out of all proportion to the delinquencies which they are intended to punish. That the framers of this bill did not intend to molest or insult the clergy, I entirely believe; but that they did not fully understand the present state of the law, or the practice of residence, it would be very easy to show. The main principles, however, which are embodied in the Residence Bill, are those which parliament will undoubtedly sanction, and to which the clergy cannot reasonably object. That residence will hereafter be more strictly enforced than it has heretofore been, we must be prepared to expect; and I am persuaded that the great body of the clergy will not be found to murmur at any sacrifice of mere personal convenience, which may be required of them, if it can be clearly shown that the interests of the Church at large demand it."—pp. 27, 28.

In accordance with these sentiments, Dr. Butler says, "nor can I even touch upon the Plurality and Clergy Residence Bills, though both, in their present state, if they are correctly reported, appear to contain some severely restrictive, and, perhaps, impracticable provisions:" so unfortunate has been the Lord Chancellor in his attempts to satisfy churchmen of any grade or party by the enactments of his bill.

That "the evil of pluralities and non-residence is in gradual process of diminution under the existing law," the Bishop of London demonstrates by a reference to his own diocese; and what his lordship has done, and is doing in it, with regard to the revival of the ancient use of Rural Deans, the performance of duty in parish churches, and the augmentation of small livings, will also be read with vivid interest.

"I have raised," he states, "all the smaller livings in my gift, but one, to the annual value of 200*l.* with an additional contingent augmentation; and it is my intention, if it please God to spare my life, to take measures for a further improvement of their value."—p. 23, 24.

Among the soundest, most useful, and most enlightened portions of the Charge are the remarks on the education of the people. We should have been happy to give them entire, both because the diction is as forcible as the statements are just; and because they add the weight of the bishop's authority to opinions which we have ourselves expressed. Whether all the books published by Mr. Wood might merit the eulogium of the Bishop of London, we shall not stop to inquire; but as to his Lordship's wishes that materials for a more varied course of instruction may

be supplied by the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," we cannot but express a hope, that they will be superior in value to some of the productions already sent forth by the "Committee of General Literature;" and the intense interest which we take in the subject of national education urges us to add, that, if the momentous work is to be put, almost exclusively, into the hands of the Society, we shall feel it our duty to look into its separate publications with a dispassionate but searching scrutiny; and likewise to examine, on more comprehensive grounds, the whole system and method which it pursues.

There are *two* places in which the Bishop of London alludes to the delicate subject of Church Reform. In one place, he speaks of the "temporal possessions of the Church;" in the other, of its discipline and Liturgy. Our own opinions are on record, and are unchanged; but as many may have entertained erroneous impressions of the real state of the case, as well as of the views and wishes of Dr. Blomfield, we are anxious to give his statements without note or comment, merely premising, that if there appear in any of them a want of explicitness and *particularity*, we have to bear in mind the mere sketch or outline, to which, in traversing so many subjects, his Lordship was confined.

"Some alterations ought, in my opinion, to be made in the present arrangement of certain parts of the property belonging to the Church, in order to render it more available than it now is, to the general diffusion of those benefits, which an established Church is intended to convey to the people at large; and if, as I am persuaded is the case, they can be made with perfect safety to the establishment itself, I hope we shall not be deterred from adopting them, by the unreasonable clamours of our adversaries, nor by the hasty and officious zeal of some of our friends. Let us rather be desirous of making those well-considered and salutary amendments, which may take away from the one an occasion of cavil and reproach, and satisfy the reasonable wishes of the other, in a manner consistent with the stability and honour of the Church. We shall do wisely, I think, in availing ourselves of a respite from imminent danger, to go round our bulwarks and mark the defects thereof, with a view to their restoration; and to place our outworks at least in a state of defence, even though the citadel itself may need no substantial repair." —pp. 17, 18.

"A question of far greater delicacy and doubtfulness is that which relates to the proposed alterations of our Liturgy. Considerable alarm has been felt by a great number of the clergy, at a report, which had obtained some currency, that this subject had been taken in hand by his Majesty's government, in concurrence with some of the bishops. I believe that there was no foundation whatever for such a report, as it related to the government; I know that it was utterly groundless with respect to the bishops. The question is one of too great importance to be

taken up by any individual amongst us, in his private capacity, whatever his own opinions may be ; nor do I suppose that we should tolerate any interference, on the part of the executive government, or the legislature, in such a matter, except so far as the former might authorize us lawfully to deliberate upon it, and to determine as to what it might be proper, after having ascertained the sense of the Church, to submit for ratification to the latter.

“ If I were asked what my own opinion is, as to the expediency of attempting any alteration of the Liturgy, I should be deficient in candour and truth, if I did not acknowledge that I think the Liturgy susceptible of improvement. It would be little short of a miracle were it otherwise : and I know not why I should be ashamed, or reluctant, to avow an opinion, which was entertained by Sancroft, and Stillingfleet, and Tenison, and Wake, and Secker, and Porteus. But I can also say, with perfect sincerity, that the improvements which I think might be made in that admirable book,—next to the Bible, the treasure and glory and safeguard of our reformed Church,—are neither so numerous, nor so important, that it would be proper to risk the peace of the Church for the sake of introducing them ; and I see but little probability of attempting their introduction *without* such a risk, at a time when men's minds are agitated by the contemplation of dangers, which menace not merely the peace of the Church, but its very existence as an establishment, and which loudly proclaim the necessity of union and co-operation on the part of all who desire to preserve it. I heartily pray, that a season may come, when the question can be looked at with calmness and candour ; and, if the recent conduct of the Dissenters forbids us to look forward with any sanguine hope, to an extensive comprehension of those who differ from us, that something may be done for the satisfaction of many who are sincere and zealous members of the Church. But when I consider the circumstances in which we are now placed, and the advantage which would be taken, from different quarters, of any door which might be opened to change, I am led to adopt the sentiment of a pious and sagacious man, uttered nearly forty years ago :—‘ As to our Liturgy, I am far from thinking it incapable of amendment ; though, when I consider the temper and spirit of the present times, I dare not wish that the improvement of it should be attempted, lest the remedy should be worse than the disease.’ ”—p. 39—42.

We must pass over the earnest and affectionate exhortation with which his Lordship concludes, that we may refer at somewhat greater length to the fearful subject which we have hitherto reserved, namely, the disproportion between the spiritual necessities of the people, and the provision made for them in the existing churches and chapels of the establishment. His Lordship emphatically declares—

“ The people are not adequately supplied with the means and opportunities of Christian instruction and Christian worship. We want more churches, and more clergymen. Take an instance of this. In the eastern and north-eastern districts of the metropolis, there are ten parishes,

containing together a population of 353,460 persons. In these parishes there are 18 churches and chapels, served by 24 incumbents and curates; the average being not quite one church or chapel for every 19,000 souls, and one clergyman for every 14,000. Whereas, allowing a church and two clergymen for every 3000 persons, there ought to be 117 churches, and 234 clergymen. So that there is an actual deficiency of 99 churches and 210 ministers in that one part of a single diocese.

"In Lancashire, and the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, and in parts of Staffordshire, the disproportion between the demand for spiritual instruction, or rather, I should say, the want of spiritual instruction, and the supply, is not less striking and lamentable. The truth is, that we are doing, or attempting to do, the work of evangelists, for a population of more than 14 millions, with a machinery originally constructed for a very small portion of that number. If the population and the clergy were equally distributed over the whole superficial territory of the Church, that machinery would not be sufficient for more than 11 millions, allowing each clergyman to have the care of 1000 souls; but its insufficiency appears in a still stronger light, when we consider the extremely unequal distribution of the machinery over the surface upon which it is intended to operate."—pp. 13, 14.

We can scarcely help thinking that a rather exaggerated statement must have been made to his Lordship as to the north-eastern districts of the metropolis; but in all large and spreading towns the evil has a tendency to increase with frightful rapidity. In a report of the "Proceedings of the General Assembly," given in the "Presbyterian Review," we take the following detail from a speech of Mr. Clason.

"He begged leave to draw the attention of the House to the statistics of some of the burghs of Scotland. In Edinburgh there were, or would soon be, 69,000 souls watched over by two parish ministers. In Stirling there were 8940, while there was church accommodation for only 2700. The legal provision for landward parishes was sittings for half the population, and in town parishes he was prepared to prove the number ought to be greater. In Montrose there were 12,055, while there was church accommodation for 2500, and in a chapel of ease 1500. In Paisley the population was 40,000—the church accommodation 7000—chapel accommodation 1000. In Greenock the population was 30,000—church accommodation 3000—chapel accommodation 2900. In Glasgow the population was 195,000—church accommodation 14,520—chapel accommodation 11,840, being in all only 26,360. And it was a particular of the utmost moment to observe, that including the dissenting places of worship, there were still 33,000 who could not by possibility obtain sittings in any church."—*Presb. Rev.* p. 453.

The mischief, we fear, is almost universal; and it becomes most important to ask, chiefly in reference to our own part of the island, how is it to be remedied?

The present state of things is painful and even terrible. It

has occurred, not merely from the increase, but from the fluctuations of our population, from migratory habits, from the rise of trade and manufactures in particular localities, and from the tide of human existence rushing into new channels in search of amusement, and at the dictates of caprice and fashion. In some places, as in the city of London, the number of inhabitants has diminished; in others, as in the out-parishes and suburbs, it has swollen to an enormous amount. It is not only that there are fourteen millions instead of eleven millions, for whom accommodation in churches ought to be furnished; but the fourteen millions are differently distributed over the surface of the land. New streets, new squares, new towns have sprung up, at the bidding of those potent enchanters, the love of change, and the thirst of riches. *Here* are manufacturing districts, swarming with life, teeming with activity, and too often centres of immorality and disorder: *there*, thousands are collected at some fresh and popular bathing place; or in the environs of some vast mart of wealth and business, where the air is purer than in the midst of its streets. The abodes of man are erected, not in quick succession, but with a simultaneous rivalry: we look, almost in vain, for the house of God. Incessant is the stir, and loud the din, and importunate the claims, of occupation and of pleasure: but almost silent is the voice of public prayer. The pulses of secular life beat quick and strong; but the spiritual being languishes and droops almost without sustenance. Shops, markets, theatres, public-houses, "*gin-palaces*," if we must use the hateful word, are built, tenanted, and thronged by hundreds; but hardly a temple rears its head, where the various orders of mankind can go up together, as fellow-creatures, and fellow-sinners, and friends. All the departments of the social system are at work, except that endearing fellowship in religious offices, which is necessary to bind with an indissoluble cement the different ranks of a community, and hallow its whole range. There is almost all to stimulate ungodliness, to pamper libertinism, to afford, first, incentives to vice, and then, opportunities of concealment; there is nothing, or almost nothing, to calm turbulence, nothing to soothe irritation, nothing to temper collisions, nothing to purify and sanctify the heaving, festering, fermenting mass of human interests and human passions. What picture of society can be more awful than this? or what position of a country can be more perilous? or where shall we find any symptom more gloomy, or any feature more alarming in the character and lineaments of an age, than the undeniable fact, that the national and legislative provision for public worship holds no proportion, and keeps no pace, with the growing wealth and numbers of a people? —than the appalling circumstance that in many a

densely crowded town, where nature is hidden and excluded, where man's works are every where, and God's works are almost unseen, where there are no simple and innocent recreations, but every imaginable hot-bed that can force up artificial crimes, and foster an accursed selfishness, there is not church-room for one fifth, or one tenth, or, it may be, one twentieth part of the inhabitants?

Something then must be done, and done effectually, and done at once. These tremendous elements of mischief cannot be suffered to run riot without a check; or, if such be the case, vain are boasts of civilization, vain are our pratings about philanthropy, vain are our sanguine hopes connected with the progress of intelligence and the diffusion of knowledge. It is dreadful that thousands of our countrymen should become either infidels or sectarians almost of necessity. Yet the want of a sufficient national provision for divine service already, on the one hand, has been the well-spring of irreligion, and, on the other, has given an enormous power and impetus to dissent. Schism has flourished as a direct consequence of that deficiency which has either caused its origin or ensured its success. Conventicles have been frequented, because there were no Churches; and where is the man of right feeling and principle who would not wish that the inhabitants of our towns should attend the Chapel of a non-conformist minister, rather than that they should loiter through the Sunday in a tea-garden, or stagger out of the ale-house or the gin-shop? The Wesleyans, in particular, saw their opportunity, and rushed forward to fill up the portentous gap. The result is, that from their activity, their zeal, and the efficiency of their discipline, they have gained a hold upon the affections of the middle and lower classes, from which it will be found difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge them. Let us, however, bear in mind that the Wesleyans, if not against us, do not belong to us; nor does it become an Established Church to trust to the contingent services of men, however able, and however conscientious, who have avowedly seceded from her pale, even if they have not revolted from her standard, and openly taken arms against her cause.

The misfortune, however, is, that the Church has laboured under obvious disadvantages as compared with the Dissenters. There were several circumstances which enabled the Independents—for all seceders are Independents in comparison with Churchmen—to be more early in the field. They were like the light troops, who can march with far greater celerity than the main body of an army. Their very habits of non-conformity disburdened them of many restraints, and insured to them the activity of a wider freedom. They had not the same decent dignity to main-

tain: they were not bound by the same strictness of established forms: they could avail themselves of any method likely to effect their immediate purpose, without the same cautious reference to canons and ordinances. Again, it was in some respects an advantage to them that they had to rely only upon themselves. They had not to look for extraneous, and precarious, and at last perhaps but scanty, assistance; or wait to see what the government would grant, or would withhold—would do, or would refuse. Unfettered, unimpeded, they hurried to the work in the ardour of both spiritual incentives and secular hopes; and, while the eventual inadequacy of their efforts may prove to us the necessity which exists for the more powerful machinery of an Ecclesiastical Establishment, their despatch may teach us, that unless the State is prepared to support the Church in its emergencies, with vigour and promptitude, its pretended patronage, like Lord Chesterfield's to Johnson, may become almost an incumbrance. In some places, we know too well, it has been scarcely possible to keep the national places of worship in repair, or invest them with an appearance of comfort and cleanliness, and the common decencies of decoration. In populous parishes the miserable pittance has been grudged which would whitewash the inside of the Church! Oh, can we expect, in such a case, that the blessing of Providence should rest upon ourselves and our posterity;—the blessing of that Providence which we neglect, of that God whose temples we dishonour? And shall not the words of the heathen poet ring in our ears; as, if we ourselves escape the Almighty visitation, we yet think of those who may come after us?

“ Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.”

Either the State must give up the right to interfere with Church property at all; or it is the righteous, the solemn, the imperative duty of a Christian people, and therefore of a Christian legislature, to furnish an adequate provision for the population of a state, according to that form of religion which is connected with the state. Unless this principle be recognized, the national religion becomes almost a name; and, at best, the Established Church has only half an existence. We cannot be satisfied with a temporary relief applied to an immediate exigency; for the exigency is sure to recur again and again, as the necessary result of causes which are always in operation. What we want, therefore, is the recognition and ratification by the legislature of some great principle, which will preserve a constant adjustment between the demand and the supply, which will maintain in every district of the kingdom the due

proportion between the number of general inhabitants and of regular ministers attached to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, and which will ensure that the provision in Churches shall advance *pari passu* with the increase of population. For let us look steadily at the point which we have reached. The provision for divine service, according to the forms of the Established Church, is utterly insufficient for the growing amount of our population. This is the deplorable and incontrovertible fact. The evil is acknowledged; the necessity for its removal is acknowledged. The only question is, how it can most safely, and effectually, and permanently be removed. We can hardly conceive any other scheme than either the adoption of one of the following methods, or the combination of two or more of them in such or such proportions: 1. The adequate erection and enlargement of Churches and Chapels of Ease at the expense of the state. 2. Their erection and enlargement, either by the voluntary contribution of individuals, or by the exertions of national or diocesan societies. 3. An increase in the number of proprietary Chapels. 4. The performance of divine service in other places besides Churches and Chapels, as, for instance, in school-rooms or other buildings convenient from their size—in private houses—in tents—or in the open air. 5. An appropriation of part of the existing revenues of the Church to this particular object.

Now, when these methods are considered, we cannot but see many glaring inconveniences attendant upon any large increase in the number of proprietary Chapels. Soundness of discretion, as well as personal excellence of character in the ministers who are attached to them, constitutes the main if not the only security against the evils which are almost inseparable from their discrepancy with the regular discipline of our ecclesiastical system. The possible mischiefs of preaching in fields, or under tents, or in buildings, which, whether consecrated or unconsecrated, cannot inspire the same feelings of veneration with a Church, must be still more apparent; and the plan, if generally pursued, by breaking down one great distinction between the Establishment and Dissent, might place them both upon a level in the eyes of the multitude, who would be slow to *make* a distinction which they could no longer discern.

The plan which the Bishop of London seems disposed to favour is also, we think, liable to strong objections. That, if there be no other alternative, the ornamental parts of an Establishment should be sacrificed to the essential, is a self-evident proposition. We have said all, in saying that necessity has no law. But, as long as there does remain some other alternative, there are certain considerations worthy, we are persuaded, of most serious regard. His

Lordship tells us, in the twelfth page of his Charge, and he has access to the very best information,

“The total number of benefices, with and without cure of souls (including those Churches and Chapels which have no other endowment than that of pew-rents,) is 10,701; and the total net income thereof is 3,058,248*l.*; giving an average of 285*l.* for each. The total net income of the bishops, the cathedral bodies, collegiate Churches, and other ecclesiastical corporations of every kind, is 432,942*l.* If this were added to the income of the benefices, and the whole were divided equally amongst the parishes in England and Wales, so much to the clergyman of each parish, no provision being made for the rulers or officers of the Church, nor for a large body of curates, the average would be about 326*l.* net income for each; an amount barely exceeding that which by almost common consent has been fixed upon as the *minimum* of provision for a well-educated man, set apart for the work of the ministry, and cut off from all other sources of emolument.”

We are assured, from this very perspicuous statement, that if there are any ornamental parts which could be spared, the resource might be well appropriated to many purposes, such as the augmentation of small livings, connected with the present and actual state of the Establishment. But, moreover, for the enlargement of the Establishment—for the erection, not to mention the endowment of new Churches, the relief must be infinitely too small. The circumstance that we cannot do all is, we of course confess, no valid reason why we should do nothing: but, then, there is, on the other side, no inconsiderable danger in occasioning an immediate evil—for *some* immediate evil is acknowledged—without the ultimate and complete attainment of the greater good. For, let us suppose that some ornamental parts of the Establishment are abolished, and that the funds acquired from the abolition are applied to the building of new Churches and Chapels, how very *few* could thus be built! What, then, happens? The want inevitably returns. Are there more ornaments to be taken away? The friends of the Church would probably say “*no* ;” but her enemies would utter loud cries in the affirmative, and then would come the question, not, we fear, to be argued under the most favourable circumstances, what are, and what are not, the ornamental parts of an Established Church. If some would be satisfied with having stripped off the gilding, how many would begin to clip and hew at the stones and the wood. Would enough be left to the Church for the solemnity of her services and the decency of her forms? An injurious precedent might have been established; and the legislature might be unwilling to move, from the belief, real or affected, that the Church still contained ample resources within herself.

We throw out these hasty suggestions with the sincerest deference and respect to the pious and eloquent Prelate, whose Charge we have been considering. The Bishop of London must have far better opportunities than we have of judging what is the *feasible* and *practicable* plan in the actual condition of the empire: what weights are already thrown into the opposite scales: what can be borrowed from the internal means of the Establishment, without materially impairing its strength or beauty; and what hopes may reasonably be entertained of assistance from other quarters. We can only steer by the light of general propositions: his Lordship may have specific data for forming a wiser and a more practical opinion. God forbid, we repeat, if such should be the only matters submitted to our choice, that we should hesitate for a moment between the surrender of the decorative portion of our cathedral worship, and the communication of the bread of life to the poor and destitute, who, although starving in spirit, have not as yet even learnt to hunger and thirst after righteousness. We would, however, again contend, that, where the State assumes authority to controul the Church, it is bound by the most solemn obligations to assist it. There can hardly, we again contend, be a Christian country without a national recognition of Christianity; nor a national recognition of Christianity without a national Church; nor a really national Church without a religious provision for the wants of the entire nation. We again contend that the Church has a *claim* upon the State;—a claim, of which we would always assert the *principle*, even if, from temporary circumstances, it should be found impossible, or injudicious, to exact the payment.

Of the methods, then, which we have mentioned for the supply of public worship, we would strenuously uphold the right to *fall back* upon the first. At the same time much may be done by a prudent union of the others. In some neighbourhoods, local contributions may supersede the necessity for national—in very many, with the admirable co-operation of the incorporated and diocesan societies, by which infinite good has already been effected, sufficient funds may be raised for the erection of a Church, and, either from the pew-rents, or from other sources, for the maintenance of a minister. We trust, however, that, in all such cases, both Church and minister will be subjected to the regular superintendence of episcopal and parochial jurisdiction; and that as little as possible will be left to the fluctuating partialities of a congregation. In other districts, populous but impoverished, where the want outsteps these auxiliary provisions, there ought surely to be the staple commodity of state-support afforded in some more substantial manner than the occasional though useful

countenance of a king's letter: while the present revenues of the Church itself, ought, we think, to be considered solely as a subsidiary and discretionary aid: nor, until the other channels of relief have been exhausted, ought even the ornamental portions of the Establishment to be touched. There are many cases in which, with vast advantage, and without much risk, the government, acting by commissioners, might at least advance money upon loan, repaying itself by instalments, and perhaps keeping in its own hands the nomination of the ministers.

It only remains that we should express our thanks to the Bishop of London for the delivery and the publication of this eminently able Charge. It has done honour to his Lordship, and service to the Church. In our review, it appears only in a state of dislocation and dismemberment; and we ought perhaps to apologize for having, merely to suit our own convenience, disturbed the connection, and disjointed the sequence of its statements.

The Appendix, though not long, is full of useful remarks and interesting documents, collected from a variety of sources.

Here, as elsewhere, the Bishop of London, we perceive, is a great admirer of Dr. Chalmers and his productions. And yet we know of no two writers whose tone of language is more totally dissimilar. Both are men of consummate talent, and masters of composition in their respective manners: but they are the very antipodes of style. Dr. Chalmers is seldom contented without setting forth the same conceptions in a hundred different lights: the Bishop puts his ideas once in a striking point of view, and leaves them to make their way. Dr. Chalmers sometimes over-lays his speculations with the weight and multiplicity of magnificent words: in the Bishop all is pith and marrow, there is no padding or stuffing—nothing which does not *tell*. Dr. Chalmers has more of rich imagery and minute description, and splendid embellishment, tending, however, to that vicious excess which may afford a false pattern for imitation: the Bishop, formed upon a more classical model, combines with the modern range of thought almost the antique simplicity of expression. The one spreads himself out as an expanding lake, the mirror of many beauties: the other rushes forward as a bright and rapid stream; the swiftness of the course not disturbing the transparent clearness of the waters. The one reminds us of Venetian painting; the other of Grecian sculpture. The one has the gorgeousness, the graphic glow, the picturesque animation, the variety, the blended lights and shades, which the pencil only can give: the other has the severer grace, the statue-like purity, the exact precision of outline, which belong rather to the chisel. The one occasionally errs by a brilliant superfluity and a florid diffuseness: the other,

perhaps, sometimes just borders upon nakedness, and coldness, and rigidity of diction.

It cannot escape us, in closing and looking over our observations, that we have spoken very freely of some among the most distinguished personages in the Church—and it is possible that we may speak with yet greater freedom at some future time. In connection with these considerations, there is one circumstance which comes forcibly to our minds. The question, whether the system of anonymous publication is a good or evil in itself, we have no inclination to discuss; although events are of perpetual occurrence which assure us that there can scarcely be a greater nuisance to a country than its licentious abuse. The present, however, is one of those occasions in which we peculiarly feel that it has also its conveniences and its comforts. Its obvious advantage is the impersonality which it confers. There are many things which require to be said; and yet there may be hardly *any* particular person who has a right to say them. Some difficulty or delicacy must interfere. It very frequently happens that, in their individual relation or capacity, men can neither criticise without disrespect, nor even eulogize without presumption. But the anonymous and oracular monosyllable "*we*," is as the wand of a magician, which transforms them at once into a kind of individual non-entity. Without removing one tittle of moral responsibility, it yet takes away the scandal of censure and the impertinence of praise. "*We*" are neither exalted nor humble; neither clergymen nor laymen. "*We*" have no relative position. "*We*" belong to no diocese. "*We*" have no form or substance; no station or profession; no name or local habitation. But while we avail ourselves of our privilege, and may effect much by its intervention, which, without it, neither could be done nor ought to be attempted; while we act upon the belief that anonymous publication is nothing without frankness and boldness; we would likewise studiously remember that anonymous publication, if it be made a cloak for malignity, has no claim or title to become a shield against punishment.

All this, however, is a digression, or episode, which we have left ourselves no room to pursue.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

LITTLE space is required for a summary of the events of the last quarter. No great ecclesiastical measure has been brought to a conclusion by the Government:—for the Dissenters have not yet attained their objects;—Lord Brougham has abandoned for the present his impracticable enactments with respect to pluralities and non-residence: while, by the firmness of the House of Lords, the Universities of England are as yet preserved inviolate; and the Irish Church is maintained, as to its property, not, alas, in the full enjoyment of its actual rights, but at least in the integrity of its principle. The clouds remain suspended in the sky; they have neither burst in tempest, nor dispersed into sunshine. We are still in a state of fearful expectation as to the future that awaits us; nor shall we attempt to conceal our apprehensions, that a blow will be struck at all the institutions and all the property of the country, through the side of the Established Church; while the first blow will be struck at the Church itself, through the side of the Establishment in Ireland. Much might we be tempted to add, but that we think it more advisable to devote an ample space in our next number to a full discussion of the whole of this most momentous and awful question.

To the official returns which have been made of the entire revenues of the English Church, we have alluded elsewhere. They demonstrate, beyond the reach of cavil, the falsehood and malignity of a hundred attacks; yet we are not very sanguine as to the result, inasmuch as we have to deal with men, who, however they may be *convicted*, are nevertheless tenacious of their determination not to be *convinced*.

At home, the wiser, and still perhaps the more influential, among the public men of the dominant party, seem daily more and more impressed with the opinion that the pace of change has been too rapid. But the difficulty is how to retard it. Neither Lord Grey, nor Lord Brougham, nor Lord Melbourne, will find it a very easy matter to fix a drag upon the wheel, while the carriage is already hurrying down the side of a mountain: and, even if the *linch-pin* is not loose, the whole machine is in danger of taking fire from the velocity and the friction. Church and State—the State as connected with the Church, and the Church as connected with the State—are placed in as much peril from imprudence as from *malice prepense*: some are only rash and headlong, while others are steeped in crafty purposes and forethoughts of mischief: but unfortunately the difference is exceedingly slight in the way of suffering, whether a scoundrel puts a bullet into his gun and shoots you with a premeditated design, or an awkward blockhead, full of perturbation, and not knowing what he is about, leaves his ramrod in the barrel, and murders you by mistake.

Abroad, revolution seems to be going on almost in the old cycle. In Spain, as heretofore in France, things have come to the crisis, that the only alternative seems between an act of bankruptcy and an act of spoliation. The question is to be coolly and comfortably debated, whether it is better to defraud the national creditor, or to strip the national Church. Yet when either of these suggestions becomes familiarized to the mind of a country, its moral strength is shattered in the loss of its moral honesty. How long it will be before Great Britain is habituated to such contemplations—before the edge of disgust is blunted, and the natural shock and recoil are weakened by degrees, we must leave to the mercy of such politicians as Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Cobbett: but assuredly unless a firm but Christian resistance be offered to the *principle*, every ecclesiastical institution will be made an object of robbery, whether it happens to be a convent or a cathedral; and every Churchman will be considered as fair game, whether he happens to be a Monk or a Prebendary.

The prominent labour of the session, as both friends and enemies concur in regarding it—calculating alike upon the magnitude of its results, although differing as to their character—is the new Bill respecting the Poor. The very worst of all periods for discussing a question, is probably the time when it has passed the Legislature, and is as yet untried in its practical operation;—when it is too early to appeal to experience, and too late to urge abstract arguments. Our doubts, therefore, our misgivings, our apprehensions—more especially respecting the Central Board and the Bastardy Clauses—we suppress, and shall endeavour to stifle, reserving only the right of speaking out on a future occasion, if we trace the actual consequences to be pernicious, and see any reasonable hope of alteration and amendment. Opposition is merely factious when it can lead to no result. In the meanwhile, the office which we are anxious to take upon ourselves, is to remind our readers—the friends of religion and of their kind—how vast, how important, how unexampled a field is now opened for a Christian and judicious philanthropy. We would solemnly conjure them to remember how much, how unspeakably much, must *now* depend upon voluntary exertions, separate or associated. We would tell them, that the system of Visiting Societies must be more completely organized, and more carefully conducted. We would tell them, that there must be, in every parish and distriet throughout the kingdom,—we will not exactly say some recognized Board or Committee,—but some known assembly of persons—the Ministers of the Church of course being first and foremost,—who will investigate and mitigate particular cases of distress in a class of the community to which the Bill is inapplicable; and thus, without interfering with the authority of the State, or breathing one taint of party, will yet stand between the rigour of the law and the necessities of the deserving. There *must* be something, upon which numbers can fall back, who may have been flung down, without any fault of their own, from competence to want; who are left, for a season, without adequate means of subsistence, and yet who could scarcely be sent—nay, who would rather starve than go—into the workhouse of the parish or the district, where they must be separated from their children, and torn from the accustomed ties and charities

of life. The Bill has done its part,—we ask not whether well or ill: it remains for Christian individuals to do theirs: it remains for the rich, *individually*, to shew that they have no disposition to be the enemies and oppressors of the poor. They must strenuously apply themselves to soothe the individual irritations, and relieve the individual hardships, which a wide and sweeping change must of necessity occasion. If Christians thus discharge their Christian obligations, they may extract the sting of bitterness from the law of the land, and be mainly instrumental in saving the country: if they neglect their duties, they may find, to their inexpressible shame, and astonishment, and sorrow, that the next three months will have sown the seeds of the most frightful—because a *social* rather than a political—revolution.

In concluding these remarks, and with them the present number of our Review, we would take the liberty of saying a few words upon the topics which we have sometimes selected, and the tone in which we have sometimes written. Far more gratifying to us would it have been to tread the calm and pleasant fields of literature, or to contemplate the soul-enlarging and soul-exalting truths of a sublime theology, than to enter into the hot and dusty arena of political and polemical antagonism. But, as Reviewers, we must be what the times make us—we must grapple with those topics which are most important and most pressing at the moment; and we verily believe, that, unless some persons step forward to grapple with them manfully, our literature will be crushed, and our theology will not much longer be worthy of the name. Gladly, again, would we express those feelings of Christian charity and kindness towards all who differ from us, which we trust that we possess. But the contest, we repeat, is not about persons, but about principles; and therefore it is manifestly absurd, that an affected kindness for persons should interfere with a strenuous advocacy of truth, and a determined hostility to error. We hope, indeed, that our observations have been resolute, rather than acrimonious: but, surely, these are not days in which “the trumpet should give an uncertain sound.” Every thing valuable to us as churchmen is at stake. The most dissimilar confederates are leagued against us; and their only bond of alliance is hatred of the Church. Let us for a single instant gaze steadily at their array. Here are the Benthamites and the partizans of *movement*, a large proportion of whom would substitute philosophy for religion in the government of mankind, and build up the greatest happiness of the greatest number upon a scheme of utility, which supposes earth to be men’s final scene, and man in his earthly state to be a perfectible being. Near them stand the disciples of Owen,—the Unionists—the regenerators of society—men already invested with some influence over a multitude, whom half-knowledge misleads, and want excites, and passion inflames, and supposed grievances exasperate—men, too, who, if they are true to their own fundamental axioms, would sweep away from the world of thought, and even of action, all considerations of God and of a future state; who think the Christian dispensation a nuisance and a folly; and who indulge the chimerical vision of restoring earth into a Paradise by a favourable combination of human circumstances. *Here* are the Dissenters, who, on religious, and, as they imagine, Scriptural grounds, are estranged from the doc-

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trines and discipline of the Church of England; *there* are the Republicans, who are led by their political maxims to denounce every ecclesiastical establishment as being in itself a mistake and an abomination; and *there*, again, are others, in whom these two principles of opposition are united. By their side, and under the same standard, may be found the more desperate class, composed of the profligate and worthless dregs of the community, who loathe the Church, because they loathe religion; and loathe religion, because they reject what it prescribes, and dread what it threatens; who love revolution for revolution's sake, hoping that they may gain something in the scramble of anarchy, or pay something less through the spoliation of Church revenues. Others must still be mentioned, who, if we may not count them as enemies, are halting, and equivocal, and almost fatal friends: who, in their latitudinarian liberality, would embrace all tenets, and amalgamate all sects; and, although they would preserve the name of an Established Church, would so alter its character that its *weak* must be destroyed; and others, yet again, who, amidst professions of fond attachment, and invincible adherence, and undivided allegiance to the Church, would yet throw odium upon its ministers, unless attached to some particular school; and just hint aspersions, or at least doubts, as to the present constitution of its Articles, and its Liturgy; and just suggest the necessity, or at least possible *advantage*, of a completion or renovation of the fabric; and just propose that some fresh architects and surveyors should be appointed to inspect the whole building anew, and see whether the timbers are sound, and the pillars well-constructed; and who thus, by their whispered alarms about its stability, encourage its bolder foes loudly to declare its utter rottenness.

What, under such circumstances, are the defenders of the Church to do? What is their obvious wisdom? What is their plain duty? Are they to be dumb? Are they to be timid and servile? Is their speech to be ambiguous, or decided? Is their affection to be supposed, or avowed? Are they to exhibit an uncompromising zeal, or a pusillanimous and faint-hearted coldness? Are they, or are they not, to make a firm stand against their open assailants, and their secret adversaries, perhaps more formidable, because more insidious? The case, whatever it may have been in times past, is no longer about a domineering or oppressive Church, but about a Church, we scruple not to say, itself oppressed and itself persecuted. The rights of conscience are secured to the Dissenter: there is no question now about his possession of civil rights: he may worship his God when, and where, and how he pleases: he may have seminaries for the education of his children when, and where, and how he pleases. The real question is, whether the Church and Churchmen are to enjoy the same privileges; or whether, while there is yet, nominally, a National and Established Church, the National Universities, and the National Instruction of the people, are to be placed on a footing of dissent? Again, there is a general and cheerful acquiescence, that, as to political functions, and facilities for secular and professional pursuits, the Dissenter should have all put into his hands which are not absolutely incompatible with the integrity and authority of a Church connected with the state. But our solemn and confirmed conviction remains, that it is better not to have *any* Established Church, than to have an Established Church power-

less in its discipline, lax and undefined and fluctuating in its tenets; that it is better to divorce Church and State to-morrow, than to pretend to keep the Church, of which the Articles are no longer the depositories and the landmarks of orthodox doctrines; and which is stripped of those accessaries of fixedness, and dignity, and honour, which are indispensable to its utility and its strength, absolutely necessary to invest it with efficiency, and to surround it with respect.

Yet we are no stagnationists. We know that society cannot remain stationary: we most assuredly believe, without indulging any extravagant dreams of human perfectibility, that it is far from having arrived at the ultimate point of good, which it is capable of reaching: and that in every kingdom, and every province, and every parish, and every family, upon the face of the globe, there are many ameliorations which may be safely introduced. Moreover, just in proportion as we would oppose the wild and pernicious schemes which are really the spawn of infidelity and republicanism, in that very proportion we would promote, to the utmost of our power, any feasible and well-considered plans of Christian improvement. The man, who would do nothing, is almost as much an enemy to his country and mankind as the man, who would do mischief. And, alas! the two opposite evils help each other: it is the supine inertness of men, whose theories are sound, which affords a pretext for the advocacy and attempted introduction of visionary and ill-digested projects by the restless and the reckless; and, in turn, it is the failure, or the danger, or the confusion, consequent upon such projects, which discourages and disgusts the cautious and the timid from making any attempts whatever to better the condition of the human race. But we have done. It is our fervent prayer, that there may be no internal causes to aid the assaults which are battering our ecclesiastical institutions from without. We are not called upon at present to enter upon the discussion of *doctrines*, and shall therefore content ourselves with the declaration, that we see no reason to alter the opinions which we have already expressed; and that, if occasion should arise, we should consider it little less than treachery to Christian truth and the genuine character of the English Church, to disguise or dilute them. At the same time, while we rather suspect that strong effects can usually be produced only by strong expressions, we feel that harshness, or intemperance, or uncharitableness of language, is among the most painful and pernicious indications of human infirmity. As to the *discipline* and ordering of the Church and its concerns, there are almost every where the most satisfactory tokens of progressive improvement. The internal regulations of almost every diocese are excellent: the munificence of the prelates—such, for instance, as the Bishop of Durham—in increasing small livings—and diffusing the knowledge that is truly useful—and attending to all the various wants submitted to their notice, is worthy of all praise: while the exertions of the clergy in their public and private duties—the assiduous care which they devote to religious education in schools of different descriptions—and their enlightened superintendence of the whole details of parochial superintendence—if they cannot shield them from the malice of human foes, will yet draw down upon their heads the blessing of an Omnipotent Protector.

Of the religious literature of the last three months we have not room to speak much in detail. The following publications we reserve for future and more extended notice:—The last two volumes of Mr. Smedley's History of France; the Memoirs of the Rev. Henry Venn, the Rev. Mr. Howels, the Rev. Rowland Hill, and Mrs. Hannah More; the Sermons, among others, of Mr. Close, of Cheltenham; Mr. Peter Hall, of Chelsea; and Mr. Fell, of Islington; Mr. Roe's Analytical Arrangement of the Apocalypse; Mr. Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies; some books of Travels and Voyages which illustrate religious subjects, and some other works of permanent interest. All reference to Mr. Powell, and the discrepancies, real or imagined, between geological facts and Scriptural statements, we are again compelled to postpone. The Hymn-books, &c. which have been forwarded to us from a parish in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, we shall take an early opportunity of examining, in connection with the tenets and practices of the peculiar school to which they belong.

MEMOIRS AND REMAINS.

Remains, &c. of Bishop Louth.

THERE are some valuable things in this volume, both in substance and style; and, if the authenticity of some portion may be doubted, we do not at all believe that any thing spurious has been inserted by design. Upon the whole, however, we cannot but think that its compilation does more credit to the industry of the editor than to his judgment, and that its publication will add more to the quantity of the Bishop's writings than to the quality of his fame. When the best has been given, how often do we wish that the common epitaph of the *man* could save from disturbance the relics of the *author*—"Requiescat in pace."

EXEGETICAL, CRITICAL, AND CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew. Translated from the Greek by the Rev. W. J. Aislabie, A. M.

WE have no particular objection to urge against this translation; but *cui bono*? We cannot discover what good it will do, or on what account it has been attempted. For ourselves we do not hear those perpetual complaints of inaccurate translations of the Scriptures which Mr. Aislabie asserts; nor do we think that he has in many places excelled those "*highly respectable persons*," as he more curiously than felicitously designates "the original translators."

Mortal Life, and the State of the Soul after Death, &c. By Alexander Copland, Esq., Advocate. Smith, Elder, and Co. Second Edition.

WE have here a book, written not without eloquence and feeling, which gives us all that can be known of the subject which it treats, and a great deal which can be only conjectured. It is quite true, that no topics can possess for the human mind a more awful interest than the intermediate and future state of man; but Mr. Copland must be aware that his work consists, in a large mea-

sure, of fanciful assertions, which it is equally impossible, in our present condition, to demonstrate and to disprove.

1. *The Truth of Christianity proved from ancient Prophecies.* By the Rev. R. Walker, M. A.
2. *Reasons for Attachment and Conformity to the Established Church.* By the Rev. R. Meek.

THE youthful student would do well to read these two works in the order in which we have placed them. The one will help to make him an assured Christian, the other will carry him forward to become an affectionate and confirmed member of the National Church.

An Exposition of the Creed. By J. Woodward, Esq. Hatchard and Son.

THE Church can hardly fail to derive some benefit from a layman's contribution to theology, because the very composition of his book affords a *prima facie* evidence of the strength and sincerity of his faith, and can hardly be the mere offspring of interested motives or professional habits: but it is not on this account alone that Mr. Woodward is entitled to our thanks. His "Exposition of the Creed," although assuredly it will not supersede the labours of Barrow and Pearson and Burnett, exhibits marks of diligent study, and a truly Christian temper of mind.

Mr. Woodward, it appears, wished to take orders at a mature period of life; but was informed by the Bishop of Chichester, of a rule established by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, that no person should be ordained after the age of thirty-five or thirty-six.

LIBRARIES OF DIVINITY, &c. &c.

THE Libraries, as far as we have seen, go on well and flourishingly; and we must say of the *Sacred Classics*, that although we have strong doubts about features in the design, the works are well selected on the whole, and the preliminary dissertations written by authors of celebrity, who show that they are careful to maintain the reputation which they have acquired.

We may also state in this place, that the illustrative works which we have already mentioned, are kept up with the same spirit and beauty as before.

Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Vol. II. Part. II. Murray.

SOME of these papers are sufficiently trifling—we had almost said "*satis superque*;"—others are learned and interesting; but, on the whole, we can see no reason why they should be published in so enormously grand and expensive a shape. Several of the papers are not of a *calibre* to require it or to bear it. There are some things also which individuals might have done as well, and published with more propriety. Why is "*The Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*," to print some thirty pages of an account of the manuscript library at Holkham, in Norfolk, belonging to T. W. Coke, Esq.?

EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

1. *An Elementary Hebrew Grammar.* By the Rev. Arthur Willis, M.A. Rivingtons.
2. *An Introduction to Greek Prose Composition.* By the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A.

Is our English scholarship quite on the decline? Both these works, like the majority of philological works now published in London, are little more than translations or adaptations from German authors. We have reason, however, to be thankful to Mr. Kenrick and Mr. Willis. Both honestly inform us of the sources from which they have borrowed, in order to enrich our grammatical literature. We shall not institute a comparison between them, further than to say that every labour deserves especial encouragement, which tends to facilitate among us the study of the Hebrew language. Mr. Willis's Grammar is brief, and, as he calls it, "elementary;" but the execution, as well as the design, is praiseworthy, and will, we trust, widely accomplish the object of his compilation, which is to "supply a Hebrew Grammar, and a short course of Hebrew reading, adapted to the use of the upper forms in a public school, concise enough for those who cannot spend more than an hour or two a week in the study of the language, and yet affording them such instruction as may enable them, with the assistance of a lexicon, to construe and parse any easy sentences which may be set before them."

SERMONS.

Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Rudgley. By the Rev. Robert Clerke Burton, M.A. Rivingtons.

WITHOUT pretending to enter into the depths of theology, these sermons are sound in doctrine—clear and forcible in language. They urge the solemn truths of the Gospel with a pious earnestness of practical application. The four opening discourses on the prophetic evidence we would particularly recommend.

Lectures on the Character of Our Saviour. By the Rev. Henry Blunt, Rector of Upper Chelsea.

MR. BLUNT is hardly to be called an eloquent writer in the usual acceptance of the term, and yet his writings often produce the effect of the highest eloquence. We have frequently finished a perusal of celebrated compositions, issuing from the Clergy, without any spiritual impression cleaving to the heart; with little more, in fact, than a vague admiration of the talents of the writer, displayed in the splendour of his imagery, or the beauty of his diction. But few can read the simple pages of Mr. Blunt without an emotion analogous to the famous "Let us march against Philip:"—that is, without the feeling, "Let us rise up in the strength of a Redeemer, and fight, as Christians ought, against the enemies of our salvation." We know of no higher praise: but this praise we shall not withhold, because there are some slight shades of doctrine, and some particular forms of expression, as to which we happen to differ from Mr. Blunt.

"Redeeming the Time:" a Sermon preached in aid of the National School at Sydenham. By the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, M.A.

IN a single sermon, upon such an occasion, we have no right to expect much of depth or novelty. The discourse before us is solid and sensible, and has all that impressiveness of piety which may well discard the claim to all the richness of eloquence.

Clavis Homiletica; or, the Clergyman's Register of his Discourses, &c.
Rivingtons.

THIS anonymous publication is not so much a book, as a set of tables "intended to assist the Clergyman in arranging his discourses, with a view to their connection with the daily Services of the Church." It is, we dare say, calculated to be useful, like every thing else, which, by promoting accuracy of method, saves time, and helps the memory.

WORKS OF GENERAL LITERATURE CONNECTED WITH RELIGION.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover and Mrs. Lewis, in 1555 and 1557.

By the Rev. B. Richeriss, A.M., Vicar of Mancetter, Warwickshire.

THIS little book presents details of Christian heroism which may have a local interest, and be well deserving of local commemoration:—but the characters are not of that eminent mark and station which can command much of general interest after a lapse of nearly three centuries. The narrator, we must think, is a little too fierce against the Papists, and makes rather too liberal use of his capital letters.

Dr. Lang's View of the Polynesian Nation. Cochrane and Co.

DR. LANG has here applied himself to a branch of literary investigation which involves many curious points of religion and philosophy. His views of the Polynesian nation, and of the discovery and settlement of the continent of America, differ widely from those of some preceding writers, but they are not the less interesting and deserving of attention. We may, very possibly, find occasion to recur to his book, including, as it does, many topics which no Christian reader can regard with indifference.

The Art of being Happy; chiefly from the French of M. Dros. By Bourne Hall Draper. London: William Darton and Son, Holborn Hill.

A LITTLE book, attractive from its subject, and not unpleasing in its style, but sometimes with an affectation of depth to which it has no just pretensions. It is deficient both in novelty and force; and, though it exhibits much of amiable feeling, its philosophy is in many points thoroughly French, and its views of religion are of that indefinite and negative and sentimental kind, which really avail nothing for the conduct of life. Mr. Timothy Flint, the American editor, has appended a chapter upon "the Choice of a Profession," which, besides being not very valuable in itself, and unfortunate in its proportion of sense to

sound, is most marvellously out of place. This will be made sufficiently evident by giving the headings of the five last chapters in their order:—"Religious Sentiments;" "Of the Rapidity of Life;" "On Death;" "Conclusion;" "The Choice of a Profession."

POETRY.

"Judge not," and other Poems. By Edmund Peel.

THE religious poetry which comes before us continues to be of that fatal quality called *mediocre*. The present attempt is not an exception:—"Judge not, a Poem on Christian Charity," is rather long and rather grand,—

"Forth shall Havock rush
And charg'd with thunderbolts, the guilty crush;
Down the steep sky swift cataracts shall pour,
Earth, heaven, and ocean shake the sounding shore."

The other poems are in a different style; one, "To my Sister Elizabeth, on receiving a purse of her *knitting*," begins thus:—

"Thy gift, Elizabeth, of silken woof,
In colour like a cloudless summer sky,
Save where the golden threads so gracefully
Inwrought; thy gift I welcome 'neath my roof,
And aye shall love as of thy love a proof."

AMERICAN WORKS.

The Remains of Charles Henry Wharton, D.D., with a Memoir of his Life.
By George Washington Doane, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of New Jersey, Philadelphia.

WE have already, in reviewing another American publication, mentioned this sterling work;—but we are anxious just to notice it again, if it be only to state, that "*the profits arising from its sale will be appropriated to the establishment of a Scholarship in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*" The publication itself needed not this recommendation to increase its sale: nor can we refrain from expressing once more our sense of the value of Dr. Wharton's Remains, more especially the Sermons and celebrated Tracts on the controversy between Catholics and Protestants; as also our thanks to Bishop Doane, for the skill with which he has collected them, and the beautiful Memoir with which he has introduced them.

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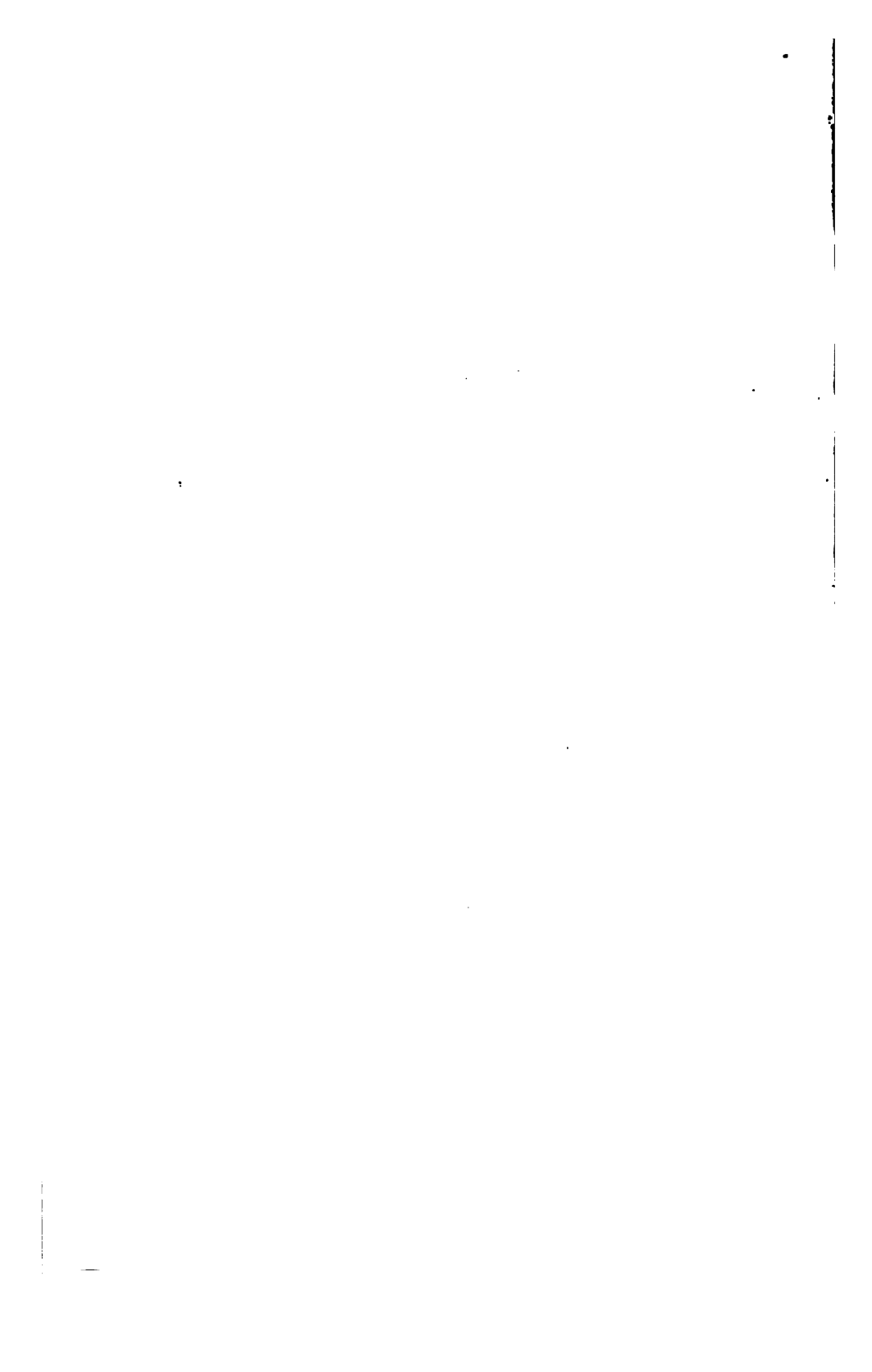
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